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Comrade Woykov, the Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Warsaw, was murdered by revolver shots on June 7, at ten o'clock in the morning at the Warsaw Central Railway Station. He was hit by three bullets in the heart and in the stomach. Comrade Woykov was conveyed to the hospital, where he died an hour later.

The assassin is a young Russian white-guardist.

This act of murder is a further link in the chain of criminal actions which aim at provoking the Soviet Union and converting Europe into a battlefield again. The vile murder of Comrade Woykov is immediately connected with the invasion of the Soviet Embassy in Peking and the arrests which followed, with the blockading of the Consulate in Shanghai, with the raid on Arcos and the Trade Delegation in London and with the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union by Great Britain.

The British imperialists are the wire-pullers of all these actions. They support and protect the reactionary terror groups and spies, whose task it is to provoke with every means, including political murder, the Russian Workers' State. The English imperialists are not content with seeking with the aid of a "Directorium of the Ukrainian People's Republic" and a "General Staff of the Army of the Russian People's Republic", to create in the Southern Ukraine a basis of operations against the

Soviet Union; they are also striving in all the Border States to create tools for their proceedings against the hated Soviet Union and are supplying them with funds.

The counter-revolutionary terror organisations have been able hitherto everywhere to carry on their machinations without any interference on the part of the capitalists. Poland in particular is a centre and rallying point of all sorts of white-guardists against the Soviet Union. All warnings and remonstrances by the government of the Soviet Union and its representatives have been in vain. In this manner the Polish government facilitated the provocative crime against representatives of the Soviet Union and made itself jointly responsible for this shameful act.

The vile murder of Comrade Woykov has aroused tremendous indignation in the Soviet Union. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union are demanding that adequate protection be afforded their representatives abroad, and that the criminal agents of the war-mongers against the Soviet Union be most energetically combated.

At the bier of Comrade Woykov who has died for the cause of the Soviet Union and the international proletariat, the proletarians of all countries vow to fight with double and tripled forces for the defence of the first workers State in the world, for the defence of the Soviet Union.

The working class must do everything possible in order to prevent the outbreak of a fresh world slaughter.

To the Workers and Peasants of the Whole World!

To all Suppressed Peoples!

To the Soldiers and Sailors!

Text of the Appeal of the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Comrades! Brothers!

Crushed and tortured, humanity is still groaning beneath the heaps of ruins of the great imperialist war, whose countless victims still live among us as fearful witnesses of the horror and crime of this war. The new generation has not yet been able to free itself from this terror, and already there is increasing from day to day the bloody menace of a new world war.

In China a vast population of many hundred millions of slaves is shaking from its neck the pressing yoke of international imperialism. The working and peasant masses who are being stifled under the double oppression of foreign imperialism and the native exploiters are rebelling against the unbounded exploitation under which they suffer. The workers are refusing to work for fourteen hours a day for starvation wages for the benefit of the foreign and native profiteers, for the big industrialists; and the peasants are likewise refusing to toil for the big landowners, for the usurers and for the Generals, the hirelings of international imperialism. The Chinese revolution, born out of the misery and the exploitation of the people, is rising powerfully and vengefully against imperialism; it is shaking imperialism's unsteady stabilisation and deepening the deadly crisis, in the clutches of which imperialism has been writhing ever since the last world war.

The heroic example of the workers and peasants of China is awakening the broad masses of the colonial peoples; the echo of their struggles and their victories resounds to Indo-China, to Indonesia and to India. The vampires of the imperialist capitalist towns, the financial and commercial magnates, the potentates of heavy industry are trying to save the sources of their shameful profits. To the revolution of the colonial peoples who are demanding the right of self-determination, they are replying with war.

In spite of the antagonistic interests dividing them, the imperialist states are endeavouring to weld their united front against the danger threatening them all — the rise of the colonial peoples. They are striving to throttle the Chinese revolution; their warships encircle China with an iron ring, they are standing ready in the rivers of China to drown the struggle for freedom of the Chinese people in blood. Nanking and other defenceless towns have already been bombarded; everyday the ring of militarist intervention is closed more tightly in order to throttle the Chinese revolution with armed force or by means of the policy of corruption, the financial blockade and criminal conspiracies.

But the fury of the Stock Exchange sharks is mainly directed against the Soviet Union, which stands as a shining example to the suppressed nations and remains the impregnable stronghold of the exploited and oppressed of the whole world. In the night of enslavement of the peoples, the Soviet Union caused to flame up the great light of freedom, not that lying, hypocritical freedom of the so-called democratic states which consists solely in the exploitation of millions of workers, peasants and colonial slaves, but the light of the only true freedom, that freedom which liberates all colonial peoples from every capitalist exploitation.

World imperialism, and in the first place British imperialism can no longer tolerate the existence of the only Workers' and Peasants' Republic, whose example calls unceasingly upon the enslaved peoples likewise to tread the path of their emancipation. Imperialism cannot endure the solidarity of the Soviet Union with the working class of the whole world; it realises that the rapid progress in the building up of socialism constitutes a plain and palpable lesson against which all calumnies are impotent.

In order to crush the Chinese revolution, in order to subject the colonies to intensified exploitation, in order to throttle the labour movement, in order to depress wages and to prolong

the working day, in order to grind out still larger profits from all those who work and produce, imperialism must overthrow the stronghold of the proletariat, the Workers' State. The reactionary Baldwin government is preparing to make war on the Soviet Union. By means of a series of unheard-of provocations: the raids on the embassy in Peking, on the consulate in Shanghai and on the Trade Delegation in London, the Baldwin government sought to involve the Soviet Union in a war. The Proletarian State, with revolutionary coolness and deliberation, contemptuously avoided the obvious trap laid for it by British imperialism and has clearly shown to the whole world that the Soviet Union is pursuing a peaceful policy; and the Workers' State has thereby compelled British imperialism to unmask itself and to take on itself the responsibility for the breaking off of diplomatic relations.

Comrades!

This action on the part of Great Britain is a sign of the greatest danger for the working class of the whole world, demanding the mobilisation of all its forces against war and in defence of the threatened Proletarian State, which is threatened by the combined forces of world capitalism.

British imperialism has succeeded in the course of the past year, in Locarno, Leghorn and Geneva, in uniting the imperialist states against the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that it will also succeed in obtaining from the reactionary Germany of Hindenburg, in the name of the League of Nations, permission for the free passage of troops and munitions against Russia. By means of persistent labour, Britain has surrounded the Soviet Union with a ring of vassal states in which military dictatorship and terror against the proletariat and the peasants prevails. Poland and Lithuania, thanks to the coup d'état financed by London — and Roumania by the good services of Mussolini — have governments docile to Chamberlain. At the moment when it broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union the British government celebrated its reconciliation with the government of Poincaré-la-guerre. It is true, the united front of the imperialist great Powers is fragile, for Germany and Italy are raising the question of a fresh distribution of the world. The Mediterranean Sea and the Balkan countries are the seats of constant intrigues and jealousies between the robbers who are scrambling for the world. But these antagonistic interests are being pushed into the background. The Italo-Yugoslavian incident showed that Great Britain has succeeded for the time being in smoothing over these squabbles between the capitalist States and uniting these States against the common enemy, against the working class and its proletarian State.

Comrades!

The imperialist States do not think of concealing their war preparations any longer. The League of Nations no longer succeeds in deceiving the peoples. It has kept silent whenever a big imperialist bandit throttled a small nation. Corfu, Morocco, Svria, China, Nicaragua, Abyssinia and Albania are clear proofs of its lying policy, and its imperialist barbarity.

The Disarmament Conferences of Geneva and Washington did not succeed in concealing the ever greater acceleration of armaments. French imperialism has just passed a new military law which means the complete militarisation of the whole people. The factories are working almost exclusively on army orders. The Stahlhelm demonstration in Berlin clearly showed that Germany is reorganising its military power.

But imperialism cannot prepare for war without taking up the fight against the working class and its organisations. The war on the Soviet Union is a class war, a war against the proletariat. The great imperialist States know that the world proletariat is watching the Russian Revolution, that it will fight

against war, that it will not defend the native countries of its exploiters, but the native country of the working class and of the whole world. Imperialism knows that it can again rely on the support of social democracy, just as in the year 1914. But today there exists in every country a Communist Party which will expose the treachery of the Second International and will from the very first day lead the workers, peasants and soldiers into the fight against war and against the capitalist regime which engenders war — a Communist Party which will endeavour with all means to convert the imperialist war into a war against imperialism and the social revolution. For this reason the war preparations are accompanied by a general offensive against the working class and against its class organisations.

