

The more the industrial foundations are eaten away, the more the economic position of Britain is undermined, the more rapidly the avalanche of its proletarian masses develops, and there is nothing between them and the bourgeoisie. We must therefore view the British situation with the utmost seriousness and not simply think of the General Strike, or the miners' lockout as an epic event wherein men and women have suffered and acted nobly. We have got to recognise this event as part of a deep lying process in British economy which is propelling Britain towards revolution. It may be that we shall get the revolution in Britain before you get it further extended on the Continent.

Do not let us rule this out of our estimation. We must realise it as a tremendous possibility which lies before us. This is the warning which the General Strike and the lockout in Britain emphasises.

Comrades, I think I can say that, from the discussion which we have had, that the outline of analysis of events which I gave in my report and the theses which has been given to the commission cover the situation. I will conclude therefore by emphasising the need for increasing attention to the development of the British Party; increasing attention to the pheno-

(Close of Session.)

mena of British capitalism; but more than all we must concentrate upon winning the trade unions. For whether it be in expectation of the development of revolution in Britain or elsewhere, or the facing of the problems of war, we must take note of the fundamental lesson which comes out of the experiences of the General Strike and the lockout, i. e., that without the conquest of the unions there can be no victory. The one thing which the British Party can take credit for by which it has set an example to older parties is its work in the trade unions. If we had a hundred thousand members working in the trade unions as hard as the twelve thousand now working in the trade unions, I venture to say that we would have the complete control of the British trade union movement. Therefore, when I think of the continental parties and their experiences, and when I think of the size of their membership and the incidents of the last seven months, I feel that this is the central lesson of all — the concentration upon trade union work, the getting control of the unions, for this is the way in order to get control of the masses, for directing the forces of revolution and the internationalising of the great struggles in the various countries. These constitute the central lessons of the British General Strike and lockout. Internationalise our politics! With the leadership of the trade unions! (Applause.)

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## CONTENTS

"Stop Thief!"

Politics.

The Putsch in Lithuania.

M. G.: The Resignation of the Government of Latvia.

G. Acquila: The "Great Turning Point" in the Policy of Fascism.

China.

Tang Shun She: Disintegration in the Chang Iso-Lin Bloc.

M. N. Roy: Social Democracy and the Chinese Revolution.

The Lies Regarding the Kuomintang.

G. L.: The Life of the Workers in Shanghai.

VII. Meeting of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.

The Results of the Meeting of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.

Election of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I.

The White Terror.

Stay the Arm of the Executioner in Lithuania!

A Monster Trial against Ukrainian Peasants in Poland.

## "Stop Thief."

From an article in the "Pravda" of December 16th, 1926

Thanks to the efforts of the German social democratic lackeys of the Entente, a fairy tale was printed in a great liberal organ in Great Britain some time ago. This fairy tale, after making the rounds of the various European editorial offices, finally retired to a place unknown and apparently gave up the ghost. The sensation did not last long, although it must be admitted that the wings of this fairy tale fluttered so beautifully as to give an illusion of truth.

According to an agreement between the military authorities of the Soviet Union and of Germany, several German firms built three factories a few years ago within the territory of the Soviet Union for the purpose of producing certain necessities for our defence, so runs the story. Amongst these things were aeroplanes, poison gas, shells, etc.

If the beautiful fairy tale had only been supplied with these wings, then it would certainly never have been able to fly, its attempts would only have produced laughter. Its parents were also aware of this deficiency and they therefore added the following: The war material which was, or which will be produced in these factories, is only partly to be used for the defence of the Soviet Union, the greatest part of it is to be sent to... Germany! A short while ago no less than six vessels loaded with all these good things, arrived in Stettin from Leningrad. In other words, these factories are working for the German Reichswehr and for the German Black Hundreds, thus driving a carriage and pair through the Versailles Treaty and assisting the cause of Monarchism and nationalist reaction in Germany!

After giving its readers shivers down the spine with this horrible nonsense reprinted from the English paper, (to which its friends had first of all despatched the fairy tale) the "Vorwärts" pathetically asked the communist workers: "Do you see now where the rifles and ammunition come from with which they shoot you down?" It turns out, as we see, that

not Noske, the "bloodhound", not the social democracy, but the Soviet Union, the country of the victorious socialist revolution, is the ally of those reactionary forces which throttle the German working class movement.

We always suspected that the German social democracy, and in particular, its central organ, was on more than speaking terms with those craftsmen who produce anti-Soviet forgeries. The "Vorwärts" has now proved this. We do not know whether the "Vorwärts" occupies itself directly with this noble calling or whether the pupils and imitators of Drushelovsky and his friends do the work for it, but there is no doubt that this whole fairy story which has gone through various editorial offices, is based upon forgeries. Its aim is to do the Entente a service which is looking for an excuse to abandon the responsibilities towards Germany which it accepted at Versailles and Locarno, and to create an atmosphere of hostility towards the hated Soviet Union.

The disgusting attitude which the slanderers have taken towards their own dear fatherland, which they so zealously defended during the imperialist slaughter, does not interest us in the least in this connection. We are only interested in the accusation which is made against us, the accusation, that we are supporting German reaction and chauvinism; that we are assisting Germany to prepare for a war of revenge against the victors of yesterday, in other words, that we are the most dangerous enemies of democracy and of the peace of Europe. It is not pure coincidence, that these new "proofs" of our "red imperialism" are very much needed by the bourgeois governments at the moment, for all the neighbours of the Soviet Union are arming feverishly, and strenuous attempts are being made to isolate and weaken the Soviet Union.

A few days ago our press reported upon the arming of Roumania by Italy. Whole trains loaded with war material euphemistically labelled "Italian fruit" are going over Austria



territory to the Dniestr. We know from British newspapers that this "fruit" consists of 50,000 rifles, 12 million rounds of ammunition, 3,000 machine guns, and machine parts of those destroyers ordered by Roumania in Italy at a cost of 300 million Lire, the credit granted to Roumania in return for the Treaty of "friendship" concluded with Italy, with a view to guaranteeing at the very least the neutrality of Roumania in case of war between Italy and Yugoslavia, the companion of Roumania in the Little Entente. We know also that in agreement with Yugoslavia, Greece has the right to transport war materials delivered to its harbours, over Yugoslavian territory, to Poland. Further, the neighbours of the Soviet Union, the Baltic countries and Poland, have been solemnly permitted by a decision of the International Armaments Conference in 1925, to maintain secrecy concerning their armaments, in contradiction to the other powers participating in the conference. The aim of this was to prevent the Soviet Union from knowing the stage of their armaments and the names of those gracious powers who supply them with their arms.

