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The Shame of Peking.

By University Professor Dr. Alfons Goldschmidt (Berlin).

When on the 7th April the first reports arrived that the Russian Embassy had been stormed by the bandits of Chang Tso-lin with the express permission of the Diplomatic Corps, it was inconceivable. Who believed this news? All written and unwritten international law guarantees the inviolability of the official buildings of all countries. The peoples of Antiquity, in the Middle Ages and even in the so-called New Age regarded this inviolability as something unalterable and any attempt to interfere with it as one of the worst crimes. Is it possible that such a crime could be committed against the Soviet Embassy in Peking and is it at all conceivable that international diplomacy should have given their permission to the committal of this crime? For centuries, even down to the present day, the school books have recorded the attack made upon the inviolability of the imperial Councillors Martinitz and Slavata on the 23rd May 1618 in Prague and have declared that attack to have been the justifiable commencement of the Thirty Years War. And to-day, when we are proud of having secured all the "ideals of Humanity" and the rights of the peoples, through the League of Nations, it is just the official representatives of all these rights who ignore the simplest and most natural rights as though a Diplomatic Embassy were No Man's Land during the war.

The unbelievable became a fact. The news was confirmed from all sides. The most threadbare excuses were used to justify the crime. First of all, they said, it was not the Embassy building itself, secondly there were criminals in this building who were conspiring against the life of the leading political personalities in Peking and thirdly, this building contained documents which clearly and conclusively proved the guilt and the machinations of the Soviet diplomacy against the Peking powers.

Just imagine the affair even if all these accusations had been true to the last syllable, but that the Embassy had been not the Russian, but the British or even the Italian, and it had been the "machinations" of these ambassadors. Suppose the bandits of Chang Tso-lin had broken into the Italian Embassy etc. etc. But that is unthinkable. First of all the diplomats would never have given their consent, and had such a raid nevertheless taken place, what would have happened then? The world would have experienced a terrible storm of unprecedented proportions. The whole world would have rung with the clank of weapons. But it was only the Soviet Embassy, and so in a few days the excitement had subsided.

In the meantime three weeks have passed. It turns out that there is no proof, not the least vestige of proof against the alleged criminals, so that 70 of them, that is more than half

of the arrested had to be released. This is made more than significant by the fact that the Chinese militarists are not too particular about what happens to any unfortunates that fall into their hands. But there was no proof against those who were retained in arrest. A few days ago it is true, the press of the infamous Zinoviev letter forgers reported that important documents had been found. The truth of the matter can be seen from a telegram from the "Berliner Tageblatt" of the 29th April:

"The attitude of the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps deserves most severe condemnation, for the publication of the material confiscated as a result of the raid on the Soviet Embassy up to the moment, shows a very sparse result. Further, the genuineness of the most compromising documents is extremely doubtful. For instance, the reports to the Russian Military Attaché in Peking are written in a most uncertain manner and only partly in accordance with the modern and official Russian orthography. Another very remarkable fact is that those documents which are really compromising were only published three weeks after the raid, whilst the documents which were first published were simply ridiculous and insignificant."

Clumsy forgeries, no documents and no criminals! But what do the diplomats who permitted the raid on the Soviet Embassy, care about that? What does Chang Tso-lin, the murderous bandit whose name will persist in world history together with the names of Cesare Borgia and Cortes, care about these things? He ordered a trial to take place, but whilst the accusations against the arrested were still being examined, he ordered the coffins to be placed ready, a piece of cruelty and cynicism to which it would be difficult to find an equal. The diplomats in Peking and their superiors in London, Paris, Washington, Rome, etc. were well aware of the tragedy unrolling itself before the court. They were well aware that death awaited the accused. A word from them would have been enough to save the victims from the hands of the hangmen, but the word was not spoken, they were responsible for the raid and they must bear the full responsibility for the consequences of the raid.

Human life can be destroyed in many ways. The Mississippi has broken its banks and swallowed up everything in its way. That is a natural catastrophe, like an earth quake, a lightning or a tornado. The bloody history of the world is full of most frightful cruelties, burnings at the stake, burying alive, scalping, castration, rape, and a hundred other cruelties, have been thought out by the bestia sapiens and practised in cold blood or with fanatical sadism. Thousands of cruelties which are being practised in this very moment, never penetrate outside through the prison walls, cries of pain and shrieks for mercy are only heard in the cells of the tortures. But the most horrible murders, more horrible than the skinning alive practised on Marsya, more horrible than the millions of crimes committed in anger, which stain humanity, more horrible than the raging crimes of Pizarro in Peru or of Cortes in Mexico, more horrible than all the fanatical thumb screws and wheels of the Middle Ages is the coldblooded murder permitted by people in safety, the planned murder, the murder which the representatives of the so-called cultured countries did not prevent although one word, one single objection would have been sufficient to have made it impossible. The destruction of 20 human lives in Peking, the strangling of 20 living breathing, thinking and sentient bodies, that was a horrible crime committed from a writing desk, the famous diplomatic writing desk. That was the most horrible crime of recent years.

Things have gone so far in Peking that Chinese begging for protection are not merely refused it, but Europeans are even prohibited from offering Chinese or their property asylum in European houses. The correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt" reports that the German Embassy has also warned all its nationals against fulfilling this elementary human duty. Is it true that human beings begging for their lives are officially driven to certain death?

I have feverishly recalled all I have read and heard of such cruelty. I know no worse example of cold-blooded brutality than the use of this middle-man, for Chang Tso-lin is nothing but a middle-man, an instrument of the Peking diplomats. His power would collapse to-morrow if the Powers would declare an effective neutrality. We will not approach the governments whose lackeys have carried out this horrible crime. We will not approach the League of Nations which is only the instrument of these governments. But we know that there are

millions and millions of human beings in the world who feel just as we do, who are filled with horror and anger at this crime. These millions must cry the shame of Peking throughout the world, they must knock at the doors of their diplomatic representatives until they are heard. This must be done today, for perhaps to-morrow the crime will be repeated, perhaps to-morrow the strangler will again be at work. Perhaps lies and false reports are already preparing the way for new murder. Do not permit the diplomats and hangmen to commit new crimes!

CHINA

Appeal of the Communist International against the Monstrous Atrocities in Peking.

Moscow, 1st May 1927.

The Communist International has published the following appeal against the murders of the imperialist agent Chang Tso-lin:

"Carrying out the will of the imperialists Chang Tso-lin has executed 25 communists who were captured during the raid upon the Soviet Embassy in Peking including the founder of the Chinese Communist Party Comrade Li Tai-chao, condemning them to a terrible death. 25 of the best members of our heroic Chinese Communist Party have been done to death in a most horrible manner by slow strangulation."

The appeal condemns the barbarous nature of the executions and the farcical trial which lasted two hours and which the appeal compares with the courts in Tsarist Russia.

"The murderers entered the legation quarter with the permission of the Diplomatic Corps and this permission extended to the arrest and brutal execution of the Chinese communists. The responsibility for the murders rests upon the international bourgeois-capitalist governments of all imperialist countries."

The appeal recalls the numerous cases in which the right of asylum was granted to monarchists and reactionaries of the Manchu Dynasty in 1911, the Anfuists in 1920 etc. in the Legation quarter. The right of asylum extended to every one, only not to communists and revolutionaries. The villainy of the imperialists in Peking is not the first instance. The appeal recalls the arrest of the leaders of the Kuomintang in Tientsin and their handing over to Chang Tso-lin by the British.

"The handing over of these prisoners to Chang Tso-lin exposed the policy of these British robbers, the open participation of the conservative government in the Chinese civil war on the side of the reactionary Chang Tso-lin. The British government boasts of its right of asylum to political refugees, but at the same time it systematically hands over Chinese revolutionaries to Chang Tso-lin and thus to certain death."

After the blood bath in Nanking, after the bombardment of Wanshien, after the raid on the Embassy of the Soviet Union, the only true friend of the Chinese revolution, the imperialists decided to attack the working class of China which is becoming more and more the leader of the movement for national freedom.

The appeal points out that the treachery and mass terror of Chiang Kai-shek and the executions in Peking were both blows delivered by international imperialism.

"British workers, protest against the inhuman strangulation of the best representatives of the proletarian advance guard in China!

Workers and peasants of the world organise international campaigns of solidarity and protest against the new acts of violence of the imperialist hangmen who wish to annihilate the Chinese workers and to provoke a new war. Call everywhere for demonstrations against those responsible for the shameful murders. Create an atmosphere of hostility against them, prevent the preparations for war!

Make the rope which murdered the 25, a noose for Chang Tso-lin and the international band of robbers who permitted the Peking horror. Chang Tso-lin who presented the international imperialists with the heads of the executed communists, triumphs to-day. But it is impossible to drown the immortal Chinese revolution in blood!

Raise the red flag of proletarian victory, heroic toilers of China, workers, peasants, communists, left-wing members of the Kuomintang! Your young parties are being heavily

tested. But you do not stand alone! On the 1st May, the day of international solidarity, the workers of all countries are demonstrating their deep fraternal sympathy for the Chinese revolution which is victoriously advancing with great efforts and great sacrifices. Chinese friends, the workers in all countries are with you!

Honour the fallen fighters! Long live the world fraternisation of all toilers! Long live the Communist Party of China! Long live the Kuomintang and the world revolution!"

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Declaration of the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. on the Peking Forgeries.

Moscow, 29th April 1927.

The Secretariat of the Executive Committee of the Communist International has published the following declaration:

The Chinese press appearing in the territory occupied by Chang Tso-Lin is publishing a series of forged documents alleged to have been found during the recent raid upon the premises of the Soviet Embassy in Peking by the police. The "material" is now being published by the whole bourgeois press as "revelations" concerning the work of the Comintern. These documents are being quoted in the British House of Commons with a view to inflaming bourgeois public opinion against the Soviet Union. The great fuss which is being made in imperialist circles about these fantastic documents is alone sufficient to prove clearly the intentions of the Chinese police when they raided the Soviet Embassy in the interests of foreign capital. The aim of the raid was to conceal the system of forgery adopted by the British conservatives in their anti-Chinese campaign and to give the "documents" which are a pack of lies from beginning to end, the stamp of authenticity.

According to these documents, which Chang Tso-Lin declares to be "Secret Instructions from Moscow", the Comintern has recommended that "the Chinese masses be stirred up against the foreigners in China with a view to provoking a foreign intervention in China". The Comintern is thus accused of nothing less than supporting the plans of the imperialists in China!

Further, these "Instructions" recommend that in order to achieve this aim, i. e., the provocation of an imperialist intervention, plundering and the murder of foreigners be carried out, irrespective of the class to which the latter belonged.

All this utter nonsense, bearing so obviously the stamp of political ignorance and obviously fabricated by experts in the service of the foreign espionage organisations, is so ridiculous that a refutation is hardly necessary. It can only be used by hopelessly naive persons or by deliberate swindlers who seek to justify the imperialist robbery of their governments in China by such dirty methods. The Comintern can only pillory these disgusting and wretched methods carried out so farcically by the deadliest enemies of the Chinese revolution, in the eyes of the working masses of the whole world. The workers of the world will correctly estimate this action of Chang Tso-Lin which was inspired by the foreign capitalists in order to throttle the great movement of the Chinese working and peasant masses. The contemptible purpose of the imperialists can only be served by such clumsy forgeries and such mean deception.

POLITICS

The Crisis in Japan.

By Sen Katayama.

1. The Financial Crisis.

The present crisis in Japan is due to causes immediate and in the past. The causes in the past are an imperfect and artificial adjustment of the financial difficulties which arose from the great crisis of March and April, 1920, and the financial adjustment that was undertaken by the Government on account of the great loss of active capital, amounting to five milliards, caused by the great earthquake in September 1923. The immediate causes are to be found in the patch-work legislation of the last session of parliament, i. e. the reform of the banking laws and the two laws regarding the debts which arose as a result of the earthquakes.

The Japanese banking system only tends to serve the profits of the capitalists and does not protect the depositors and the general public. The banking law which has just been passed is intended to wipe out the small banks in the interest of the financial magnates; it compels the small banks to be absorbed by the big ones and prohibits the founding of banks with a capital of less than one million yen.

The immediate cause of the banking crisis lies in the laws regarding the debts arising as a result of the earthquakes. The earthquake in September placed many banks situated in the earthquake area in difficulties, so that they were unable to meet their obligations. The Government therefore instructed the Bank of Japan to discount promissory notes issued by banks situated in the districts visited by the earthquake, and undertook to indemnify the Bank of Japan for losses thus involved up to the amount of one hundred million yen.

The Bank of Japan discounted as much as 438 million yen, of which individual banks redeemed 231 million, so that the problem now was how to cover the remaining 207 million yen. The government brought in the two above-mentioned bills in January; but they were not discussed until nearly the end of the session, as the Finance Minister did not report the banks that were unable to meet their earthquake draft obligations.

Rumours then commenced to go round that the Bank of Formosa had more than 100 million of such drafts, the Corean Bank 20 million and the Suzuki Concern 80 million. The Finance Minister reported, that the Watanabe Bank was in difficulties owing to the earthquake drafts, whereupon the customers began to withdraw their deposits and the bank was compelled to close. The failure of the Watanabe Bank caused a run on many other banks in the country, including the Murai, Kawasaki and the Jugo-Ginko, which in turn were also compelled to close. So far there have been twenty five or thirty bank failures (involving big and small banks), which naturally has had a disastrous effect on industry.

The acts which have just been passed are intended to rescue the big banks from their difficulties. For this purpose the acts provide for the issue of 5 per cent. bonds to the amount of 201 million yen redeemable in ten years. In this way the government takes upon itself responsibility for 100 million yen in addition to the 100 million yen it rendered itself liable for in 1923.

This measure of the government was opposed by the Opposition party Seijukai. But the bills were carried through by a bloc formed between the Kenseikai and the Seiyuhonto amidst sharp criticism from all sides. After the passing of this robber-like measure the bank failures increased and the Wakatsuki ministry was forced to resign.

II. The Political Crisis.

At the first glance it would seem that the present ministerial crisis was brought about by the financial breakdown. The change of government, or rather the change in the government from the Kenseikai party to a bloc government with General Tanaka at the head in place of Wakatsuki and with new ministers selected from three political parties, means a change in Japan's policy in China, from a pacifist to an aggressive military policy.

Political corruption inside and outside of parliament reached its highest point in the last few years. None of the existing bourgeois parties has either political morals or political principles. They are retaining their seats in Parliament simply because they are afraid of the general elections under the new manhood suffrage law, which brings in nine million fresh voters, mainly workers and poor peasants, in addition to the old three million voters consisting mainly of bourgeois elements.

There is no doubt that the big bourgeoisie will support an aggressive policy in China and even a war with China, because war will prove profitable to them. But the middle or small capitalists and industrialists and also the people at large will oppose war, especially war against Soviet Russia. But the militarists have become aggressive since the bombardment of Nanking, and the military clique have been attacking the pacifist policy of the Wakatsuki government although this government has recently become aggressive against China.

Japanese militarists are better informed than any of the European powers regarding China and the Chinese revolution,

and they are therefore secretly afraid of the real awakening of the Chinese people. Japan is therefore trying to disrupt the revolutionary forces by bribing the **Right wing** of the **Kuomintang**, who had a representative in Japan in the person of **Tai Chie Tauand** who stayed long enough to influence the Japanese government and the bourgeoisie. **Chiang-Kai-Shek** has obtained Japanese support, but he has thereby come into conflict with the **Left wing** of the Kuomintang and the **Communist Party of China**, and thus with the proletariat of the whole world.

It is said that Japan has sent an official representative to China and is conducting negotiations with the **Right wing Kuomintang** for collaboration regarding the Conference of the countries of the **Pacific** which is to be held in the next few months either in **Shanghai** or **Nagasaki**. Thus Japan is endeavouring to fight against the **Chinese Revolution** and against **Soviet influence** in China, as is shown by the recent declaration of Premier **Tanaka**. The coming session of Parliament will reveal the real motives of the Japanese militarists.

But all these efforts will fail in face of the mighty revolutionary power that is developing in China. Japan will soon be forced to submit to the terms of the Chinese revolutionary power and the **Wuhan** government. Japan is dependent on China for her raw materials and as a market for the disposal of her goods. Moreover, Japan already has enormous amounts of capital invested in China, so that she must either submit to the Chinese revolution or lose everything in the end. Encouraged by the success of the Chinese peasants and workers, the Japanese workers will rise up and support the Chinese revolution and fight against Japanese imperialism.

The Result of the Austrian Elections.

By Willi Schlamm (Vienna).

On the 24th of April there took place the elections to the Austrian parliament, to the Vienna Municipal Council and to a number of provincial diets. These elections have not resulted in any essential change in the relations of power between the **bourgeois parties** and the **social democracy**. In Parliament, where formerly the bourgeois parties had 97 seats and the social democratic party 68 seats, the bourgeois parties now have 94 seats and the social democrats 71. Thus the social democracy is able to record an increase of three seats.

There has been no change in the **Vienna municipal council**; as formerly, the social democrats have 78 seats as against 42 held by the bourgeois parties. In the **Lower Austrian Diet** the social democracy sustained a slight loss, while in the **Styrian Diet** it has become the strongest party.

If, however, the recent elections have not brought any great change in the relation of forces in Parliament, they nevertheless have a serious importance for the Austrian proletariat and for the international labour movement in two respects. The elections in Austria undoubtedly represent a victory for the **Social Democratic Party** and a defeat for the **Communist Party**. Of the 3,200,000 votes cast, more than 1,500,000 were given to the Social Democratic Party as against 1,300,000 polled by that party in 1923. The social democracy therefore has to record a gain of more than 200,000 votes. Although this gain is to be mainly attributed to the record increase in the number of voters participating in the elections, it must be clearly perceived that the Social Democratic Party had behind it in this election the overwhelming majority of all the Austrian workers, and in addition was able to poll hundred of thousands of petty bourgeois votes. This fact is exceedingly important and demands serious examination.

On the other hand the Communist Party received 18,000 votes, representing a loss of 4000 votes compared with the elections in 1923.

A comparison of election results, however, does not by any means give a correct indication of the real mood of the Austrian working class. The election campaign of our Party was excellent; tens of thousand of social democratic workers attended the Communist election meetings and expressed their whole-hearted approval of the Communist slogans and of the Communist criticism of the social democratic Party. It is therefore necessary to explain the contradiction between the fact that in the election campaign our Party met with the sympathy of thousands of

social democratic workers, who up to then had no contact with the C.P. of Austria, and the fact that in spite of this the election results represent an apparent defeat of the Communist Party of Austria.