The imperialist vultures wish to bend the working class of all countries beneath the yoke of intensified exploitation; they wish to destroy the workers' organisations in order to throttle their fight against war. The employers' attack on wages and the eight-hour day, and the rationalisation of production are accompanied by an offensive of the police and the government against the workers' organisations and the advance-guard of the proletariat. The bill against the trade unions in Great Britain, the great police conspiracy and the arrest of Communist functionaries in France, the review of the fascist forces in Germany, the mass deportations and the fascist trade union monopoly in Italy, the intensified terror and the mass executions of revolutionaries in Poland, Roumania, Bulgaria and Lithuania are all part of the war preparations of the imperialists.

At the moment when world imperialism is drawing together its forces against the working class, when it is increasing the exploitation of the peasant masses and of the natives in the colonies and openly preparing for a new war, the leaders of the social democracy are again, as on 4th of August 1914, betraying the interests of the working class and placing themselves in the service of imperialism and of armed reaction. In Great Britain, instead of summoning the masses to the fight in defence of the trade unions, they content themselves with futile Parliamentary skirmishes, which is tantamount to a surrender without a fight. In France, the Socialist Paul Boncour, has drawn up, along with the General Staff, a military law and is defending it — a law which provides for the mobilisation of women and children. In Germany, Breitscheid declared that the Foreign policy of Stresemann is the policy of the German social democracy.

At the moment when Chamberlain is bringing about the united front of all the capitalist States against proletarian Russia, the Second International is supporting the action of the reactionary English government with a shameful campaign of lies against the Soviet Union. As in 1914, the role of social democracy consists in driving the working class into war. But today this treachery is even more reprehensible, because the war is directed against the proletarian State, against the Russian revolution and against the Chinese Revolution.

Comrades,

For work among the masses there exists a still greater danger than the open, cynical treachery of the Right social democratic leaders, and that is the deceitful illusion of the pacifism of the Left leaders of social democracy and of the trade unions, who utter high-sounding empty phrases regarding peace and who, instead of mobilising the working masses to the fight against war, lull them to sleep by doping them with the opium of a sentimental and futile pacifism.

The capitalist regime necessarily engenders war. Under the capitalist regime there can be no enduring peace. Your fight for peace, for real peace and not for such a hypocritical peace as that of Versailles, can, therefore, only be a fight against that regime which produces wars and perpetuates, i. e. a revolutionary fight against the capitalist regime itself. The fight for peace which does not lead the masses to the revolutionary fight against the capitalist regime is merely a deceitful illusion only to be followed by a bloody morrow.

Workers, Peasants, Suppressed Peoples!

In view of the daily increasing danger of war you must unite your forces for bitter and ruthless fight against war and against the robbers who are preparing for war. You are the strongest, and you will be victorious if you close the united front of all the suppressed against your suppressors.

Rub the sleep from your eyes, overcome faint-heartedness, oppose those who are spreading pessimism in your organisations

and undermining your forces! War is at hand! Only by a mass action, by great protest meetings, by powerful demonstrations, by protest strikes, by developing an energetic mass struggle will you frustrate the capitalist offensive and compel the jackals of imperialism to slink away.

Defend the Chinese Revolution, prevent the transport of troops and munitions! Build up out of your million-strong army an impregnable barricade in defence of the threatened Russian Revolution!

The imperialists are preparing for war in order to strangle the revolution.

Reply to them by preparing for revolution in order to strangle war and the regime which continually leads to war.

Rally together! Close the ranks in thousands and millions in your revolutionary organisations, in the Communist Parties! Drive from your ranks the social-patriotic leaders who preach sacred unity with the exploiters! Reduce to silence those who wish to lul! you with their pacifist piping.

Prepare for great struggles, prepare for victory!

Soldiers, sailors!

Sons of workers and peasants, do not forget that you belong to the masses of the workers! Fraternise! When they wish to make you hangmen and betrayers of your class, remember that you have only one flag to defend, the red flag of the international working class!

Toilers and exploited of the whole world!

Against the threatening war, for the revolutionary fight!

Proletarians of all countries, unite and you will conquer!

The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.

HANDS OF THE SOVIET UNION

England and the Soviet Union.

By A. I. Rykov.

The following is that portion of the speech delivered by Comrade Rykov at the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet on June 1, 1927 in which he deals with the facts and documents regarding espionage. Ed.

The absurdity of all the declarations of Baldwin and Chamberlain is to be seen from their contradictions. In the speeches and in the Note it is stated that the British government has been informed through its sources of information of alleged anti-British actions on the part of some wide-ramified soviet organisation. Joynson Hicks maintained in the House of Commons that he is not only in possession of detailed information regarding this organisation and its activity, but also has the exact addresses of those persons who carry on this activity. It is incomprehensible why the British government, although it knew of the whole organisation and all persons taking part in it, did not take an action against them. If such a thing happened with us, on the territory of our Union, if the People's Commissary for Home Affairs or the Chairman of the G. P. U. were to inform me, the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries, that they had knowledge of the activity of an espionage organisation, and if, on the other hand, they did not take any action, I would immediately take the necessary measures in order to call to account such a People's Commissary or President of the G. P. U. (Applause.)

I believe that there exists a law also in Great Britain according to which a Minister who fails to do his duty must be handed over to the court. If however Joynson Hicks, for some reason or other, has not taken any action against such a "grandiose" espionage organisation, although he knew the addresses, if he did not have arrested a single member of this organisation, and the Prime Minister Baldwin on the other hand has not called Hicks to account, this is solely because Hicks did not possess any addresses, and all his fables regarding espionage are pure inventions. (Hear, hear, applause.)

The communications of the specialist for espionage affairs, Joynson Hicks, contain another interesting side. He declares that he has been compelled from time to time to unearth various espionage organisations of other countries (of course he does not mean countries of the Soviet Union),

that he is aware that neighbours of Great Britain from time to time send their agents to England with instructions to obtain these or those data regarding secret war preparations or production of war material. In addition to the naive complaints of Joynson Hicks, this declaration reveals the following interesting facts: firstly, the Conservative government did not in any similar case, consider it possible, for this reason, to break off relations, but even to send any other Power a Note; secondly, it appears that the British government is eagerly preparing for war, and the orders for war material are increasing accordingly. In the main it can be concluded from this declaration that the British government is maintaining a considerably staff of agents in a whole number of States for the purpose of equally "honest" as friendly activity towards its neighbours.

One of the members of the Conservative Party, of the name of Davison, asked Baldwin "whether is is not an unprecedented case when the representative of a foreign Power conspires against the government with whom he is accredited". Baldwin did not give any answer to this. I believe, however, that the member of Parliament who puts this question, is a completely "unprecedented" fool if he does not realise that there is not a bourgeois government in the world which while maintaining diplomatic relations with another government does not conspire against this government, and in addition prepares armies for the purpose of attacking its neighbour. It is, in fact, not so very long ago that the same Davison voted in the House of Commons for the Bill to increase the British Navy. Does this Davison really believe that to increase the fleet constitutes a friendly act towards the neighbours of Great Britain? And precisely because "friendship" is accompanied by an increase of the fighting units, precisely because the capitalist States are arming and outbidding one another in war-preparations, they are also compelled to conspire against each other and to set up various espionage organisations and steal from each other secret archives everything that can be possibly stolen.

As regards the Soviet Union, we possess a sufficient quantity of material regarding spying activity on the part of British agents on the territory of our Union. There lie before me some documents which are extremely interesting and have been in our possession for some time; but we do not make a great outcry about this. It would be naive of us to expect of a government, of which such honest gentlemen as Churchill, Birkenhead, Chamberlain etc. are members, that they would only employ polite speeches with regard to the Soviet Union.

I will here read the conclusion of a letter from the British Consul, in Leningrad, Mr. Preston, to the British Trade Mission in Moscow. He writes: "It is not an easy matter for me to obtain the information you require, for my Russian birds which I send out for such purposes run a very serious danger of being hanged or quartered by the G. P. U. for espionage".

This letter is dated 22nd April 1924 and bears the original signature of Mr. Preston. Mr. Preston was perfectly right when he feared that the G. P. U. would show no mercy to Russian birds who carry out commissions entrusted to them by Mr. Preston. Only recently there was shot a British spy, named Filin, who was active on behalf of Szernov, the secretary of the British Mission, and informed the latter regarding the condition of the troops of the Moscow Military district. A little while ago the Koltchak officer, Pechkov, was arrested, a spy of the British government who was active on the immediate orders of Mr. Hodgson, the diplomatic representative of Great Britain in Moscow. There are no less than eleven British spies on whose behalf the British government has the audacity to intervene. In addition there are a tremendous number of persons on whose behalf Great Britain preferred not to take any steps. All these facts are by no means new. We knew them already before, but did not believe that they could be the ground for a breach.