If we now add the proposal made by Great Britain to the conference of Ambassadors — to prohibit Germany to export boilers for sea-going vessels and lathes capable of serving for the production of shells — we have a picture of definite technical preparation for war against the Soviet Union on the part of all countries bordering upon the Soviet Union with the assistance of the "democratic" Great Powers, with Great Britain at the head. We place Great Britain at the head of this combination, because even the treaty between Italy and Roumania giving the latter the possibility of arming itself was made with the knowledge and approval of Great Britain, which sanctioned in Leghorn the proclamation of an Italian protectorate over Albania and consequently also the possibility of war with Yugoslavia and all its consequences including the military and political rapprochement between Italy and Roumania.

And now, as it is necessary to put up a smoke screen to mask all this, the obliging "Vorwaerts" shouts "Stop thief!" in the usual manner and ushers a series of forgeries into being to prove that the enemy of peace is the Soviet Union which is allegedly manufacturing war material with the assistance of German firms, which is co-operating secretly with the official and the Black German Reichswehr and which has officially concluded a military alliance with the German Government. The English newspaper of which we have already spoken, also declared that a secret military convention exists between the Soviet Government and the German military authorities, and the "Berliner Tageblatt" which attempted to refute all these inventions, could think of nothing better to say in defence of its government, than the lie that a few years ago the Soviet Government proposed such a military alliance. Such a military alliance did not and does not exist, either as a proposal or as a fact, but it had to be invented in order to provide a further invention, i. e. that the military authorities in the Soviet Union and in Germany are co-operating with each other, with a more or less believable basis.

On the whole, we consider that the German social democracy has well earned its keep from the Entente. It has earned the right to receive the Nobel Peace Prize, at least next year, for this year it has already been presented to equally worthy recipients.

## POLITICS

### The Putsch in Lithuania.

Leading Article in the "Isvestija" of December 19th 1926.

Telegraphic news was received yesterday of the military revolt which has taken place in Lithuania. We have not yet sufficient news to hand to be able to draw final conclusions, but this much we can already say with certainty, that the Christian Democrats (the Right Clerical Party in Lithuania) who seceded from the Government in May of this year have been feverishly preparing an attack against the Left Government of Slasewitch and have begun getting ready their organisation for seizing the power. By demagogic action and all kinds of promises they played on the Fascist feelings of some of the officers of the Lithuanian Army and succeeded in this

way in forming illegal nuclei and in striking root in the Lithuanian army.

Special stimulus was given to the determination of the Christian Democrats to fight, by certain measures of the Slasewitch Government which were detrimental to those groups of the population (particularly the clergy) who supported the Christian Democrats. As the "patriotic" Christian Democrats feared that this would deprive them for good of their prospect of returning to power, they did not hesitate to put the interests of their party before the interests of their country and to enter into adventurous combinations against Lithuania. Their ambitions were in harmony with the desires of the imperialist elements in Poland who hastened to do away with the Left Government in Lithuania as quickly as possible for the latter had, by concluding a political treaty with the Soviet Union, embarked on a policy of strengthening the independence of Lithuania and of rescuing it from the almost complete international isolation from which it had suffered up to that time. As is well known, the next step that the defeated Government of Lithuania intended to take was that of signing the commercial treaty which was almost ready for confirmation and which would have formed the basis for the consolidation of Lithuanian industry.

Thus it was the consciousness of the weakness of their own Right opposition against the mass of the Lithuanian people, and consequently of the impossibility of returning to power unaided, which compelled those "Patriots" to decide on measures which threatened the very independence of Lithuania. There is no doubt that the main source of the revolution is to be sought in Warsaw and possibly in other European capitals. The revolution in Lithuania can be regarded as the beginning of the "action", the final aim of which, according to its authors, is to put an end to the independence of Lithuania and to lead to its being absorbed by imperialist Poland which makes no secret of its ambition for expansion towards the East.

In order fully to realize this, it is only necessary to recall the behaviour of the Pilsudski Press in July of this year and the revelations of the Right Press in Poland on that occasion. At that time the Right Press of Poland published the text of the secret telegrams exchanged between Pilsudski and the commandant of the military district of Vilna. It was evident from these telegrams that Pilsudski was preparing the troops of the Vilna district for a possible campaign against Lithuania. In the same telegram Pilsudski demanded the latest news from Vilna, as some Polish officer who is referred to in the telegram under the pseudonym of "Wanda" was to go to London to take reports. Shortly after this Pilsudski sent General Zeligowski, the well-known "hero" and specialist in revolt, to Vilna on a special mission to prepare the way for the conquest of Lithuania. Pilsudski, as War Minister, saw to it that serious preparations were made for the approaching campaign, and the troops of the military district of Vilna were to be brought up to the normal war strength. Beside this, various military formations such as body scouts and sport organisations were established on the border lines and in the adjacent territory. The object of all this was to prepare the forces for an operation in Zeligowski's style. The campaign of the Polish Right Press which was carried on at the time and the revelations of the Soviet Press however, prevented Pilsudski from carrying out his plans. He had to change his plan of action.

There are sufficient data showing that Pilsudski himself after the frustration of his first plan, concentrated his endeavour on preparing a putch in Lithuania. What this object in view the Polish General Staff, in alliance with some of the elements which were in opposition to the Government, worked out the plan for a military revolution in Lithuania. There is no doubt that secret agents of Poland played an important part in the revolution which has taken place. From the political point of view also Pilsudski made great efforts to ensure the success of the revolt and with all means in his power to keep in touch with the Christian Democrats in Lithuania.

Meetings between representatives of Pilsudski and representatives of the Right Opposition of Lithuania took place in various parts of Europe, where Political discussions of a peculiar kind were held. It is not surprising that the Polish circles sought alliance particularly among the Christian Democrats of Lithuania with the object of carrying out their plans; for the latter who are chiefly under the influence of the Catholic clergy, are at the same time the agents for carrying out the policy of the Vatican which has all along aimed at a reconciliation between

Poland and Lithuania, because it hopes in this way to have a guarantee for its power in Catholic Poland and in Catholic Lithuania. Poland made good use of this factor to intensify the policy of the Vatican and to combine it with its own political aims.

It may to a certain extent seem strange that Professors Smetona and Woldemara took part in the revolt in Kovno. Up to the present it is well known that these two Lithuanian politicians have fought for an independent policy for Lithuania and have regarded Poland as a foe to the independence of Lithuania. But it ceases to be strange when we consider that the authors of the revolt could not avoid these names in forming their political combinations; for the whole mass of the Lithuanian people would never have made one with the Christian Democrats and the "soldateska" had not such persons as Smetona and Woldemara who are popular in Poland, been enlisted in the cause. It is obvious that these two were drawn into the game through a trick. It is probable that the Christian Democrats, who have the new Government in their hands, will try to get rid of them as soon as it is no longer necessary to make use of their names.