The Austrian Social Democracy has for many years placed in the centre of its agitation the slogan that it is possible for the Austrian proletariat to capture power by **democratic means**, by obtaining a **parliamentary majority**. When it was perceived beforehand that the elections would not bring such a majority, the social democratic leaders, immediately before the elections, suddenly dropped the slogan of gaining a majority. But this majority-illusion had struck deep roots in the mass of the Austrian working class. What is most dangerous for the leftward development of the Austrian working class is the fact that the increased vote of the social democratic party from 40 to 43% of the total votes cast may cause broad sections of the workers to retain their illusions as to gaining a parliamentary majority.

Two other very important factors contributed to the election victory of the social democracy. The first of these is the **Austrian election law**. Under this law it can happen, in the most extreme case, that a party may poll even 400,000 votes and then not return any representative to Parliament. The election law aims solely at maintaining and developing the two-Party system. This fact confronted all those workers who otherwise would have been won over by the election agitation of our Party. It must be further added that in the elections there was, if not a complete, at least a very far-reaching **united front of the bourgeoisie**. The two bourgeois governing parties, the **Christian Socialists** and the **German Nationalists**, had combined in a "**United List**". Every worker who still retained the least vestige of parliamentary illusion therefore found himself in the position, in spite of all his dissatisfaction with the social democratic policy and in spite of all his agreement with the Communist slogans, of having to vote for the social democratic party, as it was clear to him that, under the conditions obtaining, the votes cast for the Communists would not result in the return of a candidate. It is impossible to overestimate this circumstance if one wishes to understand correctly the result of the elections.

The second factor is that the broad masses of the working class, precisely because Austria represents a perfect example of capitalist collapse, see in the Social Democratic Party the sole guarantee for the preservation of the miserable remnants of its economic existence. That which, in countries where capitalism is not in such an anaemic state as it is in Austria, is naturally regarded as ordinary administrative activity of the bourgeois State apparatus, appears to the Austrian workers as **socialist activity**, because, as a matter of fact, nowhere else in Austria has capitalist reconstruction been carried out in such an imposing manner as in the Vienna municipality under social democratic administration. The same Left wing worker who joyfully welcomed the election campaign of the Communist Party, who agreed with the Communists in all their main points of criticism of the Social Democratic Party, is nevertheless still swayed by the idea that in order to secure his miserable existence he must rely, not on the power of the small Communist Party, but only on the power of the great Social Democratic Party. In Austria, where the Social Democratic Party has a colossal organisation apparatus at its disposal, where it controls the relatively strongest trade unions in the world and the administration of that town in which nearly a third of the total population of Austria is concentrated, this illusion of the social democratic worker is still stronger than in any other capitalist country. When, for instance, the C. P. of Austria pointed out in the election campaign that the social democrats had abandoned one position after the other in regard to the **tenants' protection law**, the Left Wing social democratic worker fully admitted this. On the election day, however, he could see only the necessity of strengthening the parliamentary position of the social democrats in order to preserve at least the remnants of this tenants protection law. And this was the case in all other questions. When in addition we take into account the injurious fraction struggles which have shaken our Party since the year 1923 right up to the time of the elections, we have a sufficient explanation for the election results.

The elections have not brought with them any fundamental changes. The social democratic party leaders will continue their policy of tacit coalition with the Austrian bourgeoisie;

and it is quite possible that it will come to an **open coalition**. It is impossible to speak of a "swing to the Left". The S. D. P. of Austria is not a **class opponent** of the bourgeoisie; this party, whose spheres of influence extend from the Ministerial Council to the unemployed, is a broad "**People's Party**" which unreservedly supports the policy of capitalist restoration in Austria.

If in the immediate future it should not come to an open coalition government, the actual responsibility of the Social Democratic Party for the policy of the government is nevertheless bound to become more obvious than ever, precisely as a result of its election victory. This fact will not fail to have an effect on the many illusions still cherished by the working masses.

The elections have shown that a number of complicated circumstances determine the development of the relations of forces within the Austrian proletariat, which is better organised than the proletariat of any other capitalist State. The elections have shown that, in spite of the undeniable Left development of the Austrian working class, the S. P. of Austria is a very serious opponent. The election defeat of the Communist Party has not caused the slightest panic within the Party. The Party has rapidly closed its ranks and is proceeding to draw the lessons from the elections. It is working persistently and hopefully at winning the Austrian working class for Communism.

Mussolini's "Magna Charta of Labour".

By G. Aquila.

For more than a year there has been talk in Italy of the "Magna Charta of Labour".

Now it has come. On April 21st, the legendary foundation-day of Rome, which already in 1924 Mussolini established as the "holiday of labour" in place of May Day, it was sanctioned by the Great Fascist Council in "the final form given it by His Excellency the Prime Minister" and handed to the press for publication three hours — earlier.

Now it has come and has astounded the world, as it was announced to do. It surpasses all expectations, inasmuch as it **contains absolutely nothing new**. Literally nothing — save perhaps for Article No. 22, which ordains that

"only the State may set up statistics in regard to unemployment".

With the exception of this regulation, which was never voiced before in so precise a form, and which obviously aims at preventing the country from acquiring exact data as to unemployment (said by the Government to figure at 130,000, but in reality is at least three times as great in spite of a partial absorption by the fully occupied war industries), this wonderful "Magna Charta of Labour" is nothing but the simple — and at that rather unsystematic and incomplete — repetition of phrases reiterated hundreds and thousands of times on the subject of the "higher interests of the nation" and the like, together with the well-known Fascist trade-union laws for gagging the working class "in the higher interest of production", as the explanation so beautifully expresses it.

A foretaste of the style and contents of the "Magna Charta" is afforded by its first article:

"The nation is an organism possessing objects of existence and means of activity which are superior to those of the separate or united individuals of which it consists. It is a moral, political, and economic entity, which has been fully realised in the Fascist State."

Article No. 3 is a bad and bitterly ironical joke at the expense of the workers. It begins with the words:

"The professional and trade-union organisations are free," and goes on to say:

"But only a legally recognised and State-controlled syndicate (i. e. only the Fascist trade union) has the right legally to represent the entire category of employers and workers for whom it has been founded, to protect their interests in dealing with the State or with other professional associations, to conclude labour contracts binding on all that belong to the category in question, to exact dues of them, and to exercise in relation to them such functions as are prescribed by the public interest."

This is a repetition of the sufficiently well known Fascist trade-union law, the chief stipulations of which are as follows:

a) There can be no more than one "legally recognised" trade-union in each professional category.

b) The "legally recognised" (i. e. the Fascist) trade-union

is the legal representative of the entire number of workers in the respective professional category, irrespective of whether the workers are members of the said trade union or not . . .

c) Only the "legally recognised" trade unions may conclude collective contracts, which will be binding on all workers of the respective professional category, whether they are members of the trade union or not.

d) The "legally recognised" trade unions exact membership subscriptions of all workers, whether trade union members or not; these contributions to be deducted immediately from the wages by the employers and passed on by them direct to the trade union funds.

This delightful "freedom of organisation", moreover, is rendered yet more precise by two further articles of the "Magna Charta". Article No. 7 reads:

"Since the interests of production are national interests, the corporations (this being the official designation of the Fascist trade unions) are recognised by law to be organs of the State."

And Article No. 23 prescribes:

"The employers are under obligation to engage only such workers as are registered with the labour exchanges under the control of the Fascist trade unions. They have the right to choose among the workers thus registered, but must in the first place engage those who are members of the Fascist trade unions. Among members of the Fascist Party and the Fascist trade unions, again, preference must be given to such as have been organised for a longer time."

Class antagonisms and the class struggle are abolished by Article No. 4 of the "Magna Charta", which reads:

"In the collective labour contracts, the solidarity between the different factors of production finds its concrete expression in mediation between the opposite interests of employers and workers and in subordination to the supreme interests of production."

This "subordination to the higher interests of production" is more closely elucidated in Article No. 7.

"The corporative State (i. e. the Fascist trade union State) recognises private initiative in regard to production to be the most useful and effective instrument in the interest of the nation. The worker is an active collaborator of the economic enterprise to be conducted by the employer, who is responsible for it."

In Articles Nos. 12 & 13, the worker will find mention of the "reward" he may expect for his "active collaboration". Article No. 12 say:

"The fixing of wages will be separated from any general standard and left to the agreement between the parties in the collective contracts."

Article No. 13, again, prescribes:

"The consequences of production crisis and currency fluctuation are to be borne equally (!) by all the factors of production (meaning, employers and workers)."

Nay the "reward" goes yet a step further. In Article No. 15 we read:

"The worker has a right to rest on Sundays. This principle will find its realisation in the collective contracts, due consideration being had for the technical exigencies of the enterprise." This means rest on Sundays on principle, but . . .

The single article of the "Magna Charta" which may be taken at first sight to represent an achievement, albeit doubtful, in the interest of the workers, is Article No. 16, which says:

"After a twelvemonth of uninterrupted service, the worker is entitled to holidays with pay."

In reality, however, this is no new achievement, but only the confirmation of an existing state of affairs, which even the collective contracts of the Fascist trade unions could not abolish.

This, therefore, is the astounding and revolutionising "Magna Charta of Labour", the "consummation of the Fascist revolution", the "corner-stone of the Fascist State", the "opening of a new epoch in the history of mankind", etc. A stupid and clumsy attempt at veiling the capitalist reaction, which is most brutally embodied in Fascism.

Nevertheless, Mussolini's "Magna Charta" will do good service. If there is still a single worker in Italy or elsewhere, who allowed himself to be duped by the high sounding phrases of the Fascist and bourgeois press and entertained any illusions on the subject, the "Magna Charta of Labour" and the conduct

of the "Fascist trade union State" will be bound to bring him to his senses. The class-conscious, revolutionary Italian workers, who have already started the systematic reconstruction of the trade union organisations "dissolved" by the Fascist Government and meanly deserted by their reformist leaders, will only be strengthened in their determined efforts by Mussolini's "Magna Charta".

Further Provocation on the Part of the Lithuanian Fascists.

By S. Angaretis.

On the eve of the Fascist upheaval in December 1926, the Fascists spread rumours abroad to the effect that the Communists were on the point of bringing off a coup. After the upheaval, the authority in Lithuania was not in very strong hands, so that there was constant friction between the clerical and the nationalist Fascists: The former are far the stronger of the two factions, but have in this case left the lead entirely to the nationalists, thus compromising themselves seriously in the eyes of a great part of the population.

The clerical faction, however, only intended to leave the nationalists temporarily at the head of affairs, so as to acquire strength by their alliance. As early as January, the clericals were faced with the question of a removal of the nationalist Government. They began to prepare for the second upheaval. The nationalists succeeded in discovering the traces of a "conspiracy", and in this connection two leaders of the supposed plot were arrested. In February the clericals again prepared a coup, which was to have been executed in the night between the 18th and 19th day of that month. This time the clericals did not intend to remove all the nationalists, but merely the Voldemaras Cabinet. They desired to leave the nationalist Smetona in his office of State President, but to remove the nationalist Voldemaras from that of Prime Minister. Shortly before, as had been the case in December, the rumour was spread abroad that the Communists were plotting with the Left wing of the Social Revolutionary Party to bring about a coup and that the Government was not in a position to offer sufficient resistance to the Communist plan.

The clericals contemplated a far-reaching provocation, but the nationalists had learnt through one of their spies that the Social Democrats and the Narodniki (Popular Party) had initiated a certain activity in the army, where discontent with the Fascist Government is on the increase. The nationalists advised their agents to mix with the ranks of the Social Democrats and the Narodniki. Under the influence of these agents the work done by the Social Democrats and Narodniki developed in certain sections of the army, the nationalist agents spreading reports of a great military organisation allegedly in preparation for the purpose of overthrowing the Fascists. In some units of the army, the nationalist Fascist engaged in considerable anti-Fascist agitation in the name of the Social Democrats and Narodniki.

Thus things continued until the middle of March, when the Fascists began to dissolve the "military organisations" of the Social Democrats and Narodniki. About 300 soldiers and several dozen Social Democrats and Narodniki were arrested. They are accused of having prepared a revolt, the Fascist press raising the rumour that it was in particular the Communists who penetrated into the ranks of the Social Democrats and Narodniki for the purpose of inciting them to rebellion. So as to make this lie appear more like the truth, some members of the Communist juvenile organisations were arrested and cleverly brought into connection with the organisers of the "revolt". This was done so as to render further fusillades possible. Comrade H. Melamed, aged 25, member of the Communist Party of Lithuania, has already been shot. At the same time, the others were also handed over to the court martial, while a prosecution was also prepared against certain Social Democrats and Narodniki.

The objects of all this provocation are as follows: Firstly, the disorganisation of the ranks of the anti-Fascist elements, especially as regards the army and the estrangement of Social Democrats and Narodniki on the one hand and Communists on the other, in view of the increasing sympathies of the social democrats and Narodniki for the Communists. Secondly, the elimination of the anti-Fascist elements from the army and the general staff (those placed under arrest also including officers). Thirdly, the intimidation of the Social Democrats and Narodniki

by means of the army (the names of numerous Social Democratic and Narodniki leaders having been implicated in the preparations for the "revolt"). Fourthly, Direction of the white terror against the Communists. Fifthly, a closer comprehension of the Fascist elements under the lead of the nationalists, in view of the differences apparent in their ranks.

The provocation practised in connection with the anti-Fascist "revolt" is, moreover, most probably in close connection with the negotiations in progress between Lithuania and Poland and the bellicose attitude of Pilsudski. It is a repetition of what occurred in December 1926. Then Fascist rumours were spread in regard to Communist preparations for a "revolt", the Communists being allegedly backed by the Poles, who were only waiting for disturbances for the purpose of seizing on Lithuania. Now the same thing again: the Communists are said to be preparing to rise and Pilsudski is rattling the sabre. The only difference is that in December the Fascists needed this provocation for the purpose of justifying their coup, while now they think it necessary as a means of "justifying" the negotiations for the conclusion of an agreement between Lithuania and Poland.

Trial of Conspirators against Primo de Rivera.

By Jar (Madrid).

There has recently taken place in Madrid the trial in connection with the conspiracy against Primo de Rivera. This trial, which bears a political character, was in its nature, a unique event in Spain. The accused were generals, officers and politicians of the former regime.

On June 24th last year the police arrested a great number of army officers, and Republican, Anarchist and Communist elements. Two days later the directory published a communiqué explaining the reason for the arrests: The police had knowledge that a revolutionary movement had been prepared for the night of June 24th, in which officers, politicians and workers were implicated.

A number of army officers holding republican opinions had organised various officers' groups in order to arrange a plot against Primo de Rivera. They succeeded in gaining the support of some generals, including the commander-in-chief, Valeriano Weyler and General Aquilera. From the very outset profound differences could be observed between the generals and the officers. The generals only wanted a movement of a monarchist-constitutional character; the aim of the officers was to organise a movement of an entirely republican character. These army elements worked together with democratic elements and succeeded in gaining the support of the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (National Federation of Labour.) The police, who were informed as to what was going on, on the night of June 24th arrested all those involved in the movement.

Among the accused who appeared before the military court were generals Weyler and Aquilera, who had signed the Manifesto, calling for rebellion, some army captains, accused of organising the conspiracy, various prominent Republican party elements and the anarchist, Amelio Quilez, who was accused as the representative of the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo on the Revolutionary Committee organised by the military elements. The Prosecution stated that the police believed the Communists to be involved in the plot but no proof of their participation could be discovered. Therefore no communist has figured at the trial.

The defenders of the accused were prominent politicians belonging to the old monarchist and republican parties. The proceedings really represented a trial of Primo de Rivera by the Spanish democratic bourgeoisie. These democratic elements have shown themselves to be incapable of developing the least activity against Primo de Rivera; they have confined their struggle to legal and constitutional questions. Their main argument has been the following: the government has not the right to judge the accused, for the latter were only trying to reestablish the Constitution. The Defence was unable to rouse public opinion against the Directory as was expected.

Nevertheless, the trial has plainly shown that no other government in the world can count less on the support of public opinion than the government of Primo de Rivera. During the trial many officers among the public demonstrated in a very unmistakable manner their sympathy for their accused comrades. The Defenders in their speeches violently attacked Primo de Rivera, the dictatorship and King Alfonso. The public have

openly expressed themselves in favour of the accused. In the cafés, restaurants, in the streets etc. all over Madrid one heard expressions of opinion in favour of the accused and against Primo de Rivera.

Another interesting fact in connection with this trial is that the treachery of the **Socialist Party** and their collaboration with the Directory has been once more plainly demonstrated. The police "reports" and the prosecutors' indictment pointed out that the Socialist Party was loyal to the Directory and was entirely free from any suspicion of conspiracy. The Prosecutor praised the Socialist Party's attitude, which was condemned by the working class and many republican elements.

The Prosecution demanded eight years imprisonment for those of the accused who were most compromised. But it is said that General **Aquilera** will be condemned to six months and Captains **Perea**, **Rubio** and **Galan** to six years imprisonment. When one remembers the sentences pronounced by the military courts against **Communists** and **Anarchists**, it becomes clearly obvious that the Prosecution does not wish to be severe. In addition, Primo de Rivera is well aware of the serious effect severe sentences would have, and he is afraid of rousing the military elements against himself.

The trial has also demonstrated that the bourgeois elements belonging to the opposition are really afraid of the revolutionary action of the proletariat. Primo de Rivera remains the Spanish dictator simply because his enemies are afraid of arousing a revolutionary movement. They are afraid that the political revolutionary movement they desire would, once it was carried out, be converted into a profound social revolution which "would be exploited by the Communists". It is the fear of this situation that causes the opposition against Primo de Rivera to confine itself to mere words.

The **Communist Party of Spain** is prepared to co-operate with any movement for the purpose of putting an end to the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera; but the Party knows that the **bourgeois** elements will never organise a revolutionary action against Primo de Rivera. It is therefore necessary to work for the united front of the **working class forces** and the **Catalonian separatist elements**. In spite of this the **anarchists** prefer to collaborate with the **bourgeois democrats** rather than organise serious action with the Communists.

The sentences have not yet been made public. But no matter what they may be they will never be carried out. It is already rumoured that on May 17th, the 25th anniversary of King Alfonso's coronation, a wide amnesty will be granted under which all the accused sentenced at this trial will be pardoned. In this manner Primo de Rivera hopes to avoid the discontent in the military circles, which would assume a serious form if the accused officers were condemned.

Since 1923 there have been four military conspiracies against Primo de Rivera. None of them has been successful; they have either been discovered by the police or, as was the case in the artillery movement in September 1926, they failed because their supporters did not use methods of energetic attack. Primo de Rivera owes the prolongation of his political career to the cowardice of his political opponents.