The British government could not cite a single similar fact, and confined itself entirely to absolutely unfounded gossip.

We are also in possession of facts of another sort which characterise the activity of the British government towards the Soviet Union.

I have a whole bundle of documents in my hands relating to the counter-revolutionary spying activity of British agents in the Ukraine and in the Caucasus. Here, for example, is

a document which was published in the Vienna "Abend" and relates to the correspondence with the Petliura government:

"At a visit to the British Embassy, I and W. K. Prokoviitch received the impression from the conversation with the Ambassador and his secretary that the British government, in its fight against Moscow Communism, is acting on a principle, and that this principle will not be abandoned until Moscow Communism is liquidated. Great Britain is of the opinion that the liquidation of the Bolshevik power of Moscow must be achieved by various means, financial, economic, by national-political struggles, by weakening the prestige and influence of the power within the Soviet Union, further by refusal of foreign credits in order to weaken its financial position abroad, by economic blockade and first then, after such a thorough preparation, it will be seen how far an intervention of the Western States is necessary. Signature: The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic, Tokarchevsky, 18th January 1926".

Here is another document: "...the English government demands that the general staff of the army of the Ukrainian people's Republic shall send its delegates to London for the purpose of practically solving the questions concerning the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic. This matter is very urgent and important, because it is necessary to find at once a military expert, if possible of the rank of a general. The delegate selected must visit Paris on his way to London for the purpose of information. It is of interest that the British now insist that the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic shall be created out of insurgent columns in the territory of Ukraine itself. 2nd February 1926."

The next document from the same source: "We are now receiving a financial subsidy amounting to a thousand pounds a month; further funds are allotted for our emigration and the anti-bolshevist propaganda. The English are convinced that we shall be able to come forward actively in the Ukraine when England and her allies have made the appropriate preparations therefor, and that for this purpose a suitable moment is necessary". Signature; 23rd July 1926.

The following document: "English military circles are interested most in the question of the forces at the disposal of the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic in Ukraine. They desire that the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic shall concentrate its entire activity in Southern Ukraine and create there a basis of operation. Great Britain will only support a partisan war in the Ukraine."

From the following document it appears that "...before the establishment of order in the Far East and before the liquidation of Bolshevik influence in China, it is impossible to hope for intervention by Great Britain in the Ukraine". Signature. 7th December 1926.

In this connection I will read one more document, which has not come into my possession from foreign newspapers. It states here: "...according to my information, negotiations are taking place between the Centre Skoropadski and the English agent Sablin. In London Sablin brought the Hetman people (Schemet) into contact with representatives of the English government. Schemet had an interview with Churchill in which the latter declared to Schemet that Great Britain would support Skoropadski if he would bring his activity into harmony with the activity of Nikolai Nikolaienvitch. The Hetman people agree to this"... Signature. Passitchnik (a Petliura Colonel).

As we see, here we have to deal not only with simple espionage, not only with the organisation of a revolt within the State, but with an attempt at the direct restoration of the monarchy of the Romanovs on the territory of our Union.

For us there is not the least doubt that espionage constitutes an immediate function of every capitalist State; a fact which was openly confessed by a number of speakers in the House of Commons. The arguments of Baldwin and Chamberlain, their complaints as to the existence of some espionage organisation or other, therefore, will not stand criticism. Even if we take for granted the authenticity of Chamberlain's version of all his communications, it would follow that he obtained his information by means of British spies.

In any event, I assert that the British government cannot give a single instance in which a citizen of the Soviet Union has been found on the territory of Great Britain carrying on spying activity on behalf of our organs and who would have

been punished therefor by a British court. As an argument for accusing the Soviet Union of having interfered in the inner affairs of Great Britain, Baldwin and Chamberlain cite a telegram alleged to have been sent by Rosengoltz relating to events in China. The contents of the telegram, as it was read in the English Parliament, is to the effect that Rosengoltz requests that true (and not false!) information be sent to him in order to refute the distorted news regarding events in China and our policy there. Rosengoltz has already declared that he did not send this telegram, but even assuming that Rosengoltz' telegram exists, it cannot be charged as a crime against him, as he was perfectly right in giving no credit to the declarations of Chamberlain or the "diehards", and he had to obtain reliable material for the purpose of refuting their falsehoods.

On the 8th of March 1921 it was admitted in the House of Commons that Scotland Yard had been practising forgeries and had issued a forged number of the Moscow paper "Pravda", a number which was exhibited at this sitting of the House of Commons.

Chamberlain referred in his speech in the House of Commons to a document found in the possession of our commercial agent in China, Comrade Dosser. Austen Chamberlain only forgot to mention that even the mixed Chinese court in Hong-kong had refused to acknowledge the authenticity or even the credibility of this document.

A thorough and impartial analysis of all accusations shows that the English government was not able to bring forward any real argument in justification of the Breach.

From what I have already said it is evident that the English government, after the conclusion of the Commercial Treaty in 1921 and after the setting up of diplomatic relations with MacDonald, continued the same policy which found expression in the intervention and in the conspiracy of Locquart. This was known to us, and yet we did not see any ground for severing relations with the government of Great Britain.

The Breaking off of Relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

Comrade Tomsky's Speech at the National Congress of the Post, Telegraph and Telephone Employees of the Soviet Union on May 28th 1927.

The question of the relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union is of extreme importance not only for our country but also for the whole working class. It has now become clearer than ever to the whole working class that the question of a new war is again on the tapis. Lenin in his day said, that the peace which followed on the period of the civil war was only a breathing space. The workers of the Soviet Union, the workers of all countries, are now faced by the whole magnitude of the question of an attack on the Soviet Republic by the capitalists.

It would be wrong to close our eyes to this fact. The Conservative Government, in breaking off diplomatic and commercial relations with us, states with a hypocritical smirk: Go away, we are breaking off diplomatic relations with you, but we will continue to trade with you. This is an insincere gesture. The breaking off of diplomatic relations is one of the most important links in the whole chain of British policy. This is the sequel to all the notes, this is the sequel to the attack in Peking and the attack on the commercial representatives in London. All these links of the chain are leading to a further stage, to open and armed action against the Soviet Union. Whether this action takes place in the immediate future, within a few months or within a year, makes no essential difference; and translated into ordinary language, the last act of the Conservative Government cannot be interpreted in any way but: I am going for you, look out!

The Conservative Government of Great Britain which came into power through a forgery, the Government of "people with forged documents", and the Conservative party which consists of opium dealers, the party which is stained with the blood of the Chinese workers, the blood of the Hindus, the party

of violence, threatens the world, threatens the Soviet Republic with war.

We must be prepared for this. The Conservatives would like to attack at once, but it does not depend on them. That depends to a considerable degree on us, on the international working class, on the whole situation. For us, for the workers of the Soviet Union, this brings up the question that the war about which we have always spoken is not so very far distant.

Worker, put your house in order, but do not forget to polish your gun! This does not mean that there will be war to-morrow, that we have to throw down our whole work. On the contrary, it means that we must intensify our whole work. How long the breathing space will last, we do not know; perhaps a week, perhaps a month, possibly even longer. We must however use to the full the time which is left us, for peaceful construction. Remember what Lenin said. He did not reckon with a breathing space of a few years. He reckoned with a breathing space of a few months. He said that we must multiply our energy tenfold, that we must turn the breathing space to account. It is urgent now to turn this breathing space to account; we must not for a single moment stop the work of socialist construction, not for a single moment must we desist from the work of raising the cultural and material level of the broad masses of workers.

It is not necessary to say that we are a government which can most easily adapt itself to the new conditions. Our Party cannot be taken by surprise by any attack; our army of almost ten million trade union members is also proof against any surprise attack.

The Soviet Government is a government of peace, the forbearance and patience which we have shown towards the most impudent predatory assaults, attacks and insults, which no other State would have tolerated, are evidence of our extreme desire to preserve peace as long as possible. Here and there the question has been asked whether we are incapable of defending our reputation, the reputation of a great State. The reputation of our State is that the workers and peasants treasure the maintenance of peace more highly than anything. We have already shown that we are capable of fighting; we shall show it once more if it comes to it. A considerable number of Red Commanders, from company commanders to brigade commanders, have remained in our ranks, in the ranks of the trade unions; no small number of political functionaries and experts in the commissariat departments are still with us.