In carrying out his plan for taking possession of Lithuania by "peaceful" methods, Pilsudski took care to be well provided for the event of having to advance against Lithuania with armed forces. The attitude of Pilsudski's Press organs, which reported only a few days that Lithuania was threatened by a Communist insurrection and that Lithuania was on the eve of anarchy, is characteristic. Pilsudski's intention in doing this was to prepare public opinion for his interference in the internal affairs of Lithuania which he was obliged to "rescue from the Communist danger". The latest reports from Warsaw are to the effect that the Polish Government is determined "carefully to provide that the interests and the life of the Polish population in Lithuania do not suffer owing to the disturbances". Communications as to supposed programs against the Polish population in Kovno and in other districts of Lithuania are already being published. The point of these statements is obviously that Pilsudski is preparing public opinion in Poland and is reserving to himself the "right" to interfere; for in the course of civil war it is always possible to find occasion to injure some small group or other of the Polish population of Lithuania.

The events in Kovno are of enormous international importance and may threaten the peace of Eastern Europe. We must very carefully follow the course of these events and must call the attention of the whole world to the danger of new cataclysms in Europe. We do not wish to, and shall not interfere in the internal affairs of the Lithuanian people, but at the same time we cannot look on with indifference while Zeligowski's methods are applied in a modernised form for destroying the independence of Lithuania. We have the right to expect that the Polish Government which has so often proclaimed its special anxiety to preserve peace in Eastern Europe, will now show this in deeds refraining from any kind of interference in the internal fight between the parties in Lithuania.

## The Resignation of the Government of Latvia.

By M. G.

December 7th saw the resignation of the Albering-Ulmanis Cabinet, which may well be designated as the most reactionary of all the constantly changing Governments of the "Democratic" Republic of Latvia. It was mainly by reason of its variegated nature that the last Parliamentary coalition came to grief. It united the strongest bourgeois party, the Farmers' Union, with groups of the so-called representatives of the small holders, centralised "Democratic" groups, furthermore the reactionary Catholic clergy of Lettgallen, the Parliamentary Fascist fraction, and finally the Germans. The formal pretext for the dismemberment of the coalition was the reduction of the discount rate from 15 to 12 per cent by the Government, in itself a mere matter of form, since according to information published in the bourgeois Press of Latvia, the actual rate of discount in Latvia ranges from 48 to 60 per cent a year. The parties of the Right in Parliament, especially the Germans, who are in close touch with the private credit banks, most emphatically opposed this normalisation of the discount rate, which might have been expected greatly to check the unlimited spec-

ulation now prevailing on the Latvian money market. It may suffice to point out that the private banks advance money at a rate of interest of from 36 to 60 per cent per annum, themselves receiving these funds (through the aid their "people") at an interest rate of 8 per cent a year from the Bank of Latvia.

Another important reason for the resignation of the Cabinet was the dissatisfaction of the "Democratic centre", supported by the civil clerks, with the refusal of the Cabinet to comply with the demands of civil servants, who, in view of their precarious position and of the increase in prices, demand a 15 to 20 per cent rise and a single subsidy to the amount of one month's salary for all clerks in the lower categories.

The actual resignation of the Cabinet ensued as the result of an interpellation in Parliament in regard to the economic situation of the country, which is at present described as disastrous by the entire Latvian Press.

Unemployment prevails in the country to a desolate degree: of registered unemployed alone there are 4500 at Riga, 1800 at Libau, 2200 at Dvinsk, 900 at Mitau, etc.; many enterprises are being closed down for want of orders or else are obliged greatly to restrict their output (e. g., the shoe-factories at Riga and the metal industry at Libau); the other Latvian factories are kept going solely by means of credits from the State Bank, their indebtedness to which already far exceeds the value of their total assets. (In connection with these circumstances, insolvencies and the arrest of responsible managers have grown more and more frequent occurrences during the last few months.) The harvest once more failed, as in the preceding two years, to come up to expectations, and the peasantry (especially the small and medium farmers) is over head and ears in debt. The commercial balance of the first nine months of the year shows a deficit of 40 million gold-francs, and that despite a drastic increase in the customs duties for a whole series of imported commodities of daily use. In connection with the deficit of the balance of trade and payments, the foreign-value holdings of the State Bank decreased between May 7th and November 20th by no less than 18 per cent, (v. the statements of the Latvian "Economist" of December 1st, 1926).

The economic and foreign policy of the Albering Cabinet only served to hasten the threatening crisis. Never has Latvia experienced so many "Panamas", so many embezzlements of State funds as during the administration of the late Cabinet. Suffice it to point to the fact that as a result of the numerous discoveries of deficiencies in the Treasury to the amount of many millions, the Government, which was in the very closest connection with those that were impeached for corruption, found itself forced to discharge practically all the higher officials of the Finance Ministry, while also subjecting the highest Army commissariat offices to a radical process of weeding. The solution of the most vitally important questions of Latvia's economic and foreign policy, that of the mutual relations between Latvia and Soviet Russia, had, meanwhile, not advanced a jot; on the contrary, the constant evasion on the part of Foreign Minister Ulmanis with regard to Russia's guarantee proposals and his repeated negotiations with Akel, the Estonian Foreign Minister, and with Lukaszewicz, Polish Ambassador at Riga, gave proof of the dependence of the Latvian Foreign Minister on the "Western" Powers and the lack of any desire for a rapprochement with Russia.

On the other hand, the Albering Cabinet was able to record a whole series of "achievements" in the realm of home politics. In the matter of legislation, the Fascist bourgeoisie managed to put through reactionary measures restricting the right of coalition or public assembly, destroyed all the political organisations of young workers, and made energetic efforts to annul social legislation. In combatting the revolutionary movements in the country, the late Cabinet employed all the well-tried tactics of the Tsarist "Ochрана". Apart from penal-servitude sentences (according to incomplete statements, more than 120 workers have been condemned during the last six or seven months to from two to six years of incarceration or penal servitude on the charge of "attempted subversion of the existing order") and numerous arrests, the Latvian authorities did not refrain from the wholesale maltreatment and mutilation of political prisoners. We here refer to the events at Kraslawka, a small town in Lettgallen.

On the eve of the ninth anniversary of the October revolution, the local Ochрана made a raid on the "Cultural League", the



only existing workers' organisation in the district, detained all the forty or fifty persons present, ransacked the premises from top to bottom after having (as was subsequently established by a Parliamentary commission of investigation) purposely smuggled "anti-patriotic" pamphlets into the house, and carried off to Dvinsk all the persons detained, among them schoolboys of from fourteen to sixteen years of age. In the premises of the police at Dvinsk, they were submitted to cross-examination throughout the night and many were seriously maltreated, being suspended from the ceiling, thrown down, and dragged about by the hair, while attempts were made to violate the young girls.