THE BALKANS

The New Political Monster Trials in Bulgaria.

Letter from Sofia.

The present Bulgarian Government with **Ljaptchev** at its head has not departed from the terrorist course of its predecessor, that of the world-renowned hangman **Zankov**.

During the eighteen months it has been in office, the **Ljaptchev** Government has been guilty of innumerable atrocities. A number of political trials of workers took place in **Plowdiw**, **Sofia**, **Pazardschik**, **Burgas**, **Vratsa** and other towns merely on account of membership of labour organisations; the political prisoners were kept in prison a whole month after their **hunger-strike**, they were maltreated and their lives were threatened; the whole of the **working class** and the **peasants league** have been outlawed and all their rights have been destroyed. The Government is backed up by the **Fascist organisations**, which are in fact the real rulers of the country. **Ljaptchev** was cynical enough to say in the presence of the **British Members of**

Parliament Wallhead and **Greenfell** that he could not grant an amnesty, because the political prisoners and emigrants affected by the amnesty would be murdered by the Fascist bands.

In holding the political monster trials fixed for the 3rd and 16th of May, the Government is pursuing special purposes in home and foreign policy, particularly in connection with the approaching **parliamentary election**. The accused (altogether 350 to 400 will be brought before the court) have now been ten months in prison on remand. This main trial has been intentionally put off by the Government for months in order that it may take place immediately before the parliamentary elections, which are to be held at the end of May. The Government's object in regard to this trial is to alarm the public and to "prove" that "the State is threatened by the Bolsheviki danger". The bankers and big industrialist bourgeoisie are trembling with fear of having to relinquish their power as a result of the coming elections; and they will not shrink from any atrocious or destructive act against the labour and peasant movement.

Who are the accused and what are they charged with? On May 3rd and 16th, men, women and youths will be sentenced; they are accused of being members of the **Communist Party** and of the **Young Communist League**. In this trial, many Bulgarian emigrants, headed by **Kolarov** and **Dimitrov**, have to face the court. The accusation is based chiefly upon the assertion that they are members of the Communist Party, that they have convoked conferences, at which resolutions were passed, that they have distributed party literature or that they have written letters to the organisations for the construction of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League, and that they have also made propaganda for Communism.

The organisatory, propagandist and ordinary party activity is regarded by the **Ljaptchev** Government as "criminal". And in order to "prove" this the Government is making use of a number of dearly bought "documents" fabricated by various forgers, according to which C.P. murder and partisan groups are alleged to have been organised, etc. With the aid of forged documents and police inventions, the Government is trying to make out the C.P. of Bulgaria and its executive to be a group of conspirators who organise violent robberies, murders, etc.

During the months they have been in prison, the accused have been tortured almost to death in order that admissions might be forced from them. Several of them attempted suicide to escape the insufferable inquisition (for instance, **Krum Dudow** and others). The prosecuting counsel's witnesses are police agents, their "proofs" forged documents prepared by the Bulgarian police themselves or procured from Great Britain.

The second group of accused in the big trial on May 3rd are women and lawyers. The latter are accused of being **Bolsheviki agents**, because they collected and distributed relief to the families of the political prisoners. The girl **Nadeschda Traikova** had nails driven into her legs, so that she might be compelled by the cruel torture to sign the statement prepared by the police themselves against her and other persons who had taken part in collections or even taken charge of money thus collected. The lawyer **Chichovski** was beaten almost to death because he had rendered legal assistance to prosecuted workers and peasants. In all these cases the prosecuting counsel requests sentences of seven to ten years' imprisonment and fantastic fines.

The third group of accused are leaders and members of the **trade union movement** with **Assen Bojadchev** at their head. He is accused of giving material support to the family of a bank clerk belonging to a union. For this "crime" he suffered weeks of frightful torture.

A case which is characteristic of the whole trial is that of the book-seller **Petko Napetov**. He is accused of being an accessory after the fact because he put up for a night a Communist for whom the police were searching. In the meanwhile, the case against this alleged conspirator was dropped; nevertheless, **Napetov** was brought before the court on account of "concealing a fugitive from justice" on the ground of the State Protection Act.

In the second monster trial to be held on May 16th, a group of youths (45 persons) are accused, because they are members of the **Young Communist League**. In spite of the ten months' imprisonment on remand, the prosecuting counsel calls for most severe sentences, amounting to dozens of years.

The whole of the tortured Bulgarian people appeals to the international proletariat and to the progressive public opinion

of Europe to give vent to their horror of, and to protest against, the Bulgarian Government in connection with these two monster trials and to stigmatise the Fascist blood regime in Bulgaria; against this regime, which is at the same time at the beck and call of the military adventurers of Great Britain and Italy and is also one of the worst dangers to peace both in the Balkans and in the whole world.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

The Activity of the Government of the Soviet Union in Foreign and Home Politics.

Report of the President of the Council of People's Commissars, Comrade A. I. Rykov, at the IV. Congress of Soviets of the Soviet Union.

Comrades, The present Soviet Congress is being held under conditions of an exceedingly tense and disturbed international situation. The foreign policy of our Soviet Union has in recent times developed under conditions of the growth of active hostility towards the Soviet Union in a whole number of countries. The government of the Soviet Union, in carrying out the main principles of our foreign policy, in securing peace, developing and consolidating the economic and political connections with the other countries had to overcome considerable obstacles. For this reason the Government of the Soviet Union considers it necessary to submit to the Congress as complete a report as possible on that international policy which it has conducted in the last two years.

The Main Factors in international Politics.

Where are the main factors of international politics at the present moment?

It seems to me that there are two main factors: the first is China and the second the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The population of these two enormous States comprises a third of the population of the whole world. Around these States there is at present proceeding the mobilisation of public opinion, the mobilisation both of the hostile and friendly forces. As regards China, the reason for the aggressive mobilisation against the liberation movement of the Chinese people is the fact that China is the main centre of colonial policy. On the territory of China there will be decided, in the very nature of things, the further course of development of imperialism, at any rate in that form in which it has developed in the last decades.

Our State is the object of a hostile attack of capitalism, because it is on the territory of our State that the question of socialist construction is being solved. The consolidation of economic power, the increase in the political importance of our Soviet Union mean a victory for the socialist method of organising society. It is precisely for this reason that these two States form the centre point of increasing attacks on the part of the international bourgeoisie.

Recent events have already revealed the methods, the direction and the rate of development of the attacks of the imperialists. It suffices to point to such facts as the Note of Austen Chamberlain to the Soviet Union, the raid on the residence of the Military Attaché of our Embassy in Peking, and a whole number of unheard-of actions against our representatives in other towns in China. That which has occurred in Peking and Shanghai cannot be described as anything else but a war provocation.

Chronologically considered, the starting point of the mobilisation of public opinion and of the forces hostile to our Soviet Union is the Note of Austen Chamberlain.

The Note, as far as its contents are concerned, is of quite an unusual character. The Note does not deal with this or that action of the State, but with literary products, with the utterances of a whole number of speakers which do not happen to please the British Government. The British Government therefore thought fit to make the Soviet Government responsible for such „criminal“ actions. As is known, we replied that the Soviet Government is not a committee of censors, and that therefore we do not understand why what has been written in this or that article or what has been said by this or that speaker should all be booked to our account. In any event, we have never demanded and never shall demand, either from our press or from our speakers, that they say only that which the Right Wing Conservatives of Great Britain, the so-called „Die-

hards“ can agree with in every respect and to which they shall express their approval. The character of the Note itself is so very unusual in international relations that it is hard to believe that that which is said in the Note is the real reason for its despatch.

The Relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

One can ascertain the real reason for the Note of the Conservative Government only when one follows that action against our Soviet Union which is being conducted by a considerable portion, if not by the whole of the Conservative Party.

The chief elements in this propaganda are: Firstly, the questions of the Tsarist debts; secondly, the question of the solidarity of the working class of the Soviet Union with the working masses of Great Britain, and especially with the Miners' struggle; and thirdly, the annoyance of the imperialists at the sympathy of the masses of China with the Soviet Union which they describe as „participation“ by the Soviet Union in the Chinese liberation movement. This discontent of the imperialists is directed against us because the Soviet Union is the first country of an „October Revolution“, the first country that has laid the foundations of a new epoch of socialist development. It is only natural that the experiences of our country have been made use of by other suppressed peoples who are likewise fighting for their emancipation.

While the first point is a question of material claims and demands on the October Revolution, the two other points embrace all the so-called questions of propaganda and the questions of the sympathies of the broad working masses and of the suppressed peoples of the whole world for our Soviet Union. In these three claims, it seems to me, are to be found the real reasons for the despatch of the Note and the mobilisation of public opinion in Great Britain against us by the Conservatives.

I consider it necessary to emphasise that none of these three questions was discussed between our representative and the official British representative. In spite of our repeated proposals to proceed to real negotiations, the present Conservative government has constantly avoided making these so-called „questions of dispute“ the subject of official negotiations. And in spite of this the British Conservatives, basing themselves precisely on these three facts, have conducted such a campaign in Great Britain which is not only a hindrance to the development of our economic and commercial relations, but can, in certain circumstances, lead to a breach. The breaking off of diplomatic relations between two such great States as the Soviet Union and Great Britain, would be bound to have effects on the whole political situation in Europe, would inevitably render the maintenance of peace in Europe more difficult. It must therefore be regarded as criminal to make use of questions which have not been concretely discussed in order to render acute and to break off relations.

In view of the enormous importance of these questions for international politics, I consider it necessary to deal with them somewhat in detail.

„Disputes“ over the Labour Question.

With regard to the question of the working class in the Soviet Union, its rights and its connection with the labour movement of the whole world, everybody, even the Conservatives, have to proceed from the fact that our Republic is a workers' State, and that precisely therefore, not only the working masses and the workers organisations, but also the government of our Union can openly express its fraternal class solidarity with the working class and with the workers of other countries. Any attempt now to force the working class of the Soviet Union to abandon this natural right or to compel our government to limit the freedom of action of the working class in regard to mutual help and connection with the working class of other countries; proceeds from the endeavour to change the nature of the Soviet State itself. It is quite impossible to annihilate the historical fact of the organising of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat which took place in the October Revolution, and the consequences arising therefrom.

Therefore the attempts to blame the Soviet government for the „historical fact“ which was accomplished in October 1917 are void of any political realism. We cannot blame Austen Chamberlain for the fact that the capitalist system exists in Great Britain, that the Conservative Party rules in that country, and that therefore he does not sympathise with the Chinese

coolies but with the Chinese mandarins and militarists. The platform of Austen Chamberlain of sympathy with the capitalists and mandarins results from the whole position of the Conservative Party in Great Britain. Our platform is: **sympathy with the suppressed workers and suppressed peoples** (Loud applause in the whole hall).

If we say, for instance, that the Conservative government sympathises with the Nep-people and the private traders in Moscow, I in nowise declare that this represents an interference on the part of Austen Chamberlain in our inner affairs. (Laughter and applause.)

In the same way one cannot regard our sympathy with the British miners as interference on the part of the Soviet government in the inner affairs of Great Britain. The State of the dictatorship of the workers, of course, cannot refuse the workers of our Soviet Union the right to organise trade unions and to help the workers of other countries in this or that form as they may desire. The difference between our State and the British State consists before all in the fact that with us it is unthinkable that at the Congress, let us say, a bill could be introduced for limiting the rights of trade unions: in Great Britain this is not only conceivable but is an actual fact. Therein consists the difference in the structure of the two States. (Laughter.)

In a workers' State the labour unions are free to do that which they please; when, however, we forbid them this we cease to be a government of the workers and peasants. (Applause.)

During the struggle of the British miners the whole of the working class of the Soviet Union collected money through the trade unions. The government of the Soviet Unions did not send any money to the British miners.

In order to render plausible the version that the government of the Soviet Union took part in organising the fight of the miners and similar collisions between capital and labour, the Conservatives place on the Soviet government the responsibility for appeals, declarations and acts of the workers' organisations which exist on the territory of the Soviet Union as well as those in other countries, among them being not only communist, but also simple democratic organisations which are even hostile to and actively fight against the Communist movement.

The miners' struggle in Great Britain was a world conflict between capital and labour, a conflict which even bourgeois economists and politicians considered to be unavoidable and for which both parties had made preparations extending over a long period. Therefore, the attempt to ascribe the origin of this fight to the "malicious agitation of Soviet agents" was very impudent. Long before the October revolution the British workers had written so many heroic pages of the fight of the working class that to declare that Soviet agents can organise a strike of such a kind as was the General strike of the British trade unions, is simply a calumny against the British working class.

There is another interesting fact which is characteristic of the impartiality of the British Conservatives. During the fight of the British miners the British government declared itself to be neutral in this fight, but hindered the distribution of relief to starving miners and their families by workers' organisations, and at the same time gratefully accepted blackleg help for the mineowners by Russian white guardists. Of course this is an affair of the British government, and we quite understand that the government of Great Britain acted in accordance to its class interests. No sensible politician could expect anything else. The workers of our Soviet Union have likewise fulfilled their class duty, and it is to be expected that they will do precisely the same thing in all other such cases (applause). The question of our relations to the labour movement, the question that we should forbid our workers to aid the workers of our countries must be removed from the agenda. In this respect the Soviet government will not permit any change in its policy (Applause).

Regarding the Debts.

The second point is the question of the debts. In this question the Soviet government has repeatedly declared its standpoint, which to a certain extent found expression in the Treaty with the preceding government of Great Britain. This Treaty had already been signed by MacDonald, the then Prime Minister of Great Britain, and by the Chairman of our Delegation, Comrade Rakovsky.

This Treaty was drawn up with a view to the interests of both countries in accordance with the entire existing situation.

It provided the way to the solution of disputed questions and was regarded as advantageous both for Great Britain and for us. With the coming into power of the Conservatives the Treaty was not ratified. It would seem to be quite natural that if the new Conservative government of Great Britain had had a real and sincere desire to come to an understanding with us, they would have pointed out what they did not agree with in this Treaty which had already been signed, and what in their opinion should be changed, and would have submitted a new draft Treaty.

I must declare that the Soviet government, up to the present day, has not received any concrete proposal from the Conservatives regarding this or that alteration which is regarded by the Conservatives as necessary. Our representatives in Great Britain have repeatedly proposed to the British government to proceed to concrete discussion of those new proposals or alterations in the Treaty which can be made by the British government. I declare here that during the whole time the British government has avoided this question and refrained from making any proposals.

The lack of any concrete proposals on the part of the Conservative government regarding the methods a practical settlement of this question to the benefit of both parties must be regarded by us as nothing else but an expectation of a favourable moment by means of which the British government will succeed in forcing on the Soviet Union the unconditional and one-sided recognition of the debts.

If the British government, which has assumed the role of European attorney for the Tsarist debts, finds it advantageous to wait, it naturally has the right to do so. But such an attitude is, it seems to me, disadvantageous both for the general economic relations between the two countries and for the creditors.

Our Attitude.

The Note which we received from the British government threatened with a breach. Our Note has sufficiently and officially refuted the assumptions and accusations brought forward by the British government and laid down the attitude of the Soviet government in the matter, both as regards the possibility of a breach itself and also the responsibility for the same. Judging from the declarations of some of the Ministers in Great Britain, the only reason a breach has not occurred is, because it was regarded by them as inopportune, as both in international relations and in Great Britain itself there existed a whole number of difficulties which compelled the Conservative government, for the moment to refrain from a breach.

The anti-Soviet campaign of the Right Wing of the British Conservatives aiming at breaking off relations still continues. It is therefore very hard to judge what line the Conservative government will follow in the question of the future relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

The government of the Soviet Union, in seeking to realise its general peace policy, has never abandoned negotiations and considers the removal of the present strained relations as desirable and possible.

The government of the Soviet Union is convinced that, in spite of everything, friendly relations will develop between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the British people, and that the attempt of the British Conservatives to avoid developing economic and political connections with the Soviet Union will not meet with success.

The National Emancipation Movement in China and Imperialism.

The national emancipation movement in China is now the most important if not the all-important cause of the discontent with the Soviet Union and the bringing of every possible accusation against it. This discontent is now increasing in connection with the development of the Chinese emancipation movement. It existed formerly and began almost simultaneously with the signing of the Treaty between the Soviet Union and China; the first Treaty to recognise the full sovereignty of China and which is based upon the complete renunciation of the special privileges and rights which the foreigners enjoy in China. The imperialists saw in this treaty a stimulus to the development of the anti-imperialist movement.

The Intervention in China.

Recent events have shown that the imperialists do not intend to consider China as a sovereign State equal with themselves, nor do they intend to permit the Chinese people to turn their backs on the imperialist countries. The position in China is at present

characterised not only by the civil war, but also by the participation of nearly all the interested imperialist countries in this war.

This is to be seen from the number of troops and warships which these countries at present have in China. I received yesterday the following communication: In China there are at present 80 British naval units, 55 American, 12 Japanese, 13 French, 12 Italian and one Spanish warship, making all together 173 warships. This is a tremendous naval squadron. Of land troops there are 15 battalions, one division and three brigades and three artillery divisions.

As a matter of fact war is already taking place in China. It would be naive to attempt to point out that the presence of such fighting forces is necessary solely in order to protect the lives of foreigners in China. In intelligible political language, the presence of these armed forces means actual intervention.

Not so very long ago, hardly a few months back, one could say that there existed no understanding among the Powers regarding intervention in China. Some powers concealed their hostility to the national-revolution movement and even flirted with it to a certain extent.

Now however, one can already say that there exists no "essential" difference of opinion between the imperialist States in the question of Chinese policy. It is true occasional reports appear to the effect that this or that Power is not in agreement with the others in regard to this or that point. But in the main question — whether the employment of armed force is necessary against China — there no longer exist any great differences of opinion among the imperialists. Japan also is obviously proceeding in this direction, and in connection with the recent events has increased her armed forces in South China and begun to concentrate considerable armed forces also in the North.

Other weapons in the fight against the national liberation movement are the speculation upon the troops of the militarists of North China, and the tactics of disintegrating the movement for freedom itself. According to newspapers reports, the recent events in China — the splitting of the national camp, Chiang Kai Shek's coup — are not taking place without previous preparations behind the scenes on the part of some of the representatives of the imperialist States. All those armies and troops which are concentrated in China are in themselves a provocation to military collisions. This is not only our standpoint but the bourgeoisie also realises this very well. The organ of the French bourgeoisie "Quotidien" wrote in its number of 26th January the following:

"The British Foreign Minister is trying to persuade us not to get excited over the British preparations by maintaining that Great Britain's intentions are quite peaceable. We are asked to believe that if 75 British warships are in Shanghai, this is only a precautionary measures, that when troops are sent every day from Great Britain and her colonies to China this is only in order to keep up the spirits of the London business people. We have long been familiar with the system of provocation of Great Britain, of provoking bloodshed in order to have the possibility of throwing the responsibility upon her opponent. If an armed conflict should break out, the blame will probably be thrown on the "Chinese mob".