At the present moment, we have an active cadre of millions of new, energetic and bold functionaries ready trained. And if the British capitalists and those who are on their side carry on the sanguinary work to the end, they will become convinced that it is not so easy to deal with a government of workers. They were not able to get the better of us in 1920, and since then we have grown immensely and gained in strength. At that time, our factories and works were standing idle, millions and millions were starving, agriculture was destroyed, our productive forces were weak, epidemics were mowing down our people by the thousand, those in the towns were freezing for want of fuel. Now there is quite a different picture. In many respects, we have exceeded the pre-war norms, we have restored the productive forces of the country, and now it is not so easy to force the Soviet Republic on to its knees. No one will ever succeed in doing that.

This imposes new obligations on the trade unions. Our work, which as a whole must go on without being interrupted for a single moment, is now gaining special importance, special significance. In the fights which are before it, the working class requires more than ever strength and determination and the consolidation of the forces of the whole class.

We must make use of the breathing space to its very limits. We must rise to a higher level in all fields, we must work our way upwards in all fields. We must hasten to complete what has until now remained undone.

We shall intensify our work of consolidating the trade union movement. We shall intensify our work of training the Red army and the masses.

I should like to express my conviction that no force of the capitalist world will take us by surprise. We shall continue to avoid conflicts, we shall continue to steer clear of dangerous points, which might, for a single moment, accelerate

the inevitable concussion between two worlds, but at the same time we shall prepare for a possible war with tenfold energy.

The day when war will break out depends on many factors. One of the most important factors is the international Labour movement. If it was easy in 1920 to seize the Soviet Power by the throat, if the workers of Western Europe did not know us and were fed on rumours put in circulation by the bourgeois White Guardist Press. We have, in the last few years, achieved a great piece of work. Dozens of delegations of workers have visited the Soviet Union and they have been the means of spreading the truth as to how the working class in the Soviet Union lives and fights. Broad masses of workers declare their sympathy with the workers of the Soviet Union in spite of the fact that they belong to this or that party. This should be realised by everybody who is contemplating an attack against the Soviet Union.

Our powerful, well constructed and organised trade union apparatus, which is carrying on a work of culture and enlightenment on broad lines from day to day, which is raising the economic and cultural level of the masses of workers from day to day, will prove to be on the required plane. This inspires us with the conviction that the working class of the Soviet Union will not be destroyed by any force whatsoever. (Prolonged applause.)

Resolution of the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet on the International Situation.

Moscow, 2nd June 1927.

After hearing the report of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Comrade Rykov, upon the international situation of the Soviet Union, the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet adopted a resolution in which it expressed complete approval of the actions of the government aiming at maintaining peace and protecting the interests of the toilers of the Soviet Union.

Despite the provocative attacks of Chang Tso-lin, Joyson-Hicks and Chamberlain, declares the resolution, the Soviet government has not permitted itself to be trapped, but has put up the necessary resistance. In common with the working masses of the Soviet Union, with the class-conscious workers all over the world, and with the oppressed masses in all countries, the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet regards the violation of the Trade Agreement and the breaking-off of all diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union by the British government, as a new step dictated by class hatred against the proletarian State. The conservative government in Great Britain which came to power with the assistance of the forged "Zinoviev letter", has consistently pursued a challenging and provocative policy towards the Soviet Union, and has never ceased in its attempts to create a counter-revolutionary front of all capitalist States against the Soviet Union which in consequence of its very existence and the progress achieved in its work of socialist construction, has become the basis of the proletarian world revolution.

The whole period devoted to the overcoming of the consequences of the imperialist world slaughter was and still is, at the same time, the period of preparation for new imperialist wars, above all against the Soviet Union, by the capitalist governments and their servants in the Second International. The hatred of the Soviet Union is so strong because the Soviet Union forms the chief hindrance to the predatory intentions of the imperialists led by the conservative government of Great Britain.

The working class and the toiling masses all over the world are faced with the danger of a still greater and more infamous treachery on the part of the official social democracy and the Amsterdam International.

The Plenum of the Moscow Soviet is of the opinion that the danger of war demands the exertion of all the forces of the workers and peasants upon the economic field, and a special watchfulness to ward off any attack upon our country. In face of this danger there must be no carelessness, no waste and no laziness. The Plenum of the Moscow Soviet appeals to the working masses of Moscow and of the Moscow government to answer the insolent provocation of the British Diehards with

increased efforts to consolidate the alliance of the workers and peasants, to accelerate the work of economic and cultural reconstruction, to increase the work for the building up of socialism and for the consolidation of the international bonds of the proletariat and the oppressed of all countries, and finally to increase the fighting efficiency of the Red Army and the preparedness to beat off any attempt of the imperialists to overrun the Soviet Union.

In the name of the workers of Moscow, the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet announces its preparedness to support all measures of the Soviet government for the protection of the first country of the proletarian dictatorship.

The Plenum of the Moscow Soviet completely approves of the decision of the Council of People's Commissars to transfer all orders and trade to those countries with which we maintain normal relations and who give our economic organisations the necessary guarantees for systematic and unhindered work.

The Plenum of the Moscow Soviet appeals to the proletariat and the peasantry of Moscow and of the Moscow Government as well as of the Soviet Union, to answer the threat of an economic blockade of the Soviet Union by organising a powerful defence of a financial nature by unanimously supporting the State loans for the work of economic reconstruction.

The Plenum of the Moscow Soviet sends its warmest proletarian greetings to the toilers of China who are heroically fighting for their emancipation, and appeals to the workers of all countries to defend the cause of peace and resist the attempt of the imperialist powers to destroy the bulwark of the proletarian world revolution, the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 2nd June 1927.

The Plenum of the Moscow Soviet further adopted the following amendment to its resolution upon the international situation of the Soviet Union:

"In the opinion of the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet, the Soviet government may not consider the requests of any British subjects for the regulation of claims until such time as normal diplomatic relations have been re-established between Great Britain and the Soviet Union and the British government shall have offered the Soviet Government complete satisfaction for the insults and the losses suffered by the Soviet government through the actions of the British conservative government."

The above amendment to the previous resolution was brought forward by delegates to the Plenum.

PLENUM OF THE E. C. C. I.

Statement by the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. on the Work of the Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

From the 18th to the 30th May there was held the ordinary Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The extraordinary complexity and the extreme seriousness of the political situation called for new decisions and instructions from the Comintern. The imperialist intervention in China and the development of the Chinese revolution with all its difficulties are an indisputable fact.

The breaking off of diplomatic relations and of the trade agreement between Great Britain and the Soviet Union render the threat of a new war on the Soviet Union immediately real. Within the bourgeois countries the insane strengthening of reaction (anti-trade union Bill in Great Britain, new military laws in France, fascist offensive, the recent terrorist measures of Mussolini) has for its object to fetter the working class hand and foot in the event of a new war. The Amsterdam International and International Social Democracy are conducting a furious campaign against the Soviet Union and are actively participating in the preparation for a war on the first Workers' State. Never was the danger of a new world war greater than at present.

Therefore the work of the ordinary Plenum of the E. C. C. I., which met at a turning point in the development of the international revolution, possessed extraordinary importance for the revolutionary workers of all countries.

As the first question the Plenum dealt with the tasks of the Comintern in the fight against war and the danger of war. The estimation of the international situation, the question of anti-war tactics, the concrete tasks of the Communist Parties were dealt with both in the Plenum (on the basis of the report of Comrades Kuusinen, Bell and Bernard) and in the special Commission and in sub-commissions.

The Plenum pointed out that the main danger at the present moment is a war of the capitalist world, with Great Britain at the head, against the Soviet Union and against revolutionary China, and that at the same time military conflicts are ripening between imperialist States. The Plenum exposed the treacherous attitude of international social democracy including its Right and "Left" wings (so-called Left and therefore more dangerous), and analysed all varieties of pacifism as well as the attitude of anarcho-syndicalism in the questions of war.

The Plenum indicated and concretised the main slogans of the Communists before, and during war, proceeding from the teachings of Lenin and from the analysis of the concrete circumstances of the future wars, at the same time drawing a distinction between imperialist wars and proletarian wars and between the latter and national-revolutionary wars (questions of defence of native country, of defeatism, general strike, converting imperialist war into civil war, fraternisation, the attitude to deserters, to bourgeois military reforms etc.). The activity of the Communist Parties in the "Chinese campaign" was subjected to criticism, and a whole number of concrete instructions for strengthening the anti-war work of the Communist Parties and preparing the Parties in ideological and organisational respects in case of war, were given. The Plenum adopted an appeal regarding the breaking off of relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

The questions of the Chinese revolution were subjected to equally thorough discussion (on the basis of a report of Comrade Bukharin). The Plenum recorded the profound change in the relation of the class forces in China, which was shown by the going over of the bourgeoisie into the camp of counter-revolution and of imperialism, which the resolution of the VII. Meeting of the Enlarged Executive had already foreseen. The Plenum likewise stigmatised the orientation (sometimes open, sometimes concealed) of the Second International to the Bloc of the imperialists and Chiang Kai-Shek.