News of the occurrences at Kreslava and the outrages practised at Dvinsk soon reached Riga, where the victims of the Ochraņa submitted a protest to the petitionary commission of the Parliament; under the pressure of a protesting public, the latter appointed a special commission to enquire into the matter. After repeated investigations in Lettgallen and lengthy consultations, the commission in question established a series of transgressions on the part of the Lettgallen Ochraņa, as a result of which verdict the Minister of the Interior dismissed six members of the Ochraņa at Dvinsk.

And the system? The system of torture and mutilation remained. Hardly two weeks later, the political police at Dvinsk arrested and brutally maltreated the soldier Scholem Kit. And, as though to reward the Ochraņa for its good conduct, a Latvian State Counsel quite recently decreed the closing of the Jewish workers' organisation known as the "Cultural League" together with all its branches in the provinces.

## The "Great Turning Point" in the Policy of Fascism.

By G. Aquila.

The Confederazione Generale del Lavoro, the reformist trade-union Federation, has received its office-premises back at the hands of Mussolini, an exception thus being made in favour of the said body to the general prohibition of all not pronouncedly Fascist organisations.

This step of Mussolini's, which is characteristic of the estimation of men like D'Aragona, Buoizzi, Baldesi, and their partisans in the opinion of the bourgeoisie and its Fascist dictator, can by no means be rated as merely an insignificant gesture. It is, rather, in close connection with a whole series of recent measures on the part of the Fascist Government, aiming at a systematic suppression of the petty-bourgeois and Fascist elements and at the pacification of the bourgeois classes on the one hand and the "pacification" of the working masses on the other.

The opposition of the petty-bourgeois Fascist elements to the big capitalist policy of the Fascist Government had been aggravated during the last few months under the accelerating pressure of the economic crisis to such a degree that there was the menace of an open rebellion of these elements against the person of Mussolini. In spite of the formless and unorganised character of this opposition within the Fascist camp, the danger it embodied for Mussolini and the entire bourgeoisie of Italy was so great that Mussolini found himself forced temporarily to make far-reaching "concessions", which were, however, in reality nothing but illusory formalities, in the hope of subsequently again ousting the Opposition from these newly-gained positions after the lapse of a certain respite. This ruse appeared all the more recommendable to Mussolini in his predicament, since he hoped thereby to kill two birds with one stone. One half of the plan was the intention that the embitterment of the Fascist Opposition be allowed to vent itself in the form of a terrorist campaign against the anti-Fascist forces in the country, i. e., in the first place, against the revolutionary proletariat. This is the real explanation of the unparalleled wave of terrorism which Mussolini let loose in November on the proletariat and the entire working population of Italy.

But now to the second half of Mussolini's scheme. Under the cover of "making order" and "returning to normal", the petty-bourgeois Fascist elements are to be repressed, while the working class and, in fine, all victims of the sanguinary excesses of the Fascist hordes, are "pacified" and the pronoun-

cedly big bourgeois sections of the population, who followed the events of November with nervous misgivings, are satisfied by very tangible economic advantages.

This great "turn" was initiated by Mussolini at the Ministerial Council of December 8th, when the dictator declared that the "excesses of the Fascists, comprehensible (as they were) in view of their righteous wrath and indignation at the recent murderous attempts", must now come to an end. In a circular telegram all prefects were called upon to restore and maintain order in their provinces, no matter by whom the peace be disturbed. In the "official enactments" of the Fascist party" meanwhile, Mussolini issued a command to all Fascists, binding them to submit to the prefects, as "the supreme representatives of State sovereignty and of the Fascist Government in the provinces".

Neither the "pacification" of the working class nor that of the bourgeoisie, however, can be effected merely by means such as these. A further step in the former direction is the restoration of the premises of the free trade-union federation and the formal repeal of the prohibition of the free trade unions. This measure of "pacification", however, is strictly limited for the repeal of the prohibition of the free trade unions is nothing but an empty formality, since there can be no more question than there was before of any activity on the part of the free trade unions.

An altogether different matter, of course, is the pacification of the bourgeoisie. As will be remembered, the Fascist Government resolved early in November on the issue of an extensive national loan styled the "dictators' loan". On the one hand the short-dated Treasury bonds to a total value of 18,000 million lire were compulsorily converted into paper of the new denomination; on the other hand the great national loan aims at forming a fund, from which the big industries may be subsidised as a measure of relief in the financial crisis. It now appears more and more unmistakably that the great national loan is nothing but a wide-laid scheme for the exploitation of the workers, the peasants, all sections of the middle class in town and country and even the lower and middle strata of the bourgeoisie in favour of the big capitalists. To ensure the subscription of the national loan, a "patriotic" campaign on a large scale was initiated by all organs of the Government and the Fascist party, who designate subscription as the "most elementary patriotic duty of every citizen". In other words, any one omitting to subscribe was an enemy to Italy and therefore outlawed. The coercion to subscribe extends to all classes of the population, from the working masses to the middle bourgeois classes. By the threat of dismissal, workers and clerks in all enterprises and offices are coerced into subscribing to the "national" loan. The law authorising the entission of the loan at the same time prescribed that all creditary institutes should invest half their disposable funds in the new loan, those that are hardest hit being the rural loan-banks of the peasants, of which there are several thousands. "With a view to raising the moral standard of business", a recent decree of Mussolini binds the exercise of any commercial pursuit to a licence, the granting of which, again, is made dependant on subscription to the "dictators' loan". This decree enacts that the very least that can be subscribed for the purpose of attaining a licence is 500 lire (this for street hawkers!), while the maximum — wholesale merchants — is 5000. The decree in question, moreover, contains the clause that

"the licence can be withdrawn at any moment, supposing the beneficiary to fail to give satisfactory guarantee in a moral or political (!) sense.

Mussolini's "diabolical" plan of making sham concessions to the petty-bourgeois Fascist elements, of exploiting their embitterment for the purpose of bludgeoning down the revolutionary proletariat and extirpating its leaders, and of thus repulsing the oppositional elements in his own camp under the slogan of "normalisation", has engendered only very temporary results and illusory success. The wave of terrorism momentarily repulsed the forces of the revolutionary proletariat led by the firm organisation of the Communist Party of Italy, without being able to shatter them in the least. Mussolini's systematic attack, meanwhile, on the means of subsistence of the rural and urban petty-bourgeois classes in the interest of the big capitalists, will only entail a strengthening of the opposition of these petty-bourgeois elements in the Fascist camp.