It was in such a situation in China that there took place the raid upon a portion of our Embassy in Peking; a raid which had the approval and the previous sanction of the Ambassadors. This proceeding, which is unprecedented in the whole history of the international relations of "civilised" States, has provoked a storm of indignation on the part of public opinion in the Soviet Union (Applause). The government of the Soviet Union is of the opinion that the imperialists wish, by means of such unique methods, to draw us into a war against China. I declare before this Congress, as I have also declared at the Congress of the R. S. F. S. R., that the Soviet government will not respond to provocation (Applause).

Accusations Propaganda Agents

The Chinese national emancipation movement is developing to the accompaniment of the greatest sympathy for our Soviet Union and for our State. This provides the pretext in order to accuse us of anti-British agitation in China. We have never on any single occasion, however, had any concrete accusation brought against us in this connection. The Soviet government has repeatedly asked the Conservative government of Great Britain to point out any actual cases of anti-British action by representatives of the Soviet Union. Up to now the British

government has not been in a position to do this. In addition, it must be remarked that we regard China as being a sovereign State just as much as Great Britain, and we believe that we are responsible for our attitude in China to the Chinese and not to the British. (Applause and cries: "Hear, Hear!"). Any other state of affairs would be just as wrong as if Chiang-Kai-Shek or the Shanghai authorities sought to make us responsible for the behaviour of our representatives, say, in London.

We are made responsible for the fact that Borodin, a citizen of the Soviet Union, is participating in the events in China. The intrigues against the British are attributed to the activity of Borodin. I must say that Borodin is not our representative in China and has received no authority from the government of the Soviet Union, so that our government is not responsible for the actions of Borodin. It is known to us that Ching-Tso-Lin has as military adviser an Englishman named Setton. I do not believe that this British adviser is working with due energy to awaken the sympathies of Chang-Tso-Lin for our government. In spite of this I am by no means inclined to accuse the British and Chamberlain with the fact that Mr. Setton is adviser to Chang-Tso-Lin.

China is a sovereign State, and the Chinese can invite whom they will to act as advisers and are not bound to invite only English or Americans. (Applause.) They can invite citizens of the Soviet Union also. (Prolonged Applause.)

The friendship between us and China is brought as a charge against us. By attempting to force the Soviet Union to change its attitude to an independent country, China, or by attempting to force China to change her attitude to the Soviet Union, the Conservatives are violating the sovereignty of these two States.

The Danger of War.

There exists a very great danger in the fact that the bourgeois world underestimates the forces of the national liberation movement which is proceeding in China. In China millions of members of the suppressed classes of this suppressed people have begun to move. This movement has such a strength that it is hardly conceivable that it can be checked with armed divisions or whole armies. Therefore the obstinacy of the imperialists in continuing military intervention in China will inevitably lead to a great imperialist war. This war will be fought on the coasts of the Pacific Ocean, for the hegemony of which several countries are fighting; hence the extreme probability of this war turning into a world war.

Our Strength is in the Policy of Peace.

When I spoke at the Congress of the R. S. F. S. R. regarding the recent events in China, I was asked: "Are there any of our troops in China?" I replied: No. Thereupon some foreign newspapers interpreted my answer as an indication of the weakness of our government. It is precisely in the absence of troops in China, in not employing force against China there consists the greatest possible guarantee for collaboration and friendship with the Chinese people. It is precisely the fact that we have no troops in China that makes us stronger there than the other States and places us and our citizens in a safer position than the citizens of those countries which are now carrying out an intervention in China.

Our Embassy was exposed to a raid, but to an organised raid on the part of the organised police and with the sanction of the Ambassadors. But there is hardly a single bourgeois newspaper or a single statesman who will find a case of our Embassy or our representatives in China having provoked a hostile attitude or hostile actions on the part of the Chinese people. There has not been such a case in China since the existence of the Soviet Republic (Applause).

The imperialists justify their bombardment of Nanking and a whole number of armed actions in China by saying that they are defending the sovereignty of their representatives against the Chinese people. I believe that we are in a far better situation, as we do not need to do this, for the inviolability of our representatives is defended by the Chinese people themselves. If the bourgeoisie represents a peaceful policy as an expression of weakness, to the Soviet Union the policy of peace appears as a proclamation of its strength in all international relations. Thanks to our peaceful policy the people, the population of the Soviet Union and the workers of the whole world will come forward with greater enthusiasm and energy for the defence of the Soviet Union in that moment when it is threatened by the "strong" and armed imperialist danger.

The British Note. The Bessarabian Protocol.

The British Note, it seems to me, in addition to those tasks of which I already spoke, pursued another aim also; if one may say so, the ideological preparation of the anti-Soviet Bloc. It is impossible otherwise to explain why the practical British have "condescended" so far as to convert the Note into an agitational proclamation. An agitation of this sort is, in accordance with its nature, the preparation for an encirclement, a psychological preparation for intervention. There has set in an almost open bargaining over the anti-Soviet orientation.

In the light of this anti-Soviet campaign and this bargaining, the ratification by Italy of the Protocol which sanctions the seizure of a portion of the territory of the Soviet Union, Bessarabia, by Roumania, gains a special importance. The Italian government for a long time considered it unnecessary and inopportune to ratify this Protocol; and now, precisely at the time of the anti-Soviet campaign, it has abandoned this standpoint. In regard to the Bessarabian Protocol and possession of Bessarabia by Roumania, it must be said once and for all that in the Bessarabian question, Notes, papers, ratifications and confirmations of any sort, without the participation of the Soviet Union, have not and cannot have any importance whatever. (Applause.)

The Soviet Union and the League of Nations.

The bourgeoisie is at present attempting to use our attitude to the League of Nations for a campaign against us, by charging the government of the Soviet Union on account of its refusal to enter the League of Nations with refusing to cooperate in "peace work" in general. The question of our attitude to the League of Nations can now come to the front in connection with the general international situation as well as in connection with the fact that the "geographical" obstacle to our participation in the work of the Special Commissions of League of Nations has at last been removed.

Is the League of Nations really struggling for peace? As is known, both China and Great Britain are members of the League of Nations. The question arises, what changes have occurred in the relations between these two States as a result of this circumstance? The British armed forces are carrying out in China an intervention just as bad, if not worse, than before the organising of the League of Nations, which has not even brought up for discussion the question of the war in China. In recent times there has been a whole number of armed collisions, a whole number of wars, a whole series of violations of peace. It suffices to mention the conflict between Yugoslavia and Italy, the Treaty between Italy and Albania, the war in Nicaragua, and so forth. If a war or an attack by a strong State on a weak State is taking place, then the League of Nations is not to be seen. The League of Nations is a tool in the hands of a small group of a few very big imperialist States for dominating all the other States.

Attempts are being made to interpret our non-participation in the League of Nations as being due to our wish not to "struggle for the work of peace". We are quite prepared to support any real pacifist organisation, but we will not enter organisations of the type of the League of Nations.

The Disarmament Conference.

The League of Nations is endeavouring to prove its "pacifism" by convening a disarmament Conference. Voices are heard to the effect that should the Conference not succeed, it will be mainly because the government of the Soviet Union is not participating in it. That the work of this Conference is hardly likely to meet with success is already being shown in the process of the preparatory work to this Conference. All this preparatory work goes to prove that it is not a question of a disarmament Conference, but a Conference to discuss how to maintain with the least expenditure the military rule of those countries which at present still dominate the whole world.

Our Proposal.

Our fundamental attitude to the disarmament question has already been repeatedly declared. I believe that I am acting rightly when I once again confirm these declarations in the sense that we are prepared to accept the most drastic measures for the prevention of war and competition in armaments and call upon the other powers to do this. We propose that the standing armies be completely abolished, that war industry be

done away with and a real control set up consisting of representatives of the people, of the workers, of the trade unions and of the peasants.

We propose that this control shall extend to the financial means which might be employed for preparation for a war. These same representatives must be made responsible that not a single kopek be spent on preparations for annihilating one human being by another. **We sincerely call upon all States to do this.** (Applause.) Only recently an exceedingly insolent declaration was made in the British Parliament to the effect that our State is doing much more than others in regard to preparations for chemical war fare. Our press completely refuted these declarations. Now this lie is again being heard in the House of Commons. I declare at the Congress of Soviets of the Soviet Union, that there is not a single branch of war industry in which we are not surpassed in means and resources by any West European State. I further declare that we are the only State in Europe or America which, after the imperialist war, is expending on the maintenance of the army considerably less than half of the prewar expenditure.

The General Features of International Relations.

Comrades, you can judge from what I have already said how tense international relations are. The underlying fact of all these complications in the sphere of international politics is the struggle of the different capitalist countries and capitalist groups for retaining the old markets and capturing new ones. The events in China and the repeated revolts in other colonial countries prove how serious for capitalism is the question of the future fate of its colonial policy. From the logic of the capitalist development there inevitably arises the necessity of the fight for markets. But the industrial development and the liberation movement in the colonies and in the semi-colonial countries render difficult not only the extension of the markets but even the retention of the old markets. Such a situation will inevitably lead to the greatest international complications.

This situation finds expression in the home policy of all bourgeois States and in their relations to each other. The shrinkage of the markets inevitably leads to a limitation of production in the bourgeois countries, and hence also to a limitation of the profits of the capitalist classes.

In the economic relations between the capitalist States this fight for markets leads to an increase in the policy of protective tariffs as a system which secures the home market for the bourgeoisie of each separate country. The increase in competition and the shrinkage of markets have already led to the organising of huge international cartels and combines, the purpose of which is the fight for markets and for high monopolist prices.

But this struggle between the various bourgeois countries and their combines by no means excludes attempts on the part of several States to create, in spite of these antagonisms, a united front of capitalism against the Soviet Union.

The main Principles of the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union.

What then, are the principles of our policy, which we have conducted in the past period and which, in the opinion of the government, will also be binding for the future?

When we analyse the attitude of the foreign States towards us, we must keep in mind two chief factors in the so-called "Russian question".

The first factor consist in the growth of economic interest in the Soviet Union, thanks to the consolidation and development of our economic power and thanks to the extension of the market of the Soviet Union.

The second factor consists in the growth of the antagonism (of the ruling political groups) to the Soviet Union, the more the political importance and the political influence of the Soviet Union increase.

Up till recently the economic development of the Soviet Union proceeded without any help of foreign technic. The process of advanced reconstruction, the industrialisation of the country means a considerable extension of the import of products from industrial countries, mainly of the import of equipments for our factories as well as making use of the experiences of the European and American countries and of the organisation of industry. Under normal political conditions this would open up vast prospects for the countries in question as regards the extension of the Soviet market. At the same time and parallel with the struggle for peace, we will, of course while fully

maintaining our Foreign Trade Monopoly, develop our commercial relations and promote in every way the strengthening of technical and concession connections between our State and other countries.

Now with regard to the political Treaties which we have concluded with various countries in the past period and those relations which we have established with them, I must point to that fundamental difference which exists between our political relations, which are determined by treaties, and those political relations, which are also determined by Treaties, between the West European States. There there prevails the system of so-called groupings of a number of capitalist States by means of which they endeavour to secure their influence and their rule in peace time and common action in war time. In some cases there are already agreements, including military alliances (E. g. Poland and Roumania). We have not participated and will not participate in any one of these groupings.

Our treaties bear a so-called two sided character, i. e. they are concluded by two States without the participation of any third State or grouping. With these treaties we are pursuing one single aim: actual peace and guarantee of the neutrality of both parties to the treaty in case of military actions. In this way, with our system of treaty relations we are not only not preparing new military conflicts, as is the case with the system of groupings and coalitions, but on the contrary, with the help of the neutrality obligations the extent of any possible military conflicts will be localised.

In conclusion, I wish to say a few words regarding our mutual relations with the various countries of Europe and Asia.

Germany.

In recent times there has been a lively discussion in the press, and especially in the foreign press, regarding the relations between Germany and our Soviet Union. I must say that in the past five years, since the conclusion of the Rapallo Treaty, with us there has been no reason for complaint or any dissatisfaction with those relations, which were established between the Soviet Union and Germany.

In connection with the Locarno Conference and the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, the press of a number of countries began to assert that Germany had undertaken pledges to permit the armed forces of other countries to march through German territory in the event of a military conflict between these States and the Soviet Union. These assertions have been repeated even in quite recent times. For this reason the German government declared again that it had not undertaken any obligation of this kind. This declaration was given officially by the German Foreign Minister Stresemann both in the German Reichstag and to the government of the Soviet Union. The government of the Soviet Union cannot, of course, believe, non-official declarations of the German government. In our future relations with Germany we shall proceed from the standpoint that in the event of any intrigue against the Soviet Union Germany will not allow herself to be used for this or that armed action against us.

At the same time it is necessary to point out that the economic and cultural connections with Germany are increasing from year to year, and more than with any other country. In the past period the German government has guaranteed special credits for our industrial orders to Germany. The original amount of the credits was raised quite recently to 315 million marks. At present all these credits are already exhausted and the orders placed with the German works and factories. This credit has been used entirely for the purchase of machines and the equipment necessary for industrialising our country. All this is a proof that the policy which was laid at the time of the Treaty of Rapallo was correct.

France.

After a certain interruption the work of the Conference of France and the Soviet Union has been resumed.

One must proceed from the standpoint that the conclusion of an agreement between the Soviet Union and France would promote to an extraordinary extent the pacification of Europe and the development of economic relations between these two countries. There exist no immediate antagonisms of political and economic interests between the Soviet Union and France. The lack of an understanding regarding disputed questions however, hinders the extension of commercial relations between

the two States and deprives both parties of those advantages which they could derive from that extension of the economic relations which will undoubtedly follow the attainment of an understanding in all disputed questions.

Poland.

Of special importance in the policy of the government of the Soviet Union in the past period has been the question of relations with the Baltic States and with Poland. Our whole policy — against war and for peace — urgently demands the conclusion, both with the Border States and with Poland, of a Pact to refrain from attacks and with regard to neutrality.

Up to now one of the obstacles in the way of these negotiations has been the fact that Poland wished to act as a sort of tutor with regard to all the other Baltic States and that it desired the existence of a complete chain of States stretching from Roumania to Finland which would conclude treaties with us through the mediation of Poland. The government of the Soviet Union rejected such a standpoint on the part of the Polish government, and is of the opinion that the creation of a united front of the countries from the Baltic to the Black Sea with regard to the relations to the Soviet Union cannot serve to consolidate peace. This was one of the most important differences of opinion. In recent times there has been a whole number of declarations on the part of Polish statesmen regarding the desirability of the speedy conclusion of a treaty. Unfortunately, in spite of our agreement with them, these declarations have not been followed by sufficiently prompt action.

The Baltic States.

We have recently concluded a treaty with Lithuania. This treaty still remains valid in spite of the changes which have taken place in that country.

As is known, we have already drawn up a main treaty with Latvia. At present negotiations are being conducted over the final wording of the documents attached to the treaty.

It is to be hoped that our negotiations with Finland and Esthonia will also be successful.

In its negotiations with the Border States the Soviet Union is continuing the peace policy which led in the year 1923 to the convocation of the Moscow Conference for the limitation of armaments.

Turkey.

Relations with Turkey, the most important country of the Near East, since the conclusion of the Treaty of 1921, the neutrality treaty of 17th December 1925, and finally the commercial treaty of 1927 leave scarcely anything better to be desired. It will be necessary in the future to achieve even greater results in developing the economic relations between the two States. These peaceable, friendly relations with Turkey prove all the more justified as Turkey is conducting a peaceful policy not only towards our Soviet Union, but towards other countries, including the Balkan countries.

Persia.

The development of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Persia still remains one of the objects of Soviet policy. On several occasions it seemed as if we were almost on the point of signing a treaty, and each time something came between.

The presence in Moscow of the Persian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ansari, who has come to negotiate immediately with us regarding the settlement of relations between the Soviet Union and Persia, gives us reason to hope that with his immediate participation the negotiations will be crowned with success and that the treaty will be signed.

Afghanistan.

We have recently concluded a treaty of neutrality with Afghanistan, which has already been signed by both governments. Yesterday we received a telegram that the exchange of ratification documents has taken place and that the treaty has already come into force.

Japan.

The maintenance of peace in the Far East depends to a very great degree upon Japan. Public opinion in Japan, which was at first afraid that in the policy of the Soviet Union there would be a recrudescence of those expansionist tendencies in the

East which characterised the Tsarist government, is now beginning to perceive that radical difference which exists between the policy of peace of the Soviet Republic and the policy of the Tsar. One of the obstacles to the actual development of commercial relations with Japan was the fact that the economic negotiations, and particularly the negotiations regarding the fishery convention, have not yet been concluded. The government of the Soviet Union is endeavouring to expedite these negotiations and to proceed to negotiations for a commercial treaty. Unfortunately, owing to circumstances over which we have no control, these negotiations are being protracted longer than is necessary in the interests of both States; nevertheless it is to be hoped that they will lead to a favourable conclusion in the near future.

Our Programme is Peace, but We Will not Allow Ourselves to be Taken by Surprise.

From what I have already said the conclusion must be drawn that, along with a whole number of successes of our diplomacy, the whole world situation with regard to the Soviet Union is much more disturbing than was the case at the time of the last Congress. It must be recognised with all clearness that the greater and the sharper the difficulties which the capitalist system experiences in its development, the more doubtful and skaky the so-called stabilisation of capitalism becomes, the more capitalist circles will endeavour to throw a considerable portion of the responsibility for these failures, both in the sphere of international politics and in the sphere of home politics — fight against the working class —, upon the Soviet Republic. To the extent to which the movement in China develops under the sign of friendship and sympathy for our State, and every revolutionary emancipation movement, every labour movement of the working class proceeds under the same slogan, so will the attacks upon our Soviet Union increase.

It is not by any means due to chance that, precisely at the present time, when imperialism is considerably threatened, the attacks upon our Soviet Union are increasing from day to day. Whether this will lead to military adventures against us, no one can say at present. Upon the long drawn out road of the history of the rivalry of two systems: socialism and capitalism, armed collisions between these systems are, of course, possible.

The Soviet government will adopt every measure in order not to be taken by surprise.

We will in the future also oppose hostile combinations of every sort with our undeviating and firm policy of peace.

But even while consistently carrying out this policy, neither the government nor any of us here present can guarantee that the territory of socialism will not be exposed to attack. For this reason we must be prepared for the worst that may befall. (Enthusiastic applause.)