The Plenum, while acknowledging as correct the line of the Comintern in the past period of the revolution in the question of the admissibility of a bloc with the national bourgeoisie, a line which found its sharpest expression in the expedition to the North (exposing at the same time the half-heartedness of the bourgeoisie and preparing the masses for the inevitable going over of the bourgeoisie to the side of imperialism), pointed out to the Chinese Communists the necessity of a thorough change of tactics in the present higher stage of the revolution, as the agrarian revolution has become the social main content of the anti-imperialist struggle and the national bourgeoisie has gone over to the camp of counter-revolution.

The Plenum, in declaring the inevitability of fresh vacillations and treacheries in the camp of Wuhan, gave the Chinese Communists the following main directives: most rapid development of the mass movement in the village ("plebian" solution of the agrarian question, power of the peasants' unions and committees etc.) and in the town; immediate and most extensive arming of the workers and peasants; transformation of the Left Kuomintang into a broad democratic mass organisation which shall include the peasants unions, trade unions, hand workers organisations etc.; strengthening of the Communist Party and strict adherence to its class line; the Communists shall continue to remain within the Kuomintang, without which the fight for the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution is impossible.

The Plenum directed the course to the transformation of the Wuhan government and of the Kuomintang into a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. At the same time the vacillations and errors of the Chinese Communists (the fear of mass actions which was revealed by them in a number of cases, insufficient criticism of the Left Kuomintang members etc.) were subjected to criticism.

In regard to the question of the tasks of the Communist Party of Great Britain (report of Comrade Campbell), the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. subjected to an analysis the situation

in Great Britain in connection with the anti-trade union bill, the intervention in China and the preparation for war on the Soviet Union and likewise the treacherous role of the leaders of the Labour Party and of the General Council (the "left" as well as the Right); it laid down the tasks of the C. P. of Great Britain in the present period (propaganda of General Strike in the fight against the bill and against war, exposure of all varieties of reformism and pacifism of the activity of the General Council in the Anglo-Russian Committee, while approving the attitude of its Russian section etc.).

The Plenum decided at the same time to convene the ordinary VI. World Congress of the Comintern for the Summer of 1928, to recommend the Congress to accept the Communist Party of Cuba into the C. I., and on the proposal of some delegations made certain insignificant changes in the composition of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

In spite of the extraordinary seriousness of the political situation, the Opposition of the C. P. S. U. considered it possible at the Plenum to make an unexampledly harsh attack on the C. P. S. U. and on the Comintern. Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch (the demand of the Opposition that Comrade Zinoviev, whom the VII. Meeting of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. removed both from the Presidency of as well as from any work in the Comintern, be admitted to work in the ordinary Plenum, was rejected by all votes against the vote of Comrade Vuyovitch) submitted to the main questions on the agenda their counter-theses, distributed at the Plenum a number of fractional documents, openly came forward in the name of the Opposition Bloc etc. while at the same time all these documents contained abundant charges of "treachery" against the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. and against the Comintern.

By coming forward openly as a fraction, the Opposition has broken the promises given by it in its declaration of 16th of October to cease fractional struggle and not to support Maslov and his consorts who were expelled from the Communist ranks. Already when there was a breach between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, Comrade Trotsky declared at the Plenum that the greatest of all dangers at present is the inner-Party regime, that means in reality the Bohlshevik discipline of the C. P. S. U. and of the Comintern.

All this proves that the Opposition is on the verge of a breach with the Comintern. The Plenum therefore adopted a special decision regarding the opposition which sharply condemns the Opposition and warns it that in the event of a continuation of the fractional work, the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. along with the International Control Commission will be compelled to exclude Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch quite formally from the Executive Committee. The Plenum proposed to the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. that the latter adopt energetic measures in order to put an end to the fractional work of the Opposition in the C. P. S. U.

Not a single delegation at the Plenum supported the Opposition which disturbed the practical work of the Plenum. All decisions were adopted against one solitary vote (that of Comrade Vuyovitch).

The resolutions adopted will, in view of those conditions created by the terrorist rule of the bourgeoisie in a number of countries, be published with a few unessential deletions.

The Political Secretariat of the E. C. C. I.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The March of Hundreds of Thousands against the Imperialist War Danger.

The 3rd National Rally of the Red Front Fighters' League of Germany.

By P. R. Dietrich (Berlin).

Never before has red working-class Berlin witnessed such a powerful mass parade, filled with revolutionary enthusiasm and determined fighting spirit, as in the last few days when the Red Front Fighters' formations assembled from all parts of the country for the third time in Berlin. The working class of

Berlin has proved once again that it stands firm and unshakable in the red class front.

The Whitsuntide Rally was opened on Friday 3rd of June by the mass meeting organised by the Young Red Front in the Berlin Sport Palace which was attended in by 25,000 workers.

On Whitsunday the Berlin working class quarters — which the Stahlhelm were going to capture on the 8th of May for the nationalists — with their display of flags looked like red fortresses. The enthusiasm, the rejoicing with which the Berlin working class welcomed the Red Front Fighters is indescribable. They marched in three tremendous columns to the Schiller Park in the working class district of Wedding. The enthusiasm grows to a perfect tornado when the workers from Hamburg, the mining proletarians from the Ruhr district, the fighters from Central Germany, representatives of the Reichsbanner Opposition and the opposition in the Socialist Youth, the Red Front Fighters' League of France, of Czechoslovakia, fellow fighters from Austria and numerous factory delegations from all parts of the country march past. The wide expanse of the Schiller Park is crowded long before the beginning of the rally. A feeling of tense expectancy and excitement prevails, which bursts forth into enthusiasm as the first roll of drums and blast of bugles becomes audible.

Then there march up from the three great meeting places column after column, marching in step. There are heard the powerful strains of the "International" and the "Red Army March". The march up lasts for three hours. More than 250,000 Red Front Fighters, members of the R. F. M. B. (Red women and girls' League), workers and sympathisers take part in the proceedings. Hundreds of thousands still fill the streets through the Red Front Fighters have marched. Roll of drums, and blare of trumpets announce the arrival of the flag-bearers. 1500 flags and banners flutter in the breeze: a picture which will ever remain in the memory of all present. Then Comrade Thälmann, the first President of the League, mounts the platform and is greeted by the cry of "Red front" from a hundred thousand throats. With him 20 other speakers address the red front fighters and at the entrances to the park the speakers of the Party address the huge crowds.

Following on the speeches, which are received with enthusiasm and cheers, 150,000 red front fighters raise aloft their clenched fist and pronounce the fighting oath of the Red Front Fighters League, pledging to remain always and ever a soldier of the revolution, to work in the proletarian mass organisations, at the front and in the army of imperialism for the revolution, to defend the Russian and Chinese revolution, to fight always for the Soviet Union and for the victorious world revolution. The march from the Schiller Park lasts till late in the evening. Enthusiastic demonstrations of the Berlin workers for the Red Front are continued until late in the night.

The official conclusion of the 3rd national rally of the Red Front Fighters' League was the **International Conference against Imperialist War and Fascism** which was held on the Monday in the presence of numerous delegations of the R. F. F. L., representatives of the Reichsbanner (Republican Defence Corps) and of big factories, and foreign guests. The centre point of the Conference was the report of Comrade Thälmann. At the conclusion of his speech Comrade Thälmann declared amidst the unanimous approval of the participants at the Conference that the 3rd National Rally of the Red Front Fighters' League constitutes a further important step on the way to the setting up of the proletarian united front against imperialist war, fascism and the capitalist offensive.

After Comrade Thälmann there spoke a representative of the anti-fascist Youth Guard of France and an Indian, who informed the Conference that in India two and a half million organised workers are ready to conduct the fight against world imperialism along with the European working class.

The Conference concluded with the unanimous acceptance of a resolution in which the Red Front Fighters' League, as the only proletarian defence organisation in Germany, is pledged to make it its first task to promote in the trade unions, in the factories, but especially among the working youth, the united front movement against imperialist war danger and fascism.