The crisis of Fascism, rooted in its own internal contradictions, has entered an acute stage in view of the aggravation of class differences. It may experience quite slight and transient mitigations, but the acute crisis remains a fact, which will be the main factor in the next political developments in Italy.

## CHINA

### Disintegration in the Chang Tso-Lin Bloc.

By Tang Shin She.

The disintegration of feudal militarism in China is progressing further and further every day. Even the powerful tool of the English and Japanese, the Chang Tso Lin clique, is not being spared. For a long time, various groupings have existed within the Chang Tso Lin clique. Last year a Fengtien (Mukden) group, a Shantung group and a Chili group were formed. The Fengtien group again has split into two chief sections, the old group of Comradeship and the group of young officers. To the first group belong the officers who "fraternize" with Chang Tso Lin and who, like him, were originally robbers, amongst them the Governors of Kirin and Hailungkiang. The "young officers" studied at the Military Academy. They again have separated into two sections. One of them, which is Japanophile, is led by Yang Yu Chin, the present Chief of the Staff of Chang Tso Lin; the other is more on the side of England and America, it was at one time led by General Kuo Sung Lin, who was defeated and executed, and its present leader is Chang Tso Lin's son Chang Chow Niang.

The contradictions between the various groups and tendencies are very strong and are becoming more and more acute. The defection of Kuo Sung Lin last year was an act of the group in favour of England and America against the Japanophile group. The tendency in favour of England predominates at present. It has somewhat deflected Chang Tso Lin's policy from Japan, it has even conjured up conflicts between Japan and Chang Tso Lin. In September of this year, it even went so far as open fighting in Kalgan, between the group of old Comradeship and the young officers, as a result of which the whole army corps had to be dissolved. Since, at the beginning of this year, the Shantung group absorbed the Chili group and seized the province of Chili, the antagonism between the Fengtien group and the Shantung group has come into prominence. Chang Tso Lin made every effort to keep the predominance on his side in order to carry through his policy in North China. Chang Tsung Chang however, the leader of the Shantung group, does not yield an inch. The whole conflict becomes clearer to us when we look more closely at the Tientsin Conference of the Chang Tso Lin clique and the advance of the Northern troops towards the South.

The Tientsin Conference lasted from November 11th, when Chang Tso Lin arrived at Tientsin, until December 1st, on which day he took over the supreme command of the Ngan-Kuo-Chun (the army for ensuring the safety of the country). The questions dealt with were, firstly, the military question, the advance of the Northern troops towards the South, and secondly the political question, the consolidation of Chang Tso Lin's power in Northern China. Connected with the first point was the liquidation of the power of Wu Pei Fu and Sun Chuan Fang. Chang Tso Lin made it a condition of his advance southwards, which Chang Tsung Chang's troops wanted to undertake, that Chang Tsung Chang should hand over the province of Chili to his son Chang Chow Niang; when this was done, he could enter Sun Chuan Fang's remaining territory, Nganhuai, Kiangsu and Chekiang along the line from Tientsin to Pukow. The Fengtien troops were then to advance along the Peking-Hankow line and occupy Wu Pei Fu's territory. They were then to meet in the fight against the Canton army in Hankow.

Although Chang Tsung Chang was to have the advantage over Chang Tso Lin — he was to have the three provinces of Sun Chuan Fang, while Chang Tso Lin was only to have the small district of Wu Pei Fu — he would not give up the province of Chili. So as not to be defeated, Chang Tso Lin joined Sun Chuan Fang, who had up to that time been in violent opposition to him, against his own partisan Chang

Tsung Chang. This explains why Sun Chuan Fang suddenly appeared unexpectedly at the Conference in Tientsin on November 18th. Chang Tso Lin however derived no benefit from it. On November 22nd he summoned to his aid Yang Yu Chin, his resourceful Chief of the Staff. Not even he however was able to find a final way out of the difficulty.

It was finally agreed that Chang Tsung Chang should only advance as far as Pukow on the northern bank of the Yangtse, his troops were not allowed to occupy Nanking, but Chang Tsung Chang himself might have an office there. In return for this "favour" from Chang Tsung Chang, for this "support against the Canton troops", Sun Chuan Fang undertook to pay Chang Tsung Chang 500 dollars a month. The only concession made by Chang Tsung Chang at the end of the Conference, was that Chang Tso Lin should be the Supreme Commander of the Ngan-Kuo-Chun.

Why does Chang Tso Lin insist upon having Chili and why will Chang Tsung Chang not yield up the province even in return for compensation? This question is linked up with the second point, the consolidation of Chang Tso Lin's power in Northern China. Chang Tso Lin ought really to have taken over the Peking Government immediately after the defeat of Wu Pei Fu in Hupe. He could not do this, firstly because Chang Tsung Chang with his troops is in occupation of both Peking and the province of Chili, further because the Governor of Chili is an adherent of Chang Tsung Chang and finally because Chang Tsung Chang himself is anxious to have the government in his own hands. If Chang Tso Lin could only get the post of Governor of Chili for his son he would immediately take over the Peking Government.

Even during the Tientsin Conference Chang Tsung Chang's troops were already in Pukow. Now, since the last reports, they have crossed the Yangtse and have entered Nanking. Will it be possible for Chang Tsung Chang calmly to occupy Nanking and even Shanghai?

Sun Chuan Fang's troops will systematically oppose Chang Tsung's entry. Furthermore there is a very strong feeling against Chang Tsung Chang among the population of Kiangsu, Nganhuai and Chekiang and finally Sun Chuan Fang can no longer, as he originally intended, retire to Chekiang because in the meantime the latter province has disowned him and gone over to Canton. Now, since the entry of Chang Tsung Chang into Nanking there is an immediate prospect of a conflict between his troops and, at least, the partisans of Sun Chuan Fang. Possibly even the troops on Sun Chuan Fang's side will act as the vanguard of the Canton army.

Chang Tso Lin has gained nothing from the great Conference of Tientsin at which he had aimed for so long except the title of Commander in Chief of the Ngan-Kuo-Chun. He is now planning to form a so-called Ngan-Kuo-Chun Government. Presumably he dares to do this, because, as Commander in Chief, he can concentrate more troops in Peking and Tientsin. Possibly he will, in this way, gain the predominance over Chang Tsung Chang.

## Social Democracy and the Chinese Revolution.

By M. N. Roy.