(To be continued.)

The Decisions of the Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 28th April 1927.

The resolutions adopted by the Soviet Congress of the U. S. S. R. have now been published.

In the resolution upon the speech of comrade Kuibichev concerning the state of soviet industry and the prospects for its further development, the congress pointed to the important achievements of industry and to the increased importance of the socialist elements in the whole economic system of the country. The congress approved of the support given by the government preponderantly to the heavy industry and declared it to be in full accord with the interests of the industrialisation of the country and in accord with the efforts of the Soviet Union to make itself independent of the capitalist countries with regard to the production of the tools of production. The congress expressed the opinion that an all-round development of engineering in particular should be encouraged. The government should also devote attention to the building of new industrial factories and to the building of power stations in the national republics in accordance with the general tasks involved in the industrialisation of the country, further, the government should organise a scientific exploration of the natural resources of the national republics.

The resolution adopted by the congress upon the speech of comrade Kalinin expressed complete approval of the policy of the Soviet Power in the country-side and declared that the

further development of agriculture was inseparably connected with the extension of industry and transport. The Congress confirmed the necessity of increasing the amount of capital invested in the production of agricultural machinery and chemical manure. It further enumerated a number of measures necessary to speed up the work involved in the distribution of the land, the improvement of the colonisation system, the improvement of cattle breeding and the increased application of technical cultures etc.

In the resolution adopted upon the speech of comrade Voroshilov, the congress expressed its complete approval of all the measures adopted by the government to consolidate the fighting forces of the country with a view to its defence from outside attack. The congress placed on record the fact that the Soviet Union was the only State in the whole world whose military and naval expenses had not merely not increased, but even diminished in comparison with 1913. The present military and naval budget was less than half the budget total expended by the Tsarist government before the war. Despite this fact however, declared the congress, the danger of war had increased during the last two years and the threat of a direct intervention against the Soviet Union had become more menacing. The congress expressed once again the will of the masses for the maintenance of peace and instructed the government to do everything in its power to consolidate the existing friendly relations with neighbouring States, but at the same time to raise the fighting strength of the Red Army so that any hostile attack might at a moment's notice meet with a tremendous resistance from the side of the toilers of the Soviet Union.

The Periodical Press in the Soviet Union.

(The Press day of the Soviet Union.)

Broad masses of workers are being enlisted in social activities through the party newspapers.

The revolution has raised the cultural level of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union to a very high degree and has placed their vanguard at the helm of the State.

We can measure how greatly the consciousness and the activity of the masses in the Soviet Union have been raised by the distribution of the newspapers.

At one time, in 1913, the issue of all the newspapers appearing in the Russia of those days, amounted to 2½ million copies, the issue of the present-day Soviet newspapers amounts to 8 million copies. If we take into consideration that up to the revolution subscribers to newspapers among workers and peasants were very rare and that those who did, were exclusively individual subscribers, whereas at present, apart from the millions of individual workers and peasants subscribers, every newspaper in the clubs, Red corners and reading rooms is read by several persons, we must calculate the number of readers of the Soviet newspapers much higher still.

This means that the 600 newspapers at present appearing in the Soviet Union are in extremely close touch with the masses. This is not all however. If even the bourgeois newspapers in pre-revolutionary times cannot be compared with the present issue of the "Pravda" (Truth, 630,000), the "Krestianskaja Gazeta" ("The Peasant Gazette", 875,000), the "Gudok" (Siren, 400,000), the "Rabotshaja Gazeta" ("Workers' Gazette" 300,000) and others, the difference is still greater as regards the contributors to the newspapers.

The old newspapers were literally produced by a few people, from five to twenty collaborators. Now, every workers' or peasants' newspaper has several hundreds, nay even thousands of correspondents from among the workers and peasants, who are permanent, daily contributors to their work. When, in 1922, the worker-correspondent movement began to develop widely, this was the first sign that the Soviet Press had established a permanent and firm connection with the masses, that its influence had deepened.

Several years have passed since then and, apart from the task of further developing the correspondent movement among the workers and peasants, the editors of many popular papers have found other ways and means of enlisting the masses who to a large extent still remain behind the worker and peasant correspondents and are shy of taking part in public activities, in co-operating in the practical construction.

It is only possible to enlist these masses in public work by dealing with the questions of their daily life, by paying the greatest attention to their demands, needs and worries.

Thus for instance a district newspaper, the "Tverskaja Pravda" made an interesting experiment in the way of "visits of inspection". For weeks it concentrated its attention on the life in an individual factory; in its columns, the paper dealt with the work and the life of the workers of that factory down to the smallest detail. A small section of the editorial staff worked in the factory itself and collected suggestions made by the workers for improving the work of the factory or for changing this or that condition of production or of living.

In this way, thousands of workers took part in the discussion as to the ways and means of improving the work in their factory. Hundreds of individual suggestions were collected by the workers organised round this newspaper. These proposals were based on wide consultations, and in this way new, broad strata of illiterate workers, who had hitherto stood aloof, were enlisted in public work through the medium of the newspaper.

The Moscow "Komsomolskaja Pravda" ("Young Communist League's Truth"), the "Sabaikalskij Rabotshij" (The Trans-Baikal Worker) of the Far East, the "Leningradskaja Pravda" ("Leningrad Truth") organised preliminary discussions with individual groups of readers from amongst the workers, in order to be able to deal more wisely and intensively in their columns with this question which is of great significance for social life and for production.

There are still many ways of attracting the attention of the masses to the problems of State and of the order of society which are new to them. Amongst these proceedings, a method should be pointed out which has been used by a number of papers. "Komsomolskaja Pravda", "Gudok", "Rabotshaja Moskva" ("Moscow Worker") and a whole number of provincial papers: "Brjanskaja Gazeta", ("Brjansk Gazette"), "Nasha Derevnja" (Our Village), summon so-called "readers' conferences", at which the paper is read to them and the wishes and criticisms of the readers are heard; in this way, on the one hand, the point of view of the masses is investigated and, on the other hand, they are encouraged to judge the more important social questions as they are put by the newspaper.

Correspondence on a large scale with the readers of the newspapers, questions and answers, visits of the editors to the factories, speakers in the villages, the living newspaper, attempts to establish connections even with the illiterate, all this is opening up new ways to the masses and, if we add hundreds of thousands of workers who are attracted to take part in public life through the newspapers to the 250,000 worker and peasant correspondents which the Soviet Press now counts, we may say that unlimited possibilities are open to the Soviet newspapers.

Life is daily unfolding new problems and new tasks before the working class. The solution of these tasks of course demands an adequate form of connection with the masses and suitable methods of work.

The best Soviet newspapers have realised these tasks and conditions and have understood how to develop their work wisely. Our West European Labour Press must attentively follow their work, must turn their experiences to account for itself and then we shall have no more bad newspapers which only feebly feel the pulse of the broad masses of workers.

RESCUE SACCO AND VANZETTI

Sacco and Vanzetti must be Released!

Appeal of the International Red Aid.

To the Workers and Intellectuals of the Whole World!

The lives of the workers Sacco and Vanzetti are again in serious danger. The American bourgeoisie cannot pardon these two workers for having exposed the true countenance of American justice in the affair of the provocative bomb outrage and of the murder of the Italian printer Salsedo.

Because Comrades Sacco and Vanzetti placed themselves at the head of the broad protest movement against the provocation of the American police, they were arrested in May 1920 and, on the ground of a charge of robbery and murder fabricated by the police, sentenced to death.

For seven years these two innocent men have been in prison exposed to the torture of the pending death sentence; and it is only thanks to the protest of the broad masses of America and Europe that this shameful act has not yet been carried out. For seven years innocent men have had to suffer mental torture which for a time drove Comrade Sacco insane and rendered Comrade Vanzetti seriously ill.

The last days brought us the news that the government of the State of Massachusetts has refused to grant a new trial and has confirmed the death sentence. It has confirmed the death sentence although the one who actually committed the deed had been found and has confessed the crime which had been attributed to Comrades Sacco and Vanzetti!

The government of the United States wishes to rid itself of the responsibility for this judicial murder and to cast it on the government of the State of Massachusetts. It forgets however that it caused Sacco and Vanzetti to be arrested, and was therefore the originator of the base provocation.

This crime must be prevented!

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid summons all workers and intellectuals of the whole world, all to whom international solidarity and the ideals of humanity are not empty phrases, to immediate, active and mass protest against this new crime of the American bourgeoisie.

The wave of protest demonstrations must compel the narrow-minded, obstinate American judges to give way!

Demand of the Ambassadors of the United States that the United States government prevent by its intervention in the State of Massachusetts the carrying out of this monstrous sentence!

The protest of the masses must resound so powerfully that their voices shall shake the walls of the White House in Washington!

We demand the release of the innocent!

We demand the release of Sacco and Vanzetti!

The Executive of the International Red Aid.

Against the Intended Murder of Sacco and Vanzetti!

Appeal of the Red International of Labour Unions.

To the Workers of the Whole World!

The Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts has confirmed the death sentence of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Capitalist justice has already for seven years been playing the comedy of a revision of the judgment, in order to lull the international proletariat and, in a favourable moment, to carry out a judicial murder of their victims.

The storm of protest of the international proletariat has up to now compelled the American bourgeoisie to abstain from carrying out these two death sentences.

The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti is to be carried out even after eye-witnesses have proved that the accused were far from the scene of the crime with which they are charged. The death sentence is to be carried out after the witnesses for the Prosecution have confessed that their statements are false; after a person, who is now in prison on account of another crime, has confessed that he took part in the murder of which Sacco and Vanzetti are now accused, and when this person declares at the same time that Sacco and Vanzetti had nothing to do with the murder. Regardless of all this the bourgeoisie and its justice, in spite of the obvious innocence of the condemned, still refuse to admit the baselessness of the accusation. They fear that if they withdraw the accusation their own apparatus, which in the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti made use of every possible means of forgery and provocation, will be exposed.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions calls upon all its affiliated organisations to carry out a wide-spread campaign of protest under the slogan of saving these two champions of the working class, and appeals to all trade union organisations, and in the first place to the workers organised in the American Federation of Labour, to join in the general action of the revolutionary proletariat against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Raise your voices of protest unanimously against the crime intended by the bourgeoisie.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The IV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Switzerland.

(Continued from last week.)

On Sunday the 17th April Comrade Bodemann delivered the reports on the organisatory activity of the Party.

As regards the strength of the Party membership, a certain stagnation is to be noted. Only in certain districts, particularly in Basle, has there been any considerable progress. The Party press, the "Basle Vorwärts", the "Schaffhausen Arbeiterzeitung" and also the Zürich "Kämpfer" show an upward tendency.

The reorganisation of the Party on the basis of factory nuclei has made progress, but is not completed. The street nuclei predominate precisely in the very important localities, such as Zürich, Winterthur and Basle. Nevertheless in a number of factory nuclei the membership has doubled and tripled. Active, reliable functionaries have also been won as a result of the reorganisation. The trade union work of the Party is on a good basis. In Basle, 94 per cent of all Party members are members of trade unions, in Switzerland as a whole 90 per cent. The fraction work still shows many shortcomings.

The most important tasks of the Party in the sphere of organisation are: continuation of the reorganisation of the Party upon the basis of factory nuclei, improvement of the work of the factory nuclei, special attention to be paid to the big factories, winning new Party members, strengthening of the Party press (at least 1000 new readers to be obtained by November 7,) building up of a good staff of functionaries, serious fraction work in the trade unions.

In the discussion the position of the organisation in the various cantons of Switzerland was dealt with. Special attention was paid to the question of work among women, the activity in the factory nuclei, the publication of factory newspapers and the shortcomings in trade union work. Taken as a whole there is to be seen a consolidation of the organisation.

In the afternoon session a representative of the Youth Communist League and the tasks of the Party. The working youth comprises about 15 per cent. of the total of the working class, and the young Communist organisation is fighting to gain influence over them. Of the 28,000 apprentices in Switzerland only a very small portion is represented in the Young Communist organisation. The young workers in Switzerland receive very low wages; their material position is exceedingly bad. It is the task of the Young Communist organisation, supported by the Party and the trade unions, to fight for an improvement in the position of the working youth and to train them to be revolutionary class fighters.

Comrade Bringolf (Schaffhausen) reported on the attitude of the Communist Party towards the bill of the Swiss Federal government regarding the remuneration of State officials. The Party is opposing the intended remuneration reform as, among other things, it aims at depriving the Swiss civil servants of the right of combination and the right to strike, and at cutting down the wages of the lower officials. It is an attack of reaction upon the achievements of the year 1918. The reformists share responsibility for this proposed law. The Communist Party must take over the lead in the fight against this remuneration bill; it must combine the work of enlightenment with a campaign for a referendum; it must finally oppose this bill by putting forward another measure which will be in accordance with the real interests of the civil servants and the whole working class.

The report was followed by a short discussion.

The Conference then unanimously agreed to the motion of the Central regarding the Civil servants' remuneration bill, the chief slogans of which are: "against the concession policy of the reformists, for strengthening the fighting power of the trade unions, against the deprivation of the right of combination and the right to strike, against the prolongation of the working day, for adequate wages for the lowest sections of the civil servants.

In the evening session

Comrade Walter the representative of the Executive of the Communist International delivered the Report on the International Situation.

He stated:

We communists have sharply emphasised that there will not be any lasting stabilisation; that although in various countries a certain consolidation of capitalist economy, a temporary consolidation of the rule of the capitalist class may take place, this stabilisation can only be relative.

Of course there are a number of symptoms of a stabilisation. It would be superficial and stupid to try to dispute this. But we also see very many counter-tendencies, phenomena which indicate the profound contradictions of capitalism, the inevitability of fresh conflicts and collisions on a world scale. Contrary to the II. International, we hold the standpoint, which is confirmed by the facts, that the present crisis of the capitalist system is not a so-called "normal" crisis, not a crisis of growth, but a symptom of the period of decay of capitalist world economy. The increased apparatus of production in the developed countries is faced by a shrunken market. We see the tremendous awakening and movement of the colonial slaves; we are witnessing the rapid growth of the socialist economy in the Soviet Union. In the period of decay all Hilferding's talk regarding real pacifism is very much out of place. The antagonisms between the various capitalist powers have not become weaker, but are finding more obvious and sharper expression.

The Communist International does not put forward any scheme for the development in the various countries. On the contrary, it expressly emphasises the divergent character of the conditions in the various countries. The tactics of the Communist Parties in the different countries are in accordance with these divergent conditions.

Capitalism is seeking to consolidate and prolong its rule. We see in every country the attempt, by means of rationalisation, to increase or restore its competitive capacity as against the other countries. This rationalisation is, in addition to the various technical improvements which are connected with it, a method of the offensive of the capitalist class against the working class. We see this with particular clearness in Germany, England and also in France. The tremendous struggle of the English miners was a fight against capitalist rationalisation. This fight was lost owing to the attitude of the Amsterdam International. The process of rationalisation is proceeding further and embracing all countries. Everywhere the Communists are at the head of the fight.

One of the symptoms of the decline of capitalism is fascism. The ruling class is endeavouring to overcome the crisis of capitalist economy by liquidating bourgeois democracy, by setting up the fascist dictatorship. Fascism is the political side of capitalist rationalisation. It is an international phenomenon. It of course assumes different forms in the various countries.

How does it stand now with the era of peace which was so loudly proclaimed only a short while ago? Since Locarno we have seen how the antagonisms between the various powers have become more acute. America and England are engaged in rivalry, particularly in China; there exist profound antagonisms between England and France. Between France and Italy an open hostility, the foreign policy of fascist Italy is making for war.

But this aggressive war policy would have been bound to be carried on by any so-called bourgeois-democratic government in Italy. The working class, particularly in France, must therefore, not allow itself to be misled, by the government, under the pretext of a fight against fascism, into defending the alleged democracy and the bourgeois native country.

As a new factor there is entering on the scene a new German imperialism which is making use of the antagonisms between the other powers and is already openly demanding colonies. German imperialism is already creating by means of the Reichswehr a basic organisation for an efficient military power. These are the most important facts in the relations of the capitalist States with each other.

In addition to the above phenomena we see the frantic endeavour of the English capitalist class to create a bloc against the Soviet Union. In this bloc there is to be included Germany also, whose foreign policy is more and more influenced by England.

Of outstanding importance for the course of history and of the world revolution are the events in China. The national liberation struggle of the Chinese people against the imperialist oppressors and exploiters is already able to record tremendous successes as a result of the uprising of the huge masses of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants. The driving force, the motor of the national revolution is the proletariat under the leader-

ship of the Communists. The Chinese revolution, as a result of the firm alliance of the proletariat with the exploited masses of peasants, will constitute an important advance on the part of the world revolution.

In the Kuomintang the antagonisms between the bourgeois Right wing of the Party have increased as a result of the ever-growing pressure of the proletariat and peasant masses. The bourgeois elements in the Kuomintang have, under the leadership of the former Commander-in-chief of the national revolutionary army, disarmed the workers defence corps in Shanghai, and in other places have undertaken an attack against the Left wing of the Party and especially against the Communists.

The workers of Shanghai have replied to Chiang-Kai-Shek's treachery to the revolution with the general strike. The Communist International, in a Manifesto, has stigmatised before the masses of the Chinese people and of the international working class the treachery of the Right elements and of General Chiang-Kai-Shek. The national revolutionary government in Hankow is preparing to launch a counter-attack against the traitors.

The present situation therefore demands from us Communists increased activity for the liberation struggle of the Chinese people.

In conclusion I wish to say a few words regarding the attitude of the Second International. The Second International at its Conference in Paris issued a hypocritical appeal expressing in words its sympathy with the national Chinese liberation movement. But the MacDonaldis in England as well as the French social democrats are doing nothing in order to mobilise the masses and to summon them to the fight against the intervention and the predatory plans of their governments. Robert Grimm has written an article on the Paris Meeting of the II. International in which he expresses pleasure at the fact that the Second International demands that the Balkan conflict be dealt with by the League of Nations. That is a complete abandonment of the former League of Nations' policy of the Swiss social democracy. It means a deception of the working class by which the proletariat will be led into a new 1914.

On the other hand, the Communist International issues an appeal to the working masses of the whole world to conduct their fight against the increased dangers of war as a revolutionary mass struggle, to exert all forces against the attempt of the imperialist robbers to choke the liberation movement of the Chinese people in streams of blood, to hinder with all means the threatening attack upon the First workers' and peasants State of Soviet Russia, and to do everything possible in order to be able to reply to the new imperialist robber war planned by the capitalists of all countries, with the revolutionary uprising of the exploited classes and suppressed peoples.