From all parts of the country, both from the industrial districts and from the rural areas, enthusiastic demonstrations and mass meetings on the occasion of the Whitsun rally of the Red Front Fighters are reported. In Chemnitz, Halle, Hamburg, Bremen, Essen, Düsseldorf ten thousands of revolutionary workers took part in the send-off of the Red Front fighters to

Berlin. Meetings and demonstrations of sympathy were held even in the most remote rural districts.

The rally of the Red Front Fighters divisions in Berlin, the tremendous demonstration of sympathy of the Berlin working class and in all parts of the country is the **most powerful demonstration since the November Days of 1918 against the danger of war, fascism, bourgeois block and reformist treachery.** It proves at the same time the revolutionary fighting will of millions of German workers under the leadership of the Communist Party and of the Red Front fighters' League for the defence of the Chinese and Russian revolutions, for the fight of the workers of Germany against imperialism at home and abroad, for the victorious proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In spite of the bourgeois bloc, in spite of the fascist civil-war army, in spite of reformist treachery, — the revolutionary front is marching on!

The Future War and the Working Class.

By D. Marezky.

(Continued.)

Every social system must have a special economic character, must represent a special type of production relations. Every significant "economy" in history must also correspond to a special "policy", a special "concentrated expression". Accordingly, the third line of the chain — war — can only form a special "continuation" of the given policy, and, according to the epoch and circumstances, can possess only various social sense of class. It is just by the consequent class treatment of the question of war, Marxism and Leninism are distinguished from all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois conceptions of war.

The view that Marx and Engels were opponents of war in general is an opportunist misrepresentation. Only pacifists from the bourgeois and the Social-Democratic camp, ostensible opponents of war, can make Marx out to be a Tolstojan or Voltairian. This trick of the pacifists is a match for the Social Democratic falsehood that Marx was an opponent of "force" in general and consequently also an "opponent" of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

From the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism the decisive point is: which class is making war; this must also decide the attitude of the international proletarian revolutionaries towards this or that war. Every effort to group wars only according to characteristics "beyond class", the distinction of wars into "wars of defence" and "wars of attack", into "just" and "unjust", civilised and barbarian wars — can only lead the working class into confusion, to casuistic sophisms, and is at bottom — as was brilliantly confirmed by the experience of the years 1914—1918 — only a device for deceiving the masses.

If a war is made by a progressive class against a reactionary one, if a war is made by a revolutionary government against a reactionary power, if a war robs a class of "positions of influence" which impede the development of productive powers, such war will be a paramount progressive factor. Conversely, if a reactionary State makes war upon a revolutionary State, or reactionary States fight for a "redistribution of the world" it is then a reactionary, predatory war, against which revolutionaries must fight with all their strength.

Formerly the bourgeoisie carried on progressive "wars of national emancipation", severed the feudal shackles by force of arms, broke down the petrified barriers of production and thereby "lead the nation forwards". Even to-day the bourgeoisie or a portion thereof are capable for a certain period of carrying on a "progressive", "just" war in their own countries (namely, those suffering oppression under Imperialism).

An example in recent times, which all will remember: The army of revolutionary China, under bourgeois commanders, defeated the army of the northern military, of the agents and "compradors" of the imperialism of Great Britain, Japan and the United States. A portion of the Chinese bourgeoisie was able during the first phases of development of the revolution to make a revolutionary war against reactionary foreign imperialism.

Chiang Kai Shek, the authorised representative of the Chinese bourgeoisie at this stage of development of the national freedom movement, conducted the **revolutionary** war of the people against reaction. This is the historic difference between the bourgeois Chiang Kai Shek and, for instance, the Socialist Minister Kerenski, who, in the year 1917, in the name of "fulfilment of duty to the allies", i. e. the entente imperialists, incited the Russian soldiers to take the offensive.

The revolution in Shanghai, in which Chiang Kai Shek played the part of a Chinese Cavaignac, amounted to an immense social "regrouping of the ranks" in the camp of the national freedom movement and to the going over of the Chinese bourgeoisie to the camp of reaction, a desertion which the Comintern had foreseen and of which they had in their resolutions and instructions warned the Chinese Communists. The shootings in Shanghai in April of this year constitute a bloody demarcation in the history of the Chinese revolution, whereby the Chinese bourgeoisie cut themselves off from the possibility of taking the leadership in a progressive national war of emancipation.

The wars, which the present-day imperialists are making, cannot be progressive in the slightest degree; they are reactionary, predatory wars. For Imperialism, per se, Capitalism in a state of decay, is — according to Lenin's statement — a thoroughly predatory, reactionary system.

"From being a liberator of the nations, which Capitalism was in fight against feudalism, Imperialistic Capitalism has become the greatest oppressor of the nations. Progressive Capitalism has been converted to reaction; it has developed productive power to such an extent that there remains nothing else for humanity to do but adopt Socialism or suffer for years and decades the armed fight of 'great' powers for the artificial maintenance of Capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and through national oppression of every kind" (Lenin. From the brochure "Socialism and War").

Messrs. Scheidemann and Renaudel, Gompers and Turati, the whole of international Social Democracy, which during the years 1914 to 1918 solicited with such zeal among the working class for devotees of the imperialistic slaughter, committed an unprecedented piece of villainy against the literary heritage of Marx in forcing into a radically different setting, into the relations of imperialist war, isolated statements of Engels' concerning the progressive tendencies of the former bourgeois, national wars of emancipation.

In the present epoch of the decline of capitalism a progressive war can be carried on only by the progressive class, by the revolutionary proletariat (a civil war, if the proletariat fights for the possession of power, a class war, if, after the capture of the reins of government, war is carried on against imperialistic armies).

The proletariat organised as a State power may (under especially favourable conditions, with the greatest precaution and with the requisite social rearguard, and, particularly, with a firm alliance of the workers and peasants, and when there exists sharp difference of opinion in the camp of imperialism, etc.) take up a revolutionary offensive war in aid of the proletariat rising or in open revolt in other countries.

The working class organised as a State power not only has the right, but is in duty bound, to carry on a revolutionary war of defence when attacked by imperialists. The policy of "non-resistance" in the matter of imperialistic attack would be treachery against the international revolution: The Bolsheviks would be criminals if they did not consolidate the capability of the country of proletarian dictatorship to defend itself. "We have become defenders of home and country, but such as defend the positions of Socialism", said Lenin.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union must strengthen the military power of the Soviet Union and defend themselves by force of arms and with the utmost energy in case the Soviet Union is attacked by the Imperialists and their Fascist vassals. The Communists of the other countries, as well as the honest workers of the whole world, are in duty bound to lend all their strength and means towards helping the proletarian State in its revolutionary defensive fight.

(To be continued.)

POLITICS

Mussolini's War Threats.

By G. Aquila.

On the 26th May Mussolini delivered a "great" speech, lasting several hours, in the fascist "Parliament". He spoke exclusively for the fascist deputies. He began with the form of address: "Honourable fascist deputies!", whereby he wished ostentatiously to show that he took no notice of the few "liberal" deputies who had appeared at the sitting of the Chamber under the leadership of Giolitti.

The speech of Mussolini gives a really miserable picture of the "great achievements" of the "fascist revolution" in the sphere of public health, administration, police etc.

In regard to the population question he stated, according to the official parliamentary report:

"I have introduced taxation of unmarried people which will, perhaps, be followed in the not distant future by the taxation of childless marriages. (Hear, hear!)"

The taxation of unmarried people yields a revenue to the State Treasury of 40 to 50 millions Lira a year. But do you really believe that I introduced this tax solely for this purpose? By no means! I have made use of this tax in order to accelerate the growth of the population.

Let us speak plainly. What are 40 million Italians compared with 90 million Germans and 200 million Slavs? Or let us turn to the West: what are 40 million Italians compared with 40 million French plus the 90 million inhabitants of their colonies? or compared with 46 million English plus the 400 million living in their colonies?

Gentlemen, if Italy wished to become a really great power in the world, she must in the second half of this century have more than 60 million inhabitants! For the past five years we have been saying that Italy has too many inhabitants. That is not true!

If we wish to understand something of the history of Europe in the last 50 years, then we must bear in mind that from 1870 up to the present time France has increased the number of her population by 2 million, Germany, however, by 24 million and Italy by 16 million.

If the number of the population declines we shall not be able to establish an Empire, but we shall become a colony! It was high time this was said!"