The uncheckable and victorious march of the Chinese Revolution is a staggering blow to world capitalism. The Chinese revolution is one of the factors that make the stabilisation of world economy on a capitalist basis impossible. Failing to check the development of the revolutionary movement by provoking civil war, imperialism today seeks to sabotage it. The new policy of imperialism is no longer to oppose stubbornly the national liberation movement. The experience of the last two years has shown that this cannot be done. What imperialism endeavours to do now is to see that the Chinese revolution does not outgrow bourgeois leadership.

It can now be reasonably stated that the success of the national liberation movement in China will not mark the beginning of a period of capitalist development. This perspective of the Chinese revolution is guaranteed by three factors: 1. The period of general capitalist decline in which it takes place; 2. close proximity and alliance with the U.S.S.R.; and 3. the dominating role played by the working class. It is obviously beyond the power of imperialism to eliminate the first two factors. All efforts are made to free the Chinese revolution from



the influence of the third factor. The more the Chinese revolution comes under the leadership of the working class the more clearly it becomes an integral part of the world proletarian revolution and the more pronounced becomes its anti-capitalist perspective. Under this condition the anxiety of world imperialism is to make the revolution as harmless as possible. This they propose to do by a clever manoeuvre. Instead of fighting the Chinese revolution as a whole, the new policy is to back up those forces of it which would lead the revolution along the line of capitalist development. The success of the Chinese revolution as a purely bourgeois democratic revolution would create a new base for world capitalism. If China could be ushered into a period of capitalist development (under the hegemony of imperialist finance), a powerful prop would be added to the tottering structure of world capitalist economy.

The future of the Chinese revolution will be determined by the class character of its leadership. The development of the Chinese revolution will largely determine the development of the world revolution. Under the pressure of mass awakening and mass action the national liberation movement during the last two years has developed as a powerful factor against world capitalism. Under the leadership of the proletariat, in alliance with the U.S.S.R., the Chinese Revolution will lead directly towards the struggle for Socialism. Led by the nationalist bourgeoisie, supported by "liberal" imperialism, it will become a factor of capitalist stabilisation.

Since the nationalist occupation of the Yangtze Valley and the debacle of Sun-Chuan-Fan, there has been a remarkable change in the imperialist attitude towards China. The press that but a few weeks ago howled against the Canton Government, and called for armed intervention, has become the organ of "peace and good will". Fire-eating spokesmen of imperialism have put on the garb of friends and well-wishers of the "New China". Even such a votary of the policy of the iron hand as Lord Birkenhead has come out as an advocate of reconciliation and "pacific pursuance of patient methods". The new British Minister to China made a number of conciliatory speeches on his arrival and proceeded to Hankow to see the Cantonese Foreign Minister. In the interview he protested the "good will" of his government. The revolutionary government of Canton is thus recognised de facto by the bitterest enemy of the Chinese National Liberation movement as the real government of the country.

These are all very significant facts, indicating which way the wind is blowing. In order to prevent the Chinese revolution developing along the lines of a struggle for Socialism, the imperialists are forced to recognise the necessity of allowing China that much political freedom as would lead to capitalist development of the country. The problematical success of this policy would not injure imperialism. On the contrary, it would strengthen the position of world capitalism.

Once more, on the Chinese question, we find international social democracy enthusiastically supporting the policy of capitalist stabilisation. On his return from the pleasure trip in the Sahara, MacDonald advocated the policy of helping the birth of "new (capitalist) China". The burden of an interview that he gave to the "Daily Herald" was "for industrial as well as political reasons we cannot afford to allow ourselves to be prejudiced to the Chinese as the black devil of the whole piece". A few days before Lord Birkenhead had expressed the same sentiment — "pacific pursuance of patient methods to safeguard the great trading and financial interests that we have in that region (China)". It is remarkable how MacDonald approaches the Chinese question (as any other question) exactly from the same angle as Lord Birkenhead. In view of the dangerous revolutionary situation imperialist policy in China should be such as would safeguard the trading and financial interests of capitalism. This view is shared equally by the leader of the Second International and of the die-hard wing of the British Tory Government!

In the same interview, MacDonald pleaded for the abolition of the system of unequal treaties and concessions on the ground that that system "has outlived their usefulness and their advantage to us". The true colour of social democracy could not be possibly shown more clearly. The policy of bullying, dividing, dismembering China was fully justified as long as it was "useful and advantageous for us", that is, British capitalism. It is remarkable how frankly MacDonald identifies himself and the entire British social democracy with British imperialism.

Now MacDonald pleads the case of helping "New China" also actuated by the same motive — to protect the interests of British capitalism. He even does not leave this motive of his to be deduced. He puts the case very clearly. "I am sure if this policy is followed the somewhat short-sighted business men who now deplore it will in very short time praise it for its admirable results".

The forces of proletarian revolution and world capitalism are marshalled for a grand battle in China. The Social Democracy steps in not to lead the forces of world revolution, but to advise the bourgeoisie how to overcome the difficulty and make counter-revolution victorious. On the Chinese question the Social Democracy proves itself once more to be the enemy of the proletariat and a willing instrument of capitalism.

## The Lies Regarding the Kuomintang.

Peking, 18th December 1926.

Charles James Fox, the editor of the American newspaper published in Tientsin, the "North China Star" has published a leading article in his capacity as defending lawyer for the Kuomintang members arrested in Tientsin, signed with his own name in which he declares that the explanations of Locker Sampson in the British House of Commons in answer to the questions concerning the extradition of the arrested Kuomintang members, were not in accordance with the truth. Fox writes that the Kuomintang is absolutely no traitorous anarchistic secret society, as Locker Sampson declared in the House of Commons. He says: If the police did not know that a committee of the Kuomintang was in the party office when they raided it, then they knew at least on the 25th November, for I personally informed them and the British Consul about it. The British authorities therefore knew before the delivery of the prisoners to the Mukden Authorities, who it was they were handing over.

On the morning of the 25th November the British police and the British Consul were informed that the arrested had declared themselves not guilty of any political crime. The arrested had therefore already declared that they were political refugees. The search warrant and the arrest warrant were actually made out after the event as only the Chinese legal authorities have the right to issue such documents and not the police, as Sampson declared. Further, the arrested were not delivered to the Mukdeners on the 6th November, but on the 25th November.

If the delivery of the arrested to the Mukdeners took place on the ground of usance, why was the British ambassador in Peking first of all asked?

With regard to the contention that the confiscated literature contained attacks on Mukden and upon the local officials, Fox points out that the "Peking and Tientsin Times" has carried on an extremely energetic campaign for years against the Chinese officials, without being prosecuted in any way.

## The Life of the Workers in Shanghai.

By G. L. (Shanghai).

In Shanghai, the greatest centre of Chinese industry, where the workers comprise a third of the population of the town which amounts to half a million, the workers eke out a most miserable existence.