Long live the Chinese revolution!

Long live Soviet Russia, up with the world revolution!
(Great Applause.)

(Conclusion follows.)

Fifteen Years of the "Pravda."

By M. Ulianov.

This year, Press Day coincides with the fifteenth anniversary of "Pravda", the oldest Bolshevik paper, the central organ of our Party.

The history of "Pravda" is the history of the Labour movement since 1912, when the increasing mass movement with its revolutionary wave, produced the first Labour daily paper.

In the columns of "Pravda", the progress and the defeats of the revolutionary Labour movement have been reflected, "Pravda" has rallied round itself more and more new strata of the proletariat, has shaped and organised them and been their leader not only in their economic fight against capital, but also in their political fight. There has been no question of the day which closely concerned the working class — whether it be the question of workers' dwellings, strikes, ill-treatment by masters or questions of the general political tasks of the working class, the part it should play and its duties in the revolutionary fight — which have not been dealt with in "Pravda", which have not met with a clear and definite judgment in its columns and have not been turned to account for the support of the broad masses of workers. In the years 1912 to 1917, "Pravda" acted to the full its part as "a collective agitator and a collective organiser", for, at that time, it was the centre of the fight for the construction of the Party as against the policy of liquidation, the fight to weld together the glorious

Party of steel which, a few years later, led the proletariat and the peasantry of our country to victory.

The old "Pravda" existed for two years and was supported by the pence of the workers. It was suppressed, persecuted, persecuted, confiscated; its editors and collaborators were arrested and banished, but it always rose again under other titles, always with the same determination and the same will to victory. It was only the dark storm of reaction, which set in at the beginning of the imperialist war, which knocked it out and drowned the resounding, unabashed voice of the "Pravda", the darling of the working masses.

It was silent for rather more than two years. Then its voice resounded once more at the first victory over autocracy; the horny hands of the workers once again held out their pennies in its support, once again columns of workers rallied round it, once again correspondence, resolutions, letters of workers, peasants and soldiers appeared on its pages. Above all, many letters from soldiers. Of all the central newspapers which began to appear in February 1917, the "Pravda" was the only one which took up a strong, definite attitude against the war. It demanded the conclusion of the war which had been begun in the interest and for the profits of the capitalists, and the campaign of "Pravda" for a termination of the war met with the warmest approval of the working masses, but especially of the exhausted soldiers at the front. A few extracts, chosen at random from letters from the front, show with what an echo it met among the "defenders of the country".

"Having read a few numbers of your newspaper, we are inspired with enthusiasm by the absolute truth and genuine sentiments of your articles" wrote soldiers of the 12th Siberian Regiment of Infantry.

We hear a similar tone in the voice of the soldiers of the 484th Infantry Regiment of Birsks:

"... We are truly grateful to you for your newspaper "Pravda". We read it with the greatest attention; it has revealed many truths to us."

Hundreds and thousands of such letters were received. The few voices which were caught by the chaff of the bourgeois Press, in which a fight was carried on against the "Pravda" with revolting calumny and agitation, disappeared completely by their side. The soldiers quickly became aware of the reasons for this agitation and gave expression to their indignation, protesting vigorously against this campaign and assuring the "Pravda" of their support.

They supported their paper not in thought only, they sent money they had collected from their more than modest soldiers' pay. Above all, "Pravda" received many gifts from the masses of soldiers in the form of medals and all kinds of distinctions they had received at the front. In separate numbers of "Pravda" of those times, lists of such gifts, running into hundreds, are printed. Here is an example of one of these lists:

"Pravda" has received for its "iron fund" 384 silver medals "for zealous service" and 445 bronze medals in commemoration of the 300th anniversary of the foundation of the House of Romanov from the soldiers of the Railway Regiment of the Guards.

This is only a small example, and yet — of what movement in the depths of the masses it speaks, of what new forces which are prepared to support the revolution!

The first months of the February revolution formed one of the most brilliant epochs of "Pravda". This was greatly favoured both by the spread of the revolution and by the circumstance that in the first days of April the direct lead of the revolutionary struggle and also of "Pravda" had passed into Lenin's hands. His arrival in Russia, his significant theses which he read on April 17th in the Taurian Palace, after which they were published in "Pravda", his clear, consistently revolutionary slogans put an end to the vacillation of some of the Bolshevik leaders with Kamenev at their head. They traced out for the Party the straight line which it should pursue, they made "Pravda" the true revolutionary banner round which the masses gathered, which — in common with the Party and the workers organisations — led to the conquest of the Soviet power, to the proletarian dictatorship.

In that period, "Pravda" further carried on an extensive and obstinate fight against the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries who at that time were in the majority in the Soviets; it castigated their half-heartedness their opportunism and their betrayal of the interests of revolution mercilessly. It was an embittered fight, a mortal combat, for the fate of the whole revolution depended on the victory of the Bolshevik line.

Just through the fact however that "Pravda" rallied round itself the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, who began, under its influence, to free themselves more and more from the illusions as to compromise, it roused hatred and malice among the bourgeois elements, who recognised it to be the dangerous enemy, who realised that under the influence of "Pravda", discontent with the bourgeois coalition was steadily increasing, that opposition to "carrying on the war to the end" was always growing etc. Again "Pravda" was persecuted. Again did the accomplices of capital resort to all possible measures in order to prevent "Pravda" getting into the hands of the masses, as they feared its influence and its open, determined language. "Pravda" was kept back at the railway stations so as to prevent it getting to the front, comrades who distributed it were arrested, its shield-bearers and adherents were beaten.

This hatred grew particularly embittered at the end of April, when, after the annexation note of the Provisional Government, the Nevsky-Prospect was alive with demonstrations pro and contra Miljukov. Matters went as far as open collisions. Two essentially contrary parties were opposed to one another in acute hostility. On the banners of one party stood: "Down with Lenin!" on those of the other party: "All the power to the Soviets!" The masses tore the banner of the "enemy" demonstration to pieces and beat the partisans of one party or the other.

Only a few paces from the Nevsky-Prospect or, as it was called at that time, the Miljukov-Prospect, the editorial staff of the "Pravda" was at work in its two small rooms in the Moika Street, working feverishly. There were particularly large numbers of visitors in those days. Every now and then some "Pravdist" or other would rush into the office, bringing the most recent reports as to what was going on in the Nevsky-Prospect. Lenin himself sat in the adjoining room, quietly preparing the composition of the next number.

Fraternisation at the front, the union of the soldiers with the workers, the increasing disintegration which threatened to become a catastrophe, the land question usw. — all these questions prompted increasingly wide masses of workers to collect round "Pravda". The demonstration of June 18th was illustrative of how the illusions regarding a compromise were constantly crumbling away more and more.

The days of July. The tension reached its culminating point. The measures of the Provisional Government aiming at the removal of the revolutionary garrison from Petrograd and at disarming the workers, prompted the masses to an elementary resistance to the Provisional Government, the reactionary elements of which turned to account the open attack of the Junkers on the workers and their organisations. "Pravda" was destroyed, the leaders of the Labour movement were arrested or forced into illegality. Only a few days elapsed, and "Listok Pravdy" ("Paper of Truth") appeared in the place of "Pravda", for the distribution of which a worker, called Voinov, died as a hero, being tortured to death by the Junkers.

"Listok Pravdy" was replaced by the newspaper „Rabotshij i Soldat" ("Worker and Soldier"), and when this also was forbidden, by "Proletarij" ("The Proletarian").

Events developed with furious rapidity. Bourgeois-social compromising organs were published and failed, such as the "Democratic Conference" and the "Preliminary Parliament", the reactionary character of which became clearer and clearer to the broad masses, thanks to the merciless criticism of our newspaper. The thunder-clouds gathered more and more threateningly, the decisive fight approached nearer and nearer. The Government still tried to struggle for its existence. Under pressure from without, our paper was again twice compelled to alter its name; it appeared as "Rabotshij" ("The Worker") and "Rabotshij Put" ("The Worker's Path"). Since the victory of the Soviets in October, "Pravda" has again, by the will of the victorious proletariat, borne its original name and is the banner of the October revolution.

When the first Bolshevik Labour newspaper had only existed for a little more than five years, the one hundred thousand workers who had stood by "Pravda" in the years 1912—1914, had increased in such a way that in November the Party and "Pravda" were backed by the majority of the population of the country which had carried off victory in the revolution.

Another five years elapsed. Strenuous, feverish activity in the defence of the socialist country, for the rescue of the workers

from starvation. The first stones of the socialist construction are laid. In all the difficult tasks by which our Party is faced, "Pravda" has proved to be an organiser and leader of the first Labour republic.

Severe fights, trials, the innumerable sacrifices of civil war — but also joyful victories, the first steps forward, the first strengthening of the positions of the proletariat are reflected in the columns of "Pravda". Gigantic difficulties, titanic work. Every step, every failure, every advance in this fight is described in the columns of "Pravda".

"Pravda" was at its post. Its significance had long ago spread beyond the boundaries of our country, but the collaborators were still crowded into one or two rooms of the large premises of the editorial office of the former "Russkoje Slovo". The closeness of these small rooms is almost unbearable. They are smoked out by the small iron stoves, but in the other rooms there are no stoves at all. All the collaborators are there, gathered round two or three tables. There sits also the editor of the "Pravda", Comrade Bucharin, with his leading article, crushed up against the table. There is no wood, no paper, and the central organ of the Government Party appears on two pages. Short, concise war reports, short articles in the nature of proclamations — this was the "Pravda" of those times.

It was not till "Pravda" had existed for twice five years, after the civil war had been brought to a successful end, that economic questions became the centre-point of attention. Construction continues; but at the same time, more and more attention is devoted to the "life of the worker". The worker correspondent movement constantly spreads further. New blood is introduced, for those who had been trained by the old "Pravda" of the years 1912 to 1914 are already occupying important posts in the various domains of our construction.

Fresh people of this kind are however increasing in numbers. "Pravda" organises them, directs their work. They have their heroes and their victims. Some have perished, as did Comrade Spiridonov, one of our best representatives, but they are replaced by hundreds and thousands of others, for the cause they serve is an important cause, and without the wide participation of the masses themselves in all fields, it is impossible for us to build up socialism.

We are at the end of the third five years' period of the existence of "Pravda". Lenin, in his last greeting to it at the end of 1922, wrote that his wishes for it were that "in the peaceful struggle of the five years to come it would accomplish no less than we had achieved up to that time with arms in our hands". This wish has been fulfilled by the progress of the economic construction which all can see with their own eyes. "Pravda" has also accomplished its share in this work.

In the future also, it shall be our banner, the protector of Lenin's legacy, of the unity of our Party, the educator of the broad masses of the new constructors who will carry on the construction of socialism until it is perfected.

IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party.

By J. Williams.

The thirty fourth annual conference of the Independent Labour Party was held at Easter in Leicester. Its most outstanding features were the opening speech of James Maxton (the president of the party) and the debate on the relations between the I.L.P. and MacDonald.

Maxton's speech, which set the tone for the whole of the proceedings, dealt in a sharply critical manner first with the events of the past year, the worst effect of which has been the Anti-Trade Union Bill introduced by the Government on the 4th April, the aim of which is to break the weapon forged by the workers over a period of half a century, and secondly, the role of the I.L.P. in the British Labour Movement and the defection of MacDonald.

Maxton emphasised that it was largely owing to the I.L.P. that the organised workers had forged political and economic weapons for their defence. Without special economic studies, i. e. by purely imperial means, Keir Hardie, the founder of the I.L.P., arrived at the same conclusions as Marx, and taught the Party that the fight of the workers, both in national

and international matters, is to be conducted by means of solidarity. The greatest misfortune of the working class is that they are divided internationally and split into the Second and the Third International. The attitude of the Second International is painful to all who consider the unity and solidarity of the proletariat of the world to be absolutely necessary. "Is it not humiliating for us all, he said that we have petty squabbles with one another and thereby forget the whole. In Russia, China and India, which stand entirely under the growing influence of the III. International, there lives a great portion of toiling humanity whom the rulers wish to keep down. We, however, say that these Asiatic masses are our fellow workers with whom we must unite in order to be able to fight together against international capitalism.

Maxton then reproved those British comrades who only see the difficulties lying in the way to socialism and exaggerate them. Such a tendency has been noticeable since 1924, since the Labour Party formed a minority government. We are, said Maxton, like the children of Israel, who after have wandered for forty years in the wilderness were about to enter the promised land and send out spies in advance; these spies came back with the report that the land was indeed flowing with milk and honey, but terrible giants live there. Friends, there are no giants either for us or against us. We have trust in the ordinary working people, which is inspired with hope and courage to set up the new society with rapidity and with methods they themselves have to decide.

The decision of the N. A. C. of the I. L. P. not to nominate Ramsay MacDonald again for the post of treasurer to the Labour Party aroused great excitement. The debate on this question was somewhat lively, as MacDonald has very many friends in the I. L. P. It is significant, however, that on a vote being taken the action of the N. A. C. was approved by 312 votes against 118. The cause of the dissension between the I. L. P. and MacDonald is the following: Up to the year 1918 the I. L. P. played the role of intellectual leader of the Labour Party, supplied it with socialist slogans as well as with leaders. This role was so important that, of the 152 members of the Parliamentary Labour Party about 100 either belong to or at one time belonged to the I. L. P. The I. L. P. was able to play this role of leader only because it was much in advance of the Labour Party from the socialist point of view. It formed the head of the labour movement. Its delegate to the Executive of the Labour Party was for a long time Ramsay MacDonald. But when, in the last few years, MacDonald identified himself more and more with the extreme Right wing of the Labour Party, he was bound to come into conflict with the I. L. P., unless the I. L. P. adopted his tactics. In the latter case the I. L. P. would lose every right to existence as a special organisation. The instinct of self-preservation compelled the I. L. P. to repudiate MacDonald.

The Party Conference approved, among others, the following resolutions: creation of a special State fund of 100 million Pounds a year by a special tax on high incomes, in order thereby to finance the socialisation plans of the next labour government; protest against the sending of troops to China. The Party Conference called the attention of the workers to the fact that Great Britain is already openly engaged in war against China; it demanded the recognition of China as a sovereign independent country, the handing back of the concessions, the withdrawal of troops and warships in China, and called for the establishment of closer relations between the British and the Chinese labour movement. The Party Conference pledged the members to refuse military service, as well the production and transport of munitions in the event of the outbreak of war. Finally, the Party Conference called upon the Parliamentary Labour Party to make a declaration that the next Labour government will repeal the anti-trade union bill introduced by Baldwin. In international politics the Party Conference repudiated the policy of continuity, of national prestige and the balance of power, and put in its place the fraternity and equality of all nations and the solidarity of the interests of all countries.

In spite of many big words, the Party Conference of the Independent Labour Party was a severe disappointment to wide circles of the working class. If here and there it had been hoped that the Party Conference would decide on a final plan for united action and determined fight against the trade union legislation of the government and against British imperialism in China, this hope has proved vain.

In spite of all the talk of unity, the only real opportunity of its realisation, which was contained in the proposal of the

Communists, was ignored. The chairman, Maxton simply kept back from the Conference the proposals made to it by the Communists.

The attitude of the I. L. P. was fairly aptly characterised by John Wheatley when he said: "We want to get the fruits of revolution without a revolution".

The Victory of the Right Wing at the Conference of the Socialist Party of France.

By Paul Marion (Paris).

The French Socialist Party, since the election to the Chamber of Deputies in May 1924 up to May 1926, when the last ordinary Party Conference took place, has experienced at every one of its conferences the same miserable performance, in which each member of the cast knows and plays his part excellently.

As a matter of fact, Renaudel, Boncour and Vincent Auriol of the Right, Blum of the Centre, Paul-Faure, Compère Morel, Bracke and Zyromski of the Left usually proceeded in the following manner: The Left complained against the "exaggerations" of the policy of supporting the Left Bloc or regarding "regrettable" votes on the part of socialist deputies belonging to the Right. The Right replied by demanding a more "adaptable" democratic policy, in which they went so far as to demand participation in the government along with the bourgeois Radicals. Blum finally delivered a speech of reconciliation in which, behind the thin veil of "higher considerations", he preached a milk and water socialism of the Ramsay MacDonald type. Thereupon a colourless resolution or a so-called "left" resolution (drawn up by Blum), which was opposed to a resolution by Renaudel and his friends, was unanimously adopted.

At the Party Conference held at Lyons (18th to 20th April) there was a change in the usual performance.

The Rights, Blum and the old Guesdist General staff (Paul-Faure, Compère Morel, Bracke and Lebas), with the exception of Bracke and Zyromski, formed a new majority. Their joint resolution received 2352 votes against 774 for a Bracke-Zyromski resolution and 185 for a resolution of Maurin (extreme Left).

What is the meaning of this regrouping of tendencies within the French social democracy?

Unemployment, the offensive against wages and against the eight hour day, rationalisation, intervention by French imperialism in China, tension between France and Italy, conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia, new military laws—everything which since July 1926 has severely hit or threatened to hit the proletariat has been accepted or approved, or even prepared (as the civil military law) by the social democracy of France. Two years of a policy of supporting the bourgeois Ministries have converted the Socialist Party of France, which up to the year 1927 had been a petty bourgeois party of parliamentary opposition, into a party which is "fit to govern" and which desires to lead the capitalist State in the "interest of the whole community".

This state of affairs has been sanctioned by the Party Conference of Lyons.

There was only one question on the agenda of the conference: "The relations of the Socialist Party to the bourgeois parties and to Bolshevism". In actual fact, the socialist leaders, in view of the elections which will take place in 1928, wish to prepare for the resurrection of the Left Bloc, to present themselves to the bourgeoisie as the leaders of a "serious" party, and in order to do this declare themselves to be determined enemies of bolshevism, of the Soviet Union and of the united front.

Some time before the Party Conference four main tendencies had made their appearance in the leading organ of the socialist party of France. These tendencies found expression in four resolutions:

The resolution of Paul-Faure the points of which were: 1. agreements with the Radicals are not out of question; 2. against any united front whatever; 3. fight against bolshevism; 4. the unity of the workers is only possible on the basis of the Second International.

The resolution introduced by Renaudel contained the same ideas expressed with more cynical frankness (brutal attacks on the Soviet Union and bolshevism).

The resolution of Bracke-Zyromski, whose sponsors referred to the Austrian social democracy, asserted "the growth of class antagonisms", the necessity of a more energetic parliamentary opposition and the necessity of mass actions. It rejected the

united front, but permitted contact with the Communists on the occasion of mass actions, which it recommends. This resolution is quite in accordance with that tendency which Lenin in his writings in 1919 and 1920 characterised as centrist.