This is how Mussolini deals with the population problem in his speech on "home politics". This extremely imperialistic attitude to the question, which is directed all too plainly against the French "sister nation", is confronted by the depressing fact, which Signor Mussolini had to admit in his speech, that the misery among the town population in Italy is so great, that the number of inhabitants of the biggest industrial centres, in spite of the rapid pace of industrialisation, is stagnant and is even going back. We quote from his speech:

"In the year 1926 the population of Turin had declined by 538 compared with 1925. Milan in the same time increased its population by 221 (!), Genoa by 158. And these are the three most industrialised towns of Italy."

After this statement Mussolini consoled himself with the rapid increase of the rural population, in which he wishes to see the guarantee for the realisation of his imperialist aims.

The second "home political" question dealt with in his speech was the question of the Brenner frontier. He spoke of the administrative reorganisation of the province and referred to the creation of the province of Botzen. Regarding this question Mussolini declared:

"That has nothing whatever to do with the Brenner-frontier. Even if there happened to be a hundred thousand, one hundred per cent, pure Germans living in the Upper Etch Valley, the Brenner frontier would be sacred and inviolable (Loud and prolonged applause. The deputies and also the public in the galleries rise from their seats). And if necessary we would defend it with a war. Even tomorrow! (Hear, Hear)."

The people living there are nothing but an Italian minority speaking a German dialect as their ordinary

language, and this since only half a century. For the rest the problem of minorities speaking a foreign language is an insoluble problem; one can reverse it, but one cannot solve it.

Those who believed that the creation of the province of Bolgiano constituted a present or a concession to the German elements, especially to those turbulent elements on the other side of the Brenner, made a big mistake. That is quite out of the question. The province of Bolgiano has been created in order to be able to Italianise this district more quickly!" (Applause).

The Austrian and German "Fascists", and also Herr Stresemann, who in recent times has not been sparing in his demonstrations of sympathy with the Italian dictator, might take these words to heart!

But it is to Herr Stresemann in particular that Mussolini has addressed yet another message. He sought to prove the necessity of increased military armaments with the following words:

"The picture of Locarno is as follows: France and Germany mutually undertake not to attack each other, and there stands a gendarme on either side of them: England and Italy.

But in Locarno they have made something more: a chemical preparation — the spirit of Locarno. Now gentlemen, the spirit of Locarno has today — in scarcely two years — considerably lost its colour. (Laughter.) What has happened? The so-called Locarno Powers are feverishly arming both on land and on sea.

Then there are happenings which it would be a crime to close our eyes to. Gentlemen, the great Berlin parade of the Stahlhelm took place just recently. There were 120,000 present, which fact in itself would not be of particular interest to us if one of their standards had not borne the following inscription: 'From Trieste to Riga!' It is paradoxical and even idiotic, if you will, but it is a fact. And what follows? It follows that it is the precise, fundamental and foremost duty of fascist Italy to increase to the highest potentiality all its armed forces on land, on the sea and in the air! (Repeated and prolonged applause.)

We must be able at a given moment to mobilise and to arm five million men. We must strengthen our navy. We must see that our air fleet is so numerous and so powerful that the noise of its motors shall drown every other sound on the Peninsula, and that its wings shall darken the sun over our whole country.

Then, when between 1935 and 1940 we shall stand at the parting of the ways of European history, we shall be able to let our voice be heard and see our rights finally recognised. (Exceedingly enthusiastic and repeated applause.)"

We believe and are convinced that later events will confirm that the speech of Mussolini, at this moment, delivered two days after the breaking off of Anglo-Soviet relations is — along with the action of the English Conservatives government — the most serious threat of war against the Soviet Union.

One must not lose sight of the connections. The English Conservative government has taken the first decisive step. The second step must be the setting up of the widest possible imperialist united front against the Soviet Union. The London conversations of the French President and Foreign Minister have probably not achieved those immediate positive results which are so urgently necessary for English imperialism. The attitude of Germany, too, is perhaps not such as could completely satisfy the English Conservatives. In this situation, therefore, Chamberlain and Churchill send out in advance their ally, Mussolini, whose threatening speech, apparently directed against France and Germany, only serves the purpose of exerting a pressure on these government, in order in this manner — and on the other hand by promises of England — to bring them finally into the Anti-Soviet front.

Whoever wishes to deceive the European proletariat regarding these facts is an open or concealed ally of the imperialists in their campaign, not only against the first proletarian State, the Soviet Union, but also against the proletariat of the whole world. He is the worst enemy of the world proletariat, which must rise like one man if it wishes to avert the immediately threatening danger of war before it is too late.

"British" Trade Union Laws in Norway.

By Arvid Hansen.

The suggestions first submitted in 1924 for the introduction of compulsory courts of arbitration and penal legislation against the Trade Unions, have now been made law by the Norwegian Storting. According to these enactments, a council of five, appointed by the Government, will have authority to establish the details of wages, working hours, etc., which means that it will be able to decree, at least approximately, the wage reductions demanded by the employers.

If the workers organised in Trade Unions fail to submit to the verdict, i. e. to the lower wage rate, they fall under the prescriptions of the penal law, i. e. the Trade Unions are responsible for any such illegal strike and are exposed to all sorts of economic and penal reprisals, "if they cannot prove that they are not to blame or if they have not employed all means at their disposal to prevent the breach or the continuation of the unlicensed conditions or the illegal stoppage of work".

If the Trade Unions cannot prove such an attitude or manner of procedure, paragraph 40 of the new law enacts that any one participating in a resolution to "effect, continue, subsidise, or approve of" such an illegal strike, and any one "inciting such a strike, or supporting it, or collecting funds therefor or distributing funds collected for the effectuation or continuation of the strike," shall be liable to fines ranging from 5 to 25,000 crowns or to imprisonment not exceeding three months or to both.

The same penalties apply to those that threaten the freedom of the workers, i. e. the freedom of the blacklegs.

These are the main points of the laws which have already been passed by the entire bourgeois bloc. An additional paragraph is still in preparation. It was suggested by the Conservatives and the Peasant Party and aims at making the libelling of strike-breakers in general (even in the case of a "legal" strike) and the publication of the names of strike-breakers punishable by imprisonment not exceeding one year. This paragraph is at present under discussion by the Parliamentary Committee for Public Justice.

The new paragraphs already passed are highly characteristic of the entire trend of present-day legislation, for they enact that, firstly, the Trade Unions shall be bound to report to the Government not only their number of members but also all the circumstances connected with the members in question; while, secondly, the new laws are to apply not only to the existing Trade Unions but also to any groups or executive committees formed by members of the Trade Unions; and, thirdly, the so-called "working regulations", which were hitherto limited to the purposes of an arbitration body, may in case of need give the authorisation of a lockout, i. e. a counter-measure on the part of the employers.

How is it that just this year should see the passage of new reactionary Trade Union legislation in Norway? Firstly, as a result of the situation in Norwegian class relations. After a lockout of several months in four industries, the Norwegian employers were still unable to come to terms with their workers, and the bourgeoisie began to reckon with the prospect of the workers' being supported by the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union. The effectuation of the wage reductions (by 17 per cent.) in the year 1925 entailed six lengthy lockouts. A repetition of the conflicts on such a scale would have endangered the stability of the currency and other achievements of the capitalists. The employers found themselves unable to carry out a further wage reduction by 15 per cent. on their own account, and they therefore had recourse to the legislative means of their labour-exploiting State, the entire apparatus of which is at present in the hands of the Conservative Party.

During the social semi-pacifism of the former Liberal Government, the employers' association was opposed to the compulsory arbitration law, as was also the Conservative Party, but since in view of the readiness of the workers to fight they could find no other solution of the conflict despite many attempts in various directions, the employers and their Government have had recourse to the old panacea of the Liberals,

which they did all the more readily as they were in a position to combine the passing of this law with the establishment of the "stabilising" enactments of the notorious penal law, embodying their sacred principles of the "liberty of work" and the like.

Added to these reasons, however, there is the political influence of the foreign, and especially the British, capital in Norway. Just as British capital "slightly" influences the joint-stock companies of the Norwegian aluminium, paper, preserves, and other industries, the policy of the Norwegian Government is "slightly" swayed by the "pacific" power of the British Conservative Government. In its campaign against the "tyrannising of labour by the Trade Unions", the Norwegian press rested chiefly on Baldwin, though naturally with frequent reference to the "practical common sense" of such men as Thomas and MacDonald. But the passing and the carrying out of the new laws in such a "democratic" country as Norway, where there is at present no such authority as Mussolini, is by no means without significance for the agitation-propaganda departments of the British Conservative Government.

The Communist Party of Norway has taken both the national and the international factor into consideration in formulating its attitude towards a continuation of the struggle against "British" legislation in Norway. A resolute fight of the Norwegian working class, in spite of the imminent verdict, in spite of all the enactments of the new laws, a fight for the purpose of breaking through and destroying these laws, would constitute an essential and practical support of the general fight against reactionary legislation, one of the main factors in international class warfare.