The conditions of labour in the factories are as follows: There is absolutely no protection for women and children, as a rule women and children work on night shifts just the same as men. The treatment of the workers is revolting, they are not infrequently beaten, the sanitary conditions are beyond criticism. The following circumstance throws a glaring light on these conditions: there is no drinking water in the factories and, on their way to work, the workers draw water out of the river; consequently, in summer, cholera rages amongst the workers. At the same time, in a Japanese factory, there is a receptacle for water containing fresh drinking water, which is exclusively for the use of the Japanese employees. This water-container is surrounded by a wire through which passes a high-tension electric current; one of the Chinese workers who did not know of this barrier, paid for it with his life.

What then are the earnings of the workers who are compelled to dunder in this prison-house atmosphere? In numerous factories in Shanghai, the daily earnings of a worker amount to

22 or 30 cents, whilst the minimum cost of living for one person is 40 cents a day (according to the calculations of Sokolski in the "Chinese Year Book"). It is only in a few cotton mills and other factories that the wages of the workers amount on the average to 50 to 55 cents a day. It is obvious that at the best, the wages of a worker are hardly enough to satisfy his own personal needs, and in very many cases, the worker is condemned to semi-starvation. What then are those workers to do who are married and have a large family, as is the case with the majority of workers in Shanghai? It is therefore not surprising that the wives of the workers and their children, not infrequently from five years upwards, are obliged to seek work in the factories.

As regards the hours of work, the majority of the workers works for at least 12 hours a day. There are cases however where the hours are longer. It is only in a few factories that the hours of work are less than twelve; in the cotton mills of the Japanese Company Nagai Wata Kaisha (this company owns twelve large cotton mills in Shanghai and employs 19,290 persons) the 63 hours' week and 26 working days a month are in force. Only a few of the factories in Shanghai are closed on Sundays. In the other factories the workers only have one free day a fortnight. There are occupations in which the workers only have one free day a year, the Feast of the Chinese New Year.

And how about the housing conditions of the workers? A short time ago, a partial investigation of the housing conditions of the workers was undertaken in various suburbs of Shanghai, in Chapei, Yangtsepu, Putun etc. The result of this investigation was that the workers' dwellings can be divided into the following categories:

1. Buildings of the highest type. These are two-storey houses which are built very close to one another and are badly lighted. The streets they are in are badly lighted and look like narrow corridors. These houses are built of brick, the roofs are tiled and the floors are of cement or brick. There is a small kitchen in the house; water-closets are as a rule non-existent. The whole area covered, including the staircase, is about 400—600 sq. feet. The rent for a house of this type is about nine dollars a month, which compels the workers to live as close together as possible, so that two or four families are crowded together in a single room.

2. The houses of the second type are built still more carelessly. In these houses even the staircase is missing. The sanitary conditions are extremely bad. The rent varies between 2 and 4 dollars a month. The houses of this category are as a rule terribly overcrowded.

3. The common lodgings and night shelters are usually inhabited by single persons. Each worker pays 30—80 cents a month for his bed. These houses are often at the same time dens in which card-playing, opium-smoking etc. are indulged in, in them live not only factory workers but also rickshaw-drivers and porters in large numbers.

4. A few factories, chiefly the Japanese ones, build houses and workers' dwellings for their workers. The workers living in these houses drift into a still greater dependence on their employers, and on this basis disputes constantly occur between the employers and the workers.

5. The dwellings of the last category are nothing more nor less than mud huts which lie round Shanghai in the form of small settlements. There are about 50,000 huts of this kind, inhabited by 200,000 to 300,000 persons.

It is therefore no wonder, in view of all these circumstances, that the Shanghai workers are led to carry on an embittered fight.

## VII. MEETING OF THE ENLARGED E. C. C. I.

### The Results of the Meeting of the Enlarged E. C. C. I.

Leading Article in the "Pravda" of December 17th, 1926.

The seventh Conference of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International has concluded its work which lasted for nearly a month.

The long duration of the work of this Conference is explained by the fact that it met in a situation which raised a number of new questions concerning the fight of the international proletariat and the building up of the Communist International.

It was necessary to establish a Leninist diagnosis of the present international situation with all its characteristic features, it was necessary to put the question of stabilisation into a scientifically differentiated form and in doing so to avoid general empty phrases. It was necessary to weigh all the prospects of capitalism, and on the other hand the prospects of the proletariat in a sober, Leninist way, in order to guide the Communist parties aright in the coming revolutionary struggles.

The ways of the Chinese revolution, the results and prospects of the struggle of the British working class, the organisation of the proletariat on the European Continent and its counter-attack in answer to the attack of capital, the questions of the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union — all this had to be grasped by the collective understanding of the Communist International. Had not all these burning questions been weighed and thought out, it would have been impossible to give the individual sections lively instructions for their revolutionary activities. Only by proceeding from the peculiarities of the present epoch, only by making collective application of the results of the experience of the masses, can the right guiding lines be given to the sections, can the fight against social democracy be placed on a reliable basis, can the work of winning over the masses be widely developed and the fight against Opportunist deviations within the Communist International itself — whether ultra-Left or Right — be successfully carried on.

The meeting of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. has accomplished really great work in all these fields, the benefit of which will become apparent in the near future.

It is not for nothing that the Communist International has devoted so much attention to the "Russian" question. The keen discussion of the whole conference with the Opposition in the C. P. S. U. will be of enormous importance for the whole international proletariat, for the brother Parties and for ourselves. It would be a great mistake to underestimate the political importance of the debates on the Russian question. The most fundamental and vital questions of our Party have been brought to a level which is in accordance with our principles. The fight was one about the foundations of Leninism. It was a struggle which was decisive for the fate of our revolution. It was not in vain that the Communist International carried on this struggle. Heavy as were the costs of the discussion (it distracted the conference from practical work), the fundamental fight against loud-mouthed opportunism had to be carried on to the end, the opportunism had to be exposed, it had to be unmasked before the eyes of the international proletariat. It is only in the fight against opportunist deviations, only in unyielding defence of the fundamental lines of revolution that power will be forged, that the experience and will of the revolutionary parties and of their leading staffs will be steeled.

The opinion of the Communist International on the "Russian" question, its resolution with regard to it, is of tremendous value to us, to our Party, to the revolutionary workers of the Soviet Union. The question as to how the Communist Parties of other countries regard our construction, as to what they think of our prospects, whether they are of the opinion that we are on the offensive and shall continue to advance victoriously, or that we have come to a standstill and that our internal prospects are hopeless, the question as to the attitude the Communist Parties of other countries take towards those who are trying to hinder our work of construction — all these are questions of decisive importance for our Party.