Finally, the resolution of **Maurin**, after a strong condemnation of Revisionism and of defence of native country, advocates, in a somewhat confused form, the return to the principles of the Charta of Amiens and to the unity of the workers which existed before the war. Its essential feature, however, was its demand for the united front with the Communists.

As **Bracke**, **Zyromski** and their friends, in spite of their radical declarations, had always hitherto accepted without much difficulty the political practice of the French social democracy, one could believe that an understanding would be possible between them, and **Leon Blum**, **Paul Faure** and the Rights on the basis of a watery and general resolution. But nothing came of this. The Rights and **Blum** voted with the old Guesdist guard for the **Paul-Faure** resolution, which in this way became their common resolution. Every concession to **Bracke's** friends was rejected because the majority of the socialist leaders, especially **Leon Blum**, desired that the Party Conference of Lyons should lead the Socialist Party of France as energetically as possible along their way of collaboration and Coalition policy. For this purpose they thought fit to drive into opposition those who maintain that class contradictions are developing and who condemn the policy of supporting the government and also election agreements. It was likewise necessary to proceed against the supporters of the united front with sharp disciplinary measures and to threaten them with expulsion. (**Maurin** was deprived of his functions for two years.)

The whole of the Left bourgeois press has welcomed the Party Conference in Lyons as a Party Conference of the fight against bolshevism and of approachment to democracy. As regards the Right press, it maintains for tactical reasons, in order to keep the Radicals in the National Union, that the socialists are veering to the Left.

For the rest, the declarations of the various leaders of the new majority characterise the official triumph of opportunism and of the spirit of class collaboration. But simultaneously with this Right development of all the socialist leaders, there is developing among the socialist workers (particularly as a result of the offensive against wages and as a result of the approval of the new military laws) a tendency to join the united front. The fraction of the extreme Left has gained more ground than the growth of the number of their mandates since the Party Conference of Clermont-Ferrand (from 104 to 185) would cause one to believe.

There is no doubt that as a result of this Party Conference the political activity of the Communist Party of France in the struggles of the proletariat as well as a correct application of the united front tactics will bring great masses of socialist workers under the influence of the C. P. of France.

INTERNATIONAL RED AID

The Second International Conference of the I. R. A.

By W. Trostel, Zurich.

The International Red Aid (I. R. A.) has during the last few years earned its position in the general labour movement through its activity, its support of the victims of the proletarian class war, its work of enlightenment and its fight against white terror, Fascism and bourgeois class justice. More and larger circles of workers and also left-wing intellectuals are coming to see the pressing necessity for this organisation for relief, solidarity and struggle. It has become a mass organisation, and, moreover, a super-party mass organisation. Non-party people, Communists, Social-Democrats and even left-wing bourgeois have joined it. Including the collective members, the I. R. A. now comprises over 10 million members, 6 million individual members.

The Second International Conference of the I. R. A. took place in Moscow from March 24th to April 5th. There were present at the conference 72 delegates with right to vote from 42 countries, together with a further 50 delegates with advisory votes. The fact that the I. R. A. is a super-party organisation was observable from the composition of the conference. Communist, Social-Democratic and non-party delegates gathered to-

gether for the purpose of discussing the tasks and work of the I. R. A.

The conference devoted itself to serious work. Even before the actual opening on March 24th commissions were sitting and various foreign delegates were given the opportunity, by being deputed to sections of the Soviet Union for the celebration of March 18th, of gaining an idea of the tremendous development, consolidation and lively activity of the I. R. A. in the Soviet Union. There is no organisation to be found there, no institute, no club, no barrack, no school building without its R. A. nuclei and circles. The writer of this article had an opportunity of making the acquaintance of such nuclei in **Twer** — a typical manufacturing town of 120,000 inhabitants. March 18th is a general holiday in the Soviet Union, and every means is employed on this day in order to make propaganda for the Paris Commune, the I. R. A. and the fight against White Terror and Fascism. This theme is treated in all newspapers, at thousands of lectures, in inscriptions, placards and in illustrated wall newspapers. The experience enabled one to gain a very clear insight into the work of the I. R. A. in the Soviet Union.

The first session of the Conference took place in the **Meyerhold Theatre** in the presence of several hundred Moscow proletarians.

The report of the executive upon the international activity of the I. R. A. and the efforts of the individual sections showed the enormous dimensions which the I. R. A. has assumed, not only in **Germany**, **France** and the **Soviet Union**, but also in **America**, **China** and even in the countries of extreme persecution and oppression, **Italy**, **Poland** and in the **Balkans**. **Italy** in particular is a shining example of how, in spite of the illegality, the solidarity of the revolutionary proletariat finds practical expression; and in **Bulgaria** and **Roumania** there are women who would go to prison for years rather than give up the relief work they do on behalf of the I. R. A.

The report further showed that the tasks of the I. R. A. could not be accomplished in a loose organisation, but only within a structure which is thoroughly organised and which must rely upon the broadest strata of all elements ready to offer help and solidarity, from the proletariat to the intellectuals of the left wing of the bourgeoisie, irrespective of political persuasions. Despite prohibitions and boycotts more and more **Social-Democratic** workers are coming over to the I. R. A.; their proletarian class-consciousness, their will to solidarity, is stronger than the orders of "their leaders".

The campaigns and actions executed internationally by the I. R. A. have mobilised ever increasing masses and have contrived to bring considerable pressure to bear upon the rulers in countries of the white terror and upon judges who pass bourgeois class-judgements.

The reports of the largest and most important sections disclose a terrible picture of the fury of the White Terror and of the difficulties experienced in bringing succour to the victims, finding legal protection and in carrying on the fight for amnesty, but also a wonderful picture of the magnitude and depth of proletarian solidarity.

These illustrations were compiled and excellently supplemented in three reports: Comrade **Maggi** (Italy) spoke on Fascism in Italy, its nature, its methods and the fight put up by the workers. Comrade **André Marty** (France) reported on Imperialism and White Terror in the colonies and semi-colonies, and Comrade **Tobler** (Switzerland) spoke of White Terror, Fascism and bourgeois class-justice in general and of the fundamental attitude to these phenomena.

The question of the future tasks and perspectives of the I. R. A. was dealt with by Comrade **Lepeschinski**. His report showed what great possibilities are still open to the I. R. A., both in regard to embracing further strata as well as to the extension of its sphere of activities. That he should pay special attention to the revolutionary development in **China** was only to be expected in view of the importance of this matter at the moment. Nevertheless, he did not forget how even small countries such as **Switzerland** may become of great significance in the fight for right of asylum. Up to the present, the Red Aid in the **Soviet Union** has done by far the most in a material sense and also in aiding political emigrants, and it will continue to do so, but it also appeals to the solidarity of the workers in the capitalist countries.

The question of emigrants, the fight for right of asylum, sanctuary, Agit.-Prop, organisations, legal assistance, care of children, sponsorships and of the work among intellectuals,

women, youths, etc., were first of all discussed by commissions, and the most important and most serious considerations were then reported to the plenum. As the most experienced Red Aid functionaries from all the different countries were present, these questions were thoroughly dealt with, and if the sections can only utilise these results in their spheres of activity great success may be expected in the fight against White Terror and Fascism, and it will be possible to show considerable successes in the relief and support activities of the I. R. A.

Long live solidarity! Take your place at the active front of the I. R. A.!

OUR MARTYRS

The Execution of Comrade Li-Tai-Chao and Nineteen of his Fellow Workers in Peking.

By Tang Shin-She.

On the 28th of April 20 of the best fighters of the Communist Party of China and the revolutionary Kuomintang were executed in Peking by strangulation. Chang Tso-Lin has murdered 20 revolutionaries at the order of the imperialists. The murdered comrades were arrested on 6th April during the raid on the Soviet Embassy in Peking which was inspired by the diplomatic corps. Five hundred armed bandits of Chang Tso-lin entered the foreign legation which, according to the agreement forced upon China by the imperialists in 1900 after the Boxer rising had not been entered by any armed Chinese. As no "suitable material" against the arrested was found, the necessary documents were quickly fabricated. Upon the basis of these forged documents an "extraordinary court" then sentenced the arrested to death by strangulation after farcical proceedings lasting two hours. The sentences were immediately executed.

Amongst the murdered was the prominent leader of the Chinese revolution and of the Communist Party, comrade Li Tai-Chao. His death like the deaths of the others means a tremendous loss for the Chinese proletariat and for the Communist Party.

Comrade Li Tai-Chao was one of the founders of the Communist Party of China. He was a permanent member of the Central Committee of the Party. The Party had instructed him to work especially in North China. After the insurrection against the imperialists on the 18th of March in Peking, the Peking government issued an arrest warrant against him. He fled and remained for some time in Moscow, but soon afterwards he returned to Peking in order to continue his work illegally. Despite the fearful white terror of Chang Tso-Lin, Li Tai-Chao and his comrades fearlessly and tirelessly continued the work of organising the revolutionary struggle. For this reason the militarists of North China and their imperialist supporters cherished a special hatred of Li Tai-Chao.

Comrade Li Tai-Chao rendered special services in the establishment of co-operation between the communists and the Kuomintang. At the instance of Comrade Lenin he tried as early as 1921 to persuade the Chinese communist group to participate in the national revolution. As long as General Wu Pei-fu gave himself out as a friend of the national emancipation of China, Li Tai-Chao maintained touch with him, but immediately Wu Pei-fu commenced his reactionary activities, he was abandoned by Li Tai-Chao. In 1922 Li Tai-Chao joined Sun Yat-Sen. Li Tai-Chao was the first communist member of the Kuomintang and Sun Yat-Sen accepted him with enthusiasm. Li Tai-Chao was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang at the first congress of the Kuomintang in 1924.

Another great service rendered by Li Tai-Chao was the organisation of the railwaymen's union which today plays a great role in the revolutionary movement. Previous to 1921 the railwaymen were organised in the "transport association" under the influence of a reactionary monarchist clique. Li Tai-Chao utilised his temporary connection with Wu Pei-fu in order to organise the railwaymen and draw them over to the side of the revolution. The great Tangsan miners' strike and the railwaymen's strike in 1923 took place under his leadership. Whilst the imperialists regarded him as their irreconcilable enemy, the workers regarded him as their true leader and were passionately attached to him.

As early as 1910 comrade Li Tai-Chao played a leading

role during the student unrests. Together with Comrade Chen Tu-Shu, the present general secretary of the Communist Party of China, he was one of the heads of the "free thought" movement. He also rendered valuable assistance to the movement of the **Corean people for emancipation.**

Comrade Li Tai-Chao was a well-known and popular author and professor of the Peking University for Law and National Economy.

He once contributed a splendid article for the jubilee of a bourgeois newspaper, the "Shanghai Shuh Pao" upon the Paris Commune which drew thousands of Chinese students into the revolutionary movement.

Before the extraordinary court comrade Li Tai-Chao declared proudly and openly that he was a follower of Marx and Lenin and that he would fight for the emancipation of the proletariat with the last breath in his body.

Li Tai-Chao and the other executed comrades will live for ever in the hearts of the Chinese workers and peasants, in the hearts of the international working class. The Chinese revolutionaries and the proletariat of all countries will continue the work of these comrades until the final victory.

TEN YEARS AGO

The Soldiers and the Land.

By N. Lenin.

Published on April 28th 1927.

The majority of the soldiers consists of peasants. Every peasant knows how the landowners have oppressed and do oppress the people. Wherein does the power of the landowners consist?

In the land.

The landowners possess many tens of millions of dessjatines of land. This leaves millions of peasant families no alternative but to be the slaves of the landowners. No "right of freedom" is any help to the peasants as long as the landowners rule over many tens of millions of dessjatines of land.

The whole of the soil must pass into the possession of the people. All the land in the country must belong to the whole people, and the local Soviets of delegates of peasants and agricultural workers must dispose of the land. How is this to be enforced? A Soviet of peasants and agricultural workers must be formed without exception in every village throughout Russia on the pattern of the Soviets of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in the towns. Unless the peasants and agricultural labourers combine themselves, unless they take their fate into their own hands, no one in the world can help them, no one can free them from their enslavement by the landowners.

In order, however, that the peasants in the villages may immediately take the land from the landowners and may dispose of it in the right way, whilst, at the same time, complete order is maintained and all property is protected from damage, the soldiers must help the peasants.

The peasants, workers and soldiers form the overwhelming majority in the country. It is the will of this majority that the whole of the land should at once pass into the hands of the Soviets of the peasants' delegates. No one can prevent the majority carrying this out, if it is well organised (united like one man), if it is self-conscious, if it is armed.

Soldiers! Help all the workers and peasants to unite and to arm!

Soldiers! You yourselves unite more strongly and firmly, join the workers and peasants! Do not let the power of arms be torn from your hands! Then and then only will the people get hold of the whole soil and be freed from its position of serfdom under the landowners!

The Land to the Peasants.

By J. Stalin.

Published on April 27th, 1917.

The peasants of the Governmental district of Riasan have approached Minister Shingariov with a statement to the effect that they intend to cultivate the fallow land belonging to the landowners, even if the landowners refuse to give their consent. The peasants declare that the refusal on the part of the landowners to sow is fatal, and that the only way to ensure enough

grain not only for the population in the country itself but also for the army at the front, is the immediate cultivation of the land which is lying fallow.

In his answer Minister Shingariov definitely forbids the peasants to cultivate the soil on their own responsibility, describing it as "defiance of the law" and recommending the peasants to wait until the Constituent Assembly is called which will solve all these questions.

As however the date for summoning the Constituent Assembly is unknown, because the summoning of it is being postponed by the Provisional Government of which Shingariov is a member, the result is that in reality the soil remains uncultivated, the peasants without land — and Russia, the workers, peasants and soldiers without enough bread.

Let Russia fall into the clutches of famine as long as no injustice is done to the landowners.

This is the answer of the Provisional Government of which Minister Shingariov is a member.

We are not in the least surprised by an answer of this kind. Nothing else can be expected of the behaviour of a government of industrialists and landowners towards the peasants; what do they care for the peasants, as long as all is well with the landowners!

We therefore call upon the peasants, the whole of the rural poor and the whole of Russia to take their cause into their own hands and to push it.

We call upon them to organise themselves into revolutionary peasant committees (parish, district committees etc.) and, with their help, to take possession of the soil of the landed proprietors and to cultivate it on their own initiative in an organised way.

We call upon them to do this at once, without waiting for the Constituent Assembly, paying no attention to reactionary prohibitions of the Ministry with which it attempts to put a spoke into the wheel of history.

We are told that the immediate seizure of the lands of the landed proprietors would lead to the "progressive strata of society" breaking away from the revolution, thus endangering its "unity".

It would however be naive to imagine that it is possible to push forward the revolution without coming into conflict with the industrialists and landed proprietors.

Did not the workers, when they introduced the eight hours' day, cause the industrialists and their adherents to "break away" from the revolution? Who would dare to maintain that the revolution was lost because the situation of the workers was improved and their hours of work shortened?

There is no doubt that it will cause the landowners and their adherents to "break away" from the revolution if the peasants cultivate the soil of the landed proprietors on their own initiative and take possession of it. But who would dare to maintain that we should weaken the power of the revolution by rallying round it the poor peasantry who are counted by millions?

Anyone who would influence the course of the revolution must clearly understand once for all that:

1. The forces which count in our revolution consist of workers and of the rural poor who have been put into uniform because of the war;
2. that, with the intensification and expansion of the revolution, the so-called "progressive elements" — progressive in words, reactionary in deeds — will inevitably "break away" from the revolution.

It would be a reactionary Utopia to wish to arrest this beneficial process, by which the revolution will be cleansed of all superfluous "elements".

The policy of waiting and of putting off until the Constituent Assembly meets, the policy of "temporary" renunciation of the confiscation of manorial lands, as is recommended by the Narodniki, Trudoviki and Mensheviks, the policy of manoeuvring between the classes (so as to be sure not to offend either!), the shameful policy of not stirring from the spot, — this is not the policy of the revolutionary proletariat.

The triumphal march of the Russian revolution will sweep away this policy as superfluous trash, which is beloved by no one but the enemies of the revolution and which would benefit them alone.

The Effect of the Russian Revolution Abroad.

The German Munition Workers demand the Establishment of a Workers' Soviet according to the Russian Model.

Berlin, April 26th. At the meeting of the Chief Committee of the Reichstag on April 25th, in which the strike of munition workers was discussed, General Gröner, the head of the war office, made a speech in which, among other things, he said:

After the long winter which we have behind us, I perfectly understand the depression which weighed upon or seized hold of the workers, when the bread ration was suddenly reduced. In the midst of this depression, there suddenly arose a cry — I will not say whence — saying: We must show the Government that it has failed to take measures in time; we must demonstrate; we will strike on the 16th. This idea ran through the factories like wild-fire. I did not take this affair very tragically, because I understood it from the psychological point of view. I warned the leading personalities against proceeding at once with strict measures, because I was of the opinion that it is sometimes good to open the safety valve and to let the mood calm down.

Suddenly however there was a sharp turn in affairs. Beginning on Wednesday however, political affairs came into the foreground, and things ceased to be pleasant. Where do these political affairs originate? You all know the Leipzig programme and the extremely insolent telegram to the Imperial Chancellor. It contains a number of political demands and demands for franchise reform, but above all, at the end, for the establishment of a workers' Soviet on the Russian model, asking the Imperial Chancellor to receive a deputation on this point. This was mad, more than mad... We shall proceed ruthlessly against the wirepullers. We shall deal with these political traitors to their country with all the force of the law.

"Who Dares to Defy the Call of Field Marshal Hindenburg?"
(From Gröner's proclamation.)

Our army needs arms and munitions. Have you not read Hindenburg's letter?

"Anyone who stays idly at home instead of working, is guilty of an unpardonable sin. Our soldiers at the front would have to shed their blood for your sins."

Who dares to defy Hindenburg's call? None but a dirty tike would strike as long as our army is facing the enemy!

**The Reformist Leaders of the Metal Workers' Union
Do not Dare to Do it!**

Berlin, April 26th. In connection with the strike in the munition industry, the central executive of the Metal Workers' Union has addressed a warning to the metal workers which contains the following passages:

"In recent times especially, some of the members of our Union and some persons outside our Union have attempted to abuse membership of our Union by stopping work for political purposes, and unfortunately in some cases they attained their end... The general strike recommended to the German workers by unscrupulous persons, can, by its very nature, neither bring us the peace for which we are all longing nor alleviate our food difficulties. A stoppage in the iron works, the munition factories and the means of transport alone would suffice to increase the existing difficulties immeasurably.