As early as in 1921, when we made an abrupt change, when we changed over to the new economic policy, the circumstance that this change met with the approval of the Comintern and was recognised by it as the only right policy, was of great significance for our Party. And now, when we are passing from the epoch of reconstruction to the epoch of new construction, when particular difficulties are arising through this transition, when individuals are beginning to shrink back (since in any case the Kulak, the Nep man and international capital would swallow us up), the complete approval of the line we have taken, the courageous battle-cry of the international revolutionaries, which is calling us on to further victories, will do its work.

The meeting of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. will afford our enemies no satisfaction. It has armed the fighting sections of the proletariat with new knowledge, new experience and new



guiding lines. The assault of the opposition has not only not brought disorder into our ranks, but has on the contrary united them more closely. Full of revolutionary intrepidity, under the glorious banners of Lenin, the Communist Parties are advancing along the broad path of the international class struggle.

## Election of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I.

Moscow, December 20th, 1926.

In the session of the Executive Committee of the Comintern of December 18th there took place the election of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. The following comrades were elected as members: Bukharin, Gallacher, Haken, Duncan, Katayama, Crenet, Kolarov, Kuusinen, Lozovsky, Manuilsky, Murphy, Pruchniak, Remmele, Roy, Ruthenberg, Semard, Semaon, Sillen, Stalin, Tan Ping Shan, Thälmann, Clara Zetkin, Schatzkin, Smeral and Ercoli. The following comrades were elected as candidates of the E. C. C. I.: Bogucki, Geschke, Codovilla, Kun, Maggi, Molotov, Piatnitzky, Treint, Schüller and Humbert-Droz.

At the session of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. of December 20th there took place the election of the Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. The following comrades were elected as members: Bukharin, Crenet, Kuusinen, Manuilsky, Piatnitzky, Remmele, Roy, Smeral and Ercoli. The following members were elected as candidates of the secretariat: Lozovsky, Molotov, Murphy and Humbert-Droz.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Stay the Arm of the Executioner in Lithuania!

Moscow, December 27th, 1926.

The undersigned have issued the following appeal:

In Lithuania the first official act of the new fascist government has been the execution of Communists in order, according to the Bulgarian example, to physically destroy the advance guard of the proletariat and the peasantry. Polish fascism and the British government stand behind the scene of the fascist government in Lithuania. Similar events are to be expected also in other countries.

We appeal to all Communist Parties, to all class conscious workers and to all opponents of Fascism to sound the alarm and to mobilise the proletariat and the broad working masses against the criminal government of Lithuania and its employers in the imperialist countries. There must be swift action. Lithuanian workers have already fallen at the hands of the executioners. The statements of the Lithuanian government concerning an alleged preparation for a Bolshevik insurrection, are lies.

Signed: Clara Zetkin, Kuusinen, Kolarov, Pruchniak, Remmele, Ercoli, Smeral, Doriot, Katayama, Murphy, Roy.

## A Monster Trial against Ukrainian Peasants in Poland.

There is at present going on in Poland — in Vladimir Volynsk — a monster trial of 151 Ukrainians who are accused of having prepared an armed revolt.

The trial began in the middle of November; it is not yet possible to foresee when the proceedings will come to an end. The object of the accusation is the revolts in Volhynia which were hatched by provocative agents in order to facilitate the oppression of the Ukrainian peasantry by the Polish Government and to give the Government an excuse for wholesale arrests and for gigantic trials of Ukrainian peasants.

Some of the accused have been in prison on remand for a year and a half, cruelly tortured by police agents and informers in the presence of the examining judges and public pro-

secutors. Many of the accused are ill as a result of these tortures and of the unbearable life in the prisons. One of them, Victor Kres, is tubercular, he can only be kept "fit for trial" by being given injections. He has to be carried into the Court on a stretcher.

The reading of the accusation alone took four days, 500 witnesses have been called.

As there is no Court large enough to accommodate the enormous number of the accused and the mass of soldiers and policemen who always surround them, the proceedings have to be held in a school.

In the course of the proceedings it becomes clearer and clearer that the whole accusation is built upon provocation. The accused can prove that a police agent — Vladimir Tkatschuk — went through the villages dressed as a beggar, inciting the people to armed revolt.

All the accused declare that confessions have been extorted from them by torture.

Their reports are so exact, so exact in very detail, that no one can doubt the truth of their statements.

When we hear the reports of the accused, when for instance Ossinski states that Zarembo, the police agent, beat him, that the thereupon informed the public prosecutor who however — took no evidence, whereupon Zarembo the agent said "I will treat you exactly as the woman Bessarabowa was treated" (who was murdered by the political police in Lemberg); when the accused Dolinski describes how he was beaten by Tkatschuk the police informer; how he was repeatedly beaten on his bare heels until blood flowed, so that he can still show the wounds; when the accused Biernatzki shows the traces of the tortures on his hands caused by their having placed balls between his hands and then squeezed his hands together by plates which could be screwed towards one another; when the accused Hojrach reports how they squashed his fingers in a door-jamb; when the accused Polamartschuk states that savage dogs were set on to him — then we understand that the accused in question finally signed anything that was laid before them.

The trial is being carried on in a very one-sided manner. The intention is to prevent the accused from telling the truth about their ill-treatment. When the accused Iwantschuk called out: "What is the Court for if I may not even tell it about my ill-treatment? Why is the medical report which was sent in not among the Court papers?", he is turned out of the hall by the Court; it was only the declaration of solidarity of the rest of the accused which brought Iwantschuk back into the hall.

In the giving of evidence it is also seen that all the witnesses who were not called by the police are compelled by blows to give certain evidence, and indeed that the Ukrainian peasants who often can neither read nor write frequently sign things which they do not in the least understand.

The terror in the Court completes the picture of this "impartial" trial. Four witnesses who revoked the evidence which had been extorted from them at the preliminary examination were arrested.

The small Volhynian town in which the trial is taking place looks like a military camp. Large numbers of military and police have assembled there for the time of the trial. All the hotels and public institutions look like barracks and are crowded with police and soldiers.

The trial is of great political significance for Poland.

It throws a flash-light on the methods which the Polish Government applies in suppressing the national minorities. The delegates of the British Labour Party who returned from Poland a few days ago, attended the proceedings of this trial for one day, and summarized their impression of the trial by saying that it is a question of a well-laid scheme of informers, as the accused are compelled to make "confessions" by inhuman tortures; they also state that the whole composition of the Court makes it seem probable that the accused will receive heavy sentences.

It is therefore the duty of the international workers to show an interest in this monstrous trial, which concerns the life and death of 151 Ukrainian peasants, and to prevent the Polish Fascist Government achieving its aim and sentencing these peasants to death or to lifelong imprisonment!