For this reason, any member of the Union who takes part in a stoppage of work and demonstrations for political purposes, which are contrary to our statutes, and especially anyone who starts them, is committing a crime against his own people, against his fellow-workers and against his own flesh and blood on the battlefield...

We demand, above all, from our functionaries, that they in no way favour the irresponsible intrigues, but rather that they oppose them with every determination."

The Centrists also Opposed to the Munition Workers on Strike!

Chemnitz, April 28th, ("Volksstimme"). The "Remscheider Arbeiterstimme", the organ for the constituency of deputy Dittmann writes on the strikes in the munition industry:

Even though the workers have, up to the present, maintained a perfectly calm attitude in their demonstrations, this occur-

rence is much to be regretted. One of these days, the foreign Press will turn these events to account with excessive exaggeration of what actually happened, which will only encourage our opponents to continue the war. On the other hand, precious time is being lost in the production of munition and war material.

Anyone who takes part in such demonstrations, ought to consider that by every hour of work which is lost, he places his relatives at the front in serious danger and may, in certain circumstances, be partly responsible for the death of thousands of his fellow-countrymen without having achieved anything useful.

Spartacus in Favour of an Immediate Peace.

The Lessons of the great Mass Strike.

Proclamation of the Spartacus League at the end of April 1917.*)

Workers! Comrades!

The mass strike of the Berlin workers is over — the misery of the masses, the wholesale deprivation of rights, the condition of siege and the slaughter of the peoples continues.

Famine also continues!

The Government, it is true, has promised to make up for the deficiency in bread by a liberal distribution of meat and potatoes. The people are not to be worse off than they were before the bread ration was cut down. That is all right, but was our food anything like sufficient before?! Did we not have to endure the greatest lack of indispensable foodstuffs? Have we not had to look on while our women and children gradually faded away, while our power of work — our only means of sustenance — gradually dwindled away?

This is how we have let the Government put us off by promising us the old misery!

The chief thing, however, is that the Government is quite incapable of keeping its promises except under conditions which fill us with fear and horror of the approaching future. The fact is that there are neither potatoes nor cattle to guarantee us the additional food promised for any length of time. If it were now possible to provide the workers, more liberally, it would have been an unpardonable crime to let them starve until now. As a matter of fact however, the instigators of the war conceal the truth from the people.

The additional rations can only be distributed if we consume the seed potatoes and a considerable part of the cattle for breeding.

If the Government in order to save itself from the wrath of the people and from a revolution such as has taken place in Russia — enters on this path, millions of German men and women will be faced next winter by **naked hunger and starvation.**

The only rescue from the abyss into which the Government has driven the country, is an **immediate peace.**

The Government is out to rob other countries, it does not desire any peace which would be acceptable to the so-called "enemy" States. Even if it could draw up and conclude a peace according to its own heart, it would always — as we all know only too well — be in the interest of militarism and imperialism, of the Junkers and capitalists, and opposed to the vital interests of the German proletariat. It is therefore the most urgent task of the German workers to enforce peace — just as our Russian brothers are now doing — and to see that it takes a form which corresponds with the interest of the international proletariat, so that we have our peace and not the peace of the imperialists.

It was therefore up to us to turn the mass strike into a cry for peace from millions of voices which would have worked like an igniting spark in the barracks and trenches; it was up to Berlin to hold out unflinchingly in the fight until the proletariat in the whole country had rallied round the German workers; it was up to us to create a new mass organisation and fighting organisation which would bring about peace and freedom in the fight itself; above all, it was up to us to subordinate the food question completely to the peace campaign, as the former is indissolubly bound up with the latter and cannot be solved independently. Instead of that, the fighting masses allowed them-

selves to be deluded. Instead of raising the great political question of peace in its full significance, they allowed themselves to be lured into the narrow field of negotiations about additional rations of potatoes and meat. In order to add to the hundreds of official and civic "Commissions", which have been doctoring at the undernourishment of the people for almost three years without success, they added a new "permanent Commission", consisting of workers with Messrs. Cohen, Körsten and Siering at its head, to which the Government graciously gave the right of, in case of need, "lodging a complaint or a petition" before the highest authorities and "getting an insight" into the economic situation under the supervision of the supreme authorities. As though complaints without permanent fighting organisations and without the masses being ready to fight could lead to anything, as though the Labour Commission would have had the possibility of testing the data of the privy councillors of the food office!

Workers! Comrades! The fight which has just been ended is only the beginning of a number of severe fights which await us. It is therefore imperative that we should admit the mistakes we have made with all frankness and ruthlessness and ever keep them before our eyes. What is the reason why the movement did not arrive at its aim from the first start?

Above all undoubtedly the lack of clearness in large sections of the broad masses as to the aim itself and as to the means for arriving at it. Secondly because we were not able to differentiate the political mass strike directed against the Government and against the situation created by the war from the traditional trade union fights in which the trade union authorities act as the recognised and competent leaders of the workers. It was for this reason alone that individuals such as Siering, Körsten and Cohen, the only too well known and notorious President of the Metal Workers' Union could dare to seize the reins of the movement.

For, as a matter of fact, what had the official trade union authorities, the Cohens and company to do with the mass revolt of the workers that they were allowed to raise their voice when the decisive word was spoken?

Do the trade unions pay any compensation for strike days? Was it the trade union leaders who called on the masses to down tools? Or are these three gentlemen enthusiastic partisans of a political mass strike? Not in the least! The contrary of all this is the case. The trade union authorities tried to oppose the movement with all means in their power. For a long time they have been raging furiously in meetings, in the Press and in pamphlets against the "apostles of the strike" and "agitators", threatening the workers with the trenches, calumniating the adherents of mass action as "agents of the alien governments", and themselves acting as voluntary agents of the Berlin police authorities.

And, in spite of all this, the strikers suffered the three "die-hards", these supporters of civil peace and sworn enemies of mass strikes, to negotiate with the authorities and to be given a seat and a voice in the "standing commission" as representatives of the workers!

Workers! Comrades! We have set a wolf to mind the sheep!

The three Judases have placed themselves at the head of the movement with the sole intention of breaking the back of the strike, of leading it on to wrong tracks so that the whole movement peters out to nothing. The Government need not have brought either machine guns or its troops of police into action. The three undertook the dirty job of overcoming the workers in their fight by despicable cunning and treachery.

Things must not be allowed to remain as they are! The mistakes which have been committed must be made good.

Firstly, the three "die-hards" must be removed from the "standing commission". The latter is not by the grace of God but was elected by the meeting of functionaries, and this meeting can appoint a new commission in which not only the metal industry but workers from other branches should be represented.

Secondly, independently of this commission which has but little significance in the future fight, it is our urgent duty to call into being a special mass organisation of the Berlin workers to fight for peace. The workers in every factory who are in favour of this, would then elect their delegates. The delegates would then appoint a committee which would be entrusted with the direction of the mass fight and the mass action.

*) From the collection of documents "Spartacus in War", which has just been published by the firm of Viva. Ed.

Workers! Comrades! The only way which leads to our end is through fights, through mass strikes to victory! And for this, we need above all a fighting organisation.

In spite of the mistakes which have been committed, the mass strike of April 16th and 17th is and remains a glorious record and a landmark in the history of the German socialist proletariat. Without a condition of siege — indeed, in spite of it — without coercive laws and military discipline, a proletarian mass of more than 300,000 workers of both sexes — which corresponds to ten army corps — has mobilised itself in wonderful unanimity and order. The lying reports in the bourgeois Press, the trembling anxiety of the Government, the mendacious message from Hindenburg, the idol of the imperialists, are the best evidence of the dread with which the enemies of the workers regard the new weapon. The principle of independent mass action, which is hated and interdicted by the authorities in the official Labour movement, has broken through all along the line and has conquered; new, vast prospects are opening before the Labour movement in Germany.

This was the first great mass assault of the class-conscious German workers. The second assault will follow on the 1st of May.

Workers! Prepare for the first of May! On that day, work shall cease altogether in workshops and factories! Up, and join in the fight for peace, freedom and bread!

Wake, man of work! Recognise your power! All wheels stand still, when your strong arm commands!

Down with the war!

Down with the Government!

Lenin's Answer to the Soviets.

From the article "Our Prospects" which appeared in the "Pravda" of May 1st 1917.

The resolution of the Executive of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet declares Lenin's propaganda to be "no less harmful than any counter-revolutionary propaganda from the Right".

Let us see what is the difference between: 1. The counter-revolutionary propaganda from the Right, 2., the propaganda from the Provisional Government and 3. our propaganda.

The Right wants to overthrow the Provisional Government and return to the Monarchy.

The Provisional Government promised to work in agreement with the Petrograd Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

Our propaganda runs as follows: all the power of the State must pass exclusively into the hands of the Soviets of the Deputies of the Workers, Soldiers, Peasants etc., for these Soviets are the fully conscious representatives of the overwhelming majority of the people. For this reason, we intend to fight by "enlightenment" (Lenin has said this from the first day, clearly and exactly, in his theses) so that the majority of the people may realise the necessity of the power being taken over in this way.

Thus, the Right is in favour of the power of the Monarch. The capitalists are in favour of the power of the capitalists (for the Provisional Government is a government of the capitalists); they promise to work in agreement with the Soviets of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

We want to convince the majority of the people that the power should belong to the Soviets of the Deputies of the Workers, Soldiers etc. **alone.**

It is clearer than daylight that, even from the standpoint of the adherents of the Provisional Government, it is impossible to say that our propaganda is "no less harmful than the counter-revolutionary propaganda of the Right". For, the adherents of compromise are at present relying on the majority of the people! How can they call our propaganda which wants to persuade the majority to take over the power "as harmful as that of the Right"?

It is an obvious contradiction.

The Soviet of the Soldiers' Deputies will surely not be able to defend this opinion of its Executive Committee for long.

Again, in what do our differences of opinion consist in essentials? Mainly in three points:

1. As to the soil. We wish the peasants, by a resolution of their own, in the villages, to take over the **whole** land immediately and in this way to increase the production of bread and meat for the soldiers.

The Provisional Government is in favour of the peasants coming to an "understanding" with the landowners; an "understanding" between 300 peasants and one landowner!

Let us see in whose favour the majority of the people will decide this question, for us or for the Provisional Government.

2. We wish for a republic in which there is neither police nor a standing army from top to bottom (it should, in our opinion, be replaced by the general arming of the whole people) and no staff of officials which is in reality based on the permanence of its appointments and on privileged bourgeois salaries. We are in favour of all officials being unconditionally subject to election and to dismissal at any time and to their being paid on a proletarian scale.

The Provisional Government is in favour of the establishment of a police of the usual type, of a standing army and of the usual staff of officials.

3. The Provisional Government is in favour of continuing the war and the kind of war which was begun by Nicholas the Bloody. The Provisional Government wants to confirm the secret, predatory treaties which were concluded, **itself, without asking the people** and without even publishing the treaties.

We are opposed to such a war, opposed to the confirmation of these treaties, opposed to their not being published.

We advise the peoples, all, without exception, not to conclude this war with a coercive peace, but with a truly democratic peace which will give freedom to all nations and nationalities without exception. We want to prove to the people that it is necessary for the war to be ended by a peace which truly violates the rights of no one, and for the whole and exclusive power to pass into the hands of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

For, as long as the power is in the hands of the capitalists and landowners (the Gutchkovs, Lwows and Miljukovs), war remains in reality under the control of the capitalists, all the promises of peace without annexations remain mere promises and it is inevitable that the masses of workers throughout the world should distrust the capitalist Governments. In this way war will drag on for ever.

We are asked what will happen if, in Russia, the power passes into the hands of the Soviets of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, but, in Germany, no such revolution takes place which would overthrow not only William II., but also the German Gutchkovs and Miljukovs (for, if the German Nicholas II. is replaced by the German Gutchkovs and Miljukovs, nothing will be changed as far as the war is concerned).

We reply: the power in the hands of the Soviets of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies will be the power of the majority of the people; the majority of the people however consists of workers and poor peasants. These **really** take no interest in annexations, they renounce them not in words, but in deeds, they cease in deed to be the protectors of the profits of the capitalists.

In these circumstances even we approve of a revolutionary war against the capitalists of any country whatever, for that would in reality be a war against the interests of any capital whatever, but not a war in the interest of the capitalists of any particular country.

The question is asked: How can peace be accelerated in practice at once and without delay, if it is not possible simply to put an end to war by driving our bayonets into the ground?

We reply: It is not possible at all to put an end to war simply by driving bayonets into the earth nor by a one-sided renunciation on the part of one of the countries at war. There is and can be only one practical immediate way of bringing about peace (except the victory of the Labour revolution over the capitalists), i. e. that of the fraternisation of the soldiers at the front.

We, on our part, should therefore at once and all-round energetically and unconditionally promote the fraternisation of the soldiers of both belligerent parties at the front.

This fraternisation has already begun. Let us encourage it.

These are our views. We are firmly convinced that the majority of the people would not describe them as "no less harmful as any kind of counter-revolutionary propaganda from the Right".

Chronicle of Events.

April 16th.

Arrival of Lenin, Zinoviev and other emigrants (including 19 Bolsheviki, 6 members of the "League" and three Internationalists) from abroad. Ceremonious reception by all the Labour organisations.

The National Conference of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets (6th day) concerns itself with the questions of Labour politics. Resolutions are passed unanimously about the general principles of Labour policy: the eight hours' day, a minimum wage, the right of coalition, the establishment of trade unions, courts of arbitration, Labour bureaux for the unemployed, inspection of labour, social insurance etc.

Resolutions were also passed as to the rights of the soldiers and the creation of soldiers' organisations. The first resolution demands above all the abolition of the punishment of soldiers not imposed by the courts and the complete abolition of corporal punishment.

The Petrograd Conference of the S. R. resolves among other things that it is not permissible for members of the S. R. party to take part in the Coalition Government. At the same time however, it unanimously addresses a telegram of greeting to Kerenski.

April 17th.

Lenin holds two lectures on the tasks of the proletariat in the revolution at which he reads his "April Theses", first at the meeting of the Bolshevik delegates and then at a meeting of the Bolshevik and Menshevik delegates to the National Conference of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets which they held in common.

Great demonstrations in connection with the 15th anniversary of the massacre on the Lena.

On behalf of the emigrants returned to Russia, Zinoviev gives a report of the journey through Germany to the Petrograd Workers' and Peasants' Soviet.

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The Moscow Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Labour party (Bolsheviki) passes a resolution on the political situation describing the tasks of the working class as follows:

The victorious insurrection of the working class and the soldiers led to the creation of the Provisional Government which, however represents the counter-revolutionary classes. It is the task of the working class to defend and enlarge those conditions which guarantee the greatest impulse to the revolution; to resist with all their might both at home and on the front any restriction of the freedom of the Press, the right of assembly and coalition and the right to strike which have been gained; to depose the representatives of the old power everywhere, from the highest to the lowest, and to replace them by functionaries elected by the revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary peasantry; to set up everywhere, Soviets of Deputies of the workers, soldiers and peasants in localities, districts and on a national scale: to elect new rural and urban administrations on the basis of a general, secret, direct and equal franchise in place of the existing ones; to create an armed people's militia which should be strictly under the control of the proletariat and peasant organisations; to develop increased revolutionary work in the army; to aim at the democratisation of the military representative functionaries; to defend the eight hours' day; to combat the attitude in favour of war of the counter-revolutionary Government and to demand the publication of all international treaties; to leave no stone unturned to bring the war to an end; to promote the development of the revolution not only in Russia but in the West; to get into touch with the proletariat of all the belligerent and neutral countries with the object of calling an international conference which is intended to be a step towards the resuscitation of the proletarian International.

April 18th.

A general strike of metal workers begins in Helsingfors, because the employers have not introduced the eight hours' day. Soldiers, sailors and workers demonstrate together in front of the Seim building in favour of the eight hours' day and of equal rights for all nationalities.

A meeting of domestic servants in Helsingfors, in which more than 2000 women and girls take part, resolves to demand an increase of wages and the introduction of the eight hours'

day from their employers and to declare a strike if the latter do not agree to their demand.

April 19th.

Opening of the All-Russian Conference of the railway workers and employees. The chief task of the Conference is to form a National Union of Railway Workers and Employees.

The Provisional Government resolves to restrict the profits of employers in commercial and industrial undertakings during the war.

April 20th.

The Executive of the St. Petersburg Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet resolves, by 21 votes to 14, actively to support the "Freedom Loan". The representatives of the Bolsheviki in the Executive oppose the support of the loan, as it would only place money in the hands of a bourgeois government which has imperialist ambitions.

The formation of a Control Commission in Moscow to enquire into the conflicts between the workers and employees. The commission consists of four representatives of the Soviets, two representatives of the deputies of the employees and two representatives of the Union of Engineers.

April 21st.

The Executive of the Petrograd Soviet learns that the English authorities in Halifax have arrested several political emigrants, including Trotzky and Melnitchansky on board a steamer. The Executive sends a telegram to the English Government and the English newspapers protesting against this behaviour on the part of the English Government.

In a circular letter, the Minister of the Interior calls upon all Government commissaries to suppress peasant disturbances with all legal means.

April 22nd.

The Petrograd Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and the plenary meeting of the Moscow Soldiers' Soviet declare themselves in agreement with the resolutions of the National Conference of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets.

April 23rd.

Lenin makes a speech at a meeting of the Ismailovsky regiment. He declares that there is only one way to put an end to this criminal war and to bring about a truly democratic peace not based on force, and that is for the Soviets of the Workers and Soldiers to take over the whole power of the State.

After Lenin, Zinoviev speaks. He speaks in favour of an immediate confiscation of the lands belonging to the Tsar and the aristocracy without waiting for anybody or anything. It is indeed necessary that the confiscation of the land should take place on the spot with organisation, system and discipline under the control of the peasant committees, but we must undertake it without letting anyone put us off till "to-morrow".

April 24th.

Resolutions are passed against the support of the "Freedom Loan" in several factories in Moscow.

April 25th.

Resolution of the Provisional Government with regard to the right of assembly and coalition to the effect that every Russian citizen has the right to hold meetings either indoors or in the open air without special permission. The meetings may not be attended by armed persons, with the exception of those who are legally bound to carry arms. Russian citizens have the right to found societies and unions without special permission, provided their object is not contrary to criminal law.

A letter from Vandervelde and a proclamation from the President of the Belgian Labour party to the Russian workers are published in the "Isvestia". The proclamation calls upon the Russian workers to help the Belgian workers "to free themselves from Prussian militarism" by continuing the war.

April 26th.

The Congress of the representatives of the peasant organisations and of the Soviets of peasant deputies begins in Petrograd. The Congress resolves to accelerate the organisation of the whole peasantry. Soviets of peasant deputies are recognised as the best form of organisation.