CHINA

The Advance on Peking.

By Tang Shin She.

"Lies have short legs"! After the defection of Chiang Kai Shek from the Kuomintang and the revolutionary Wuhan government, the imperialists acted as if Wuhan was immediately about to fall. Sensational telegrams were continually sent from China to the effect that Chang Tso-lin, Chiang-Kai-Shek and other counter-revolutionaries were marching on Wuhan. In fact there was even talk of a race to Wuhan. Every day one could read of the flight of Borodin, the adviser to the Wuhan government, and some Communist Ministers in an airship from Wuhan to other cities.

This campaign of incitement was deliberately initiated by the imperialist agents in China. It was believed that in this way it would be possible to defeat the gigantic Chinese revolution. Today they have to admit, contrary to their previous reports of the "fall of Wuhan", that the revolutionary troops are threatening Peking. They likewise have to admit that Borodin is still in Wuhan.

The junction of the revolutionary armies — the troops of Feng Yu-Hsiang proceeding along the Lunghai railway line and the troops of Tang Sen Dji proceeding along the Wuhan-Peking line — was accomplished at Chengchow. Peking is now threatened on three sides. From the South side there are approaching the united forces of Feng Yu-Hsiang and Tang Sen Dji along the Wuhan-Peking line; from the North side there are advancing the troops of Feng Yu-Hsiang, united with the army of the model governor of Shansi, Lien Chi San, which went over to the Wuhan government in April last, and from the West the Shansi troops are pushing forward along the Tayüan-Jintchen line. Before very long Chang Tsung Chang's army, which has long been in open conflict with Chang Tso-lin and which only recently was defeated in North Kiangsu near Hsutchow by Chiang Kai-shek, will withdraw from there to Tientsin and thus cut off the retreat of Chang Tso-Lin to Manchuria. Chang Tso-Lin will shortly be compelled to abandon Peking in order to secure Manchuria.

How will the Japanese behave now that Chang Tso-lin is in such a critical position? Japan is at present as equally cool towards Chang Tso-lin as it is towards the revolutionary Wuhan troops; for Chang Tso-lin is the friend of its enemy — Great Britain.

When Chang Tso-lin advanced this year against the province of Honan, the Japanese incited his follower, the former governor of the province of Chili, Li Djin Lin, to organise a military revolt against him. After the discovery of the plans for a putsch at the beginning of April, Chang Tso-Lin, with a great force troops searched just as eagerly on Japanese steamers in Tientsin for L-Djin Lin, as he had sought for Comrade Li Tai Chou in the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Peking. The Japanese had to employ their own troops to remove the soldiers of Chang Tso-Lin from their ships. The Japanese intend to put in the place of Chang Tso lin as the ruler of Manchuria, the former chief of staff, Jang Ju Chin, who has remained true to them.

Can Jang Ju Chin become the successor of Chang Tso-Lin? It is highly improbable, for he is a general without soldiers. What is still worse for him is that he is being fought most bitterly by all tendencies in the Chang Tso-lin clique.

As we have already mentioned, the traitor Chiang Kai-shek is also marching northwards on Peking. There is even talk of a race to Peking between the troops of the Wuhan government and the mercenaries of Chiang Kai-shek. But there is not the least doubt that in the present strategical situation Peking will be captured, not by Chiang Kai-shek but by the revolutionary troops. Chiang Kai-Shek, has not even advanced beyond North Kiangsu, and therefore still has to cross the two provinces of Shantung and Chili where he will be opposed by Chang Tsung Chang with all his forces. In the meantime the revolutionary troops have encircled Peking on three sides.

In the last few days the imperialists have been spreading the rumour that Chiang Kai-shek will become reconciled with Wuhan or will collaborate with Feng Yu-Hsiang. This statement is absolutely false. The Wuhan government and the Kuomintang regard Chiang Kai-shek as the worst enemy of the revolution. None of the leaders is maintaining any connection whatever with Chiang Kai-shek. Feng Yu-Hsiang and his army have not trusted Chiang Kai-Shek since the latter's action in Canton in March 1926. When Feng Yu-Hsiang's army went over in a body to the Kuomintang in August 1926, it retained the name of Kuomin army solely because it did not trust Chiang Kai-Shek. After the Plenary session of the Party in March 1927 when Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship was abolished, it at once adopted the common name of "national revolutionary army of China".

Feng Yu-Hsiang immediately stigmatised in a sharp declaration the treachery of Chiang Kai-shek in April 1927. He immediately set his troops in motion to unite with the Wuhan army in order to strengthen the Wuhan government. His plan was, on the one hand to march on Peking and on the other hand to occupy the whole of the Lunghai railway line. As a result of his constant victories the generals who fell away from Wu-Pei-fu or Sun Chuan Fang and are now working together with Chiang Kai-shek, will again vacillate. After the annihilation of Chang Tso-lin and Chang Tsun Chang it will be easy to liquidate the forces of Chiang Kai-shek. If the revolutionary forces were immediately to undertake action against Chiang Kai-shek the matter would be much more difficult, because in that case the vacillating generals would be compelled to remain on his side. The fact that action is not being taken against Chiang Kai-Shek does not mean in the least that there is any understanding with him; this policy is dictated by pure tactical considerations.

After the Plenary Session of the Kuomintang in March 1927 the Chinese revolution entered on a new stage. It is the beginning of the democratic-revolutionary dictatorship of the peasants and workers. Thanks to the rapid advance of the revolutionary troops to North China the Chinese revolution will in this stage receive a fresh and gigantic impetus; for in the three provinces of Honan, Shantung and Chili, the workers' and peasants' organisations, in spite of terrible suppression, are exceedingly strong.

THE BALKANS

The Situation in Greece.

By Athenian.

The period of the dictatorship of Pangalos represented, among other things, a sharpening of the struggle between the imperialism of Great Britain and the imperialism of France for hegemony in Greece. The entry into the government of the bourgeois coalition means a victory for Great Britain in this struggle.

The government of the coalesced monarchist and republican parties, whose main object is to solve the economic and financial crisis of the country at the cost of the working masses, could not do otherwise than adapt itself to the policy of Great Britain, as this is the only Power which is able to give financial help to Greek capitalism, which cannot maintain itself without support from abroad.

Thus the bourgeois parties are working for the enslavement of Greece. They have already imposed on the Greek people a new burden of 23 million pound Sterling, the amount of the war debts of Greece to Great Britain. This sum has been fixed by the agreement between Great Britain and Greece recently concluded in London. In this matter Greece had to submit to the conditions of a British ultimatum.

In addition a number of loans to Greece will involve a second constant control of Greek finances. The emissaries of the League of Nations are the precursors of this control. They sit in Athens and are commissioned to draw up an Experts' Report and a Dawes Plan for Greece.

The bourgeois coalition also intends to balance the national budget. The budget deficit for the year 1927/28 reaches the enormous sum of 3 milliard Drachmes. The only means of meeting this deficit was the introduction of fresh indirect taxes on food. In the last few days the government has placed a tax on sugar, flour, corn, bread and tobacco. In addition it intends to issue a decree imposing direct taxes which will heavily burden the tobacco planters and other farmers. Furthermore, the salaries of the State employees are being reduced. It is intended by this means to reduce the deficit from 3 milliards to 800 millions.

Hand in hand with the offensive of the government against the standard of living of the workers there is developing the offensive of the employers. In Macedonia, the big tobacco companies are endeavouring to dissolve the organisations of the tobacco workers and to lower their wages. Unemployment prevails in all towns. In the town of Piraeus alone there are 10,000 unemployed.

This reactionary policy of the Greek bourgeoisie, the foreign loans, the subordination to Great Britain, the dangers of war in the Balkans, the taxes, the wage-cuts etc. are evoking among the masses a great movement of discontent against the bourgeois coalition. This discontent is having its reaction on the government. Under the pressure of the mass of the people on whom the government relies, the monarchist parties are provoking government crisis almost every day, which are merely tricks in order to use the indignation of the people against the Republican parties and in order to extort fresh concessions from these parties for the monarchists.

In the midst of these crises the coalition government does not forget its reactionary tasks. It is endeavouring to break the resistance of the workers by initiating a wave of persecutions against the working class. On May 5th the authorities of Salonica endeavoured to banish the general secretary of the Tobacco workers' Union, Comrade Hadchistavro, with 10 other workers and intellectuals to the Aegean islands.

This act of violence was frustrated by the protest of the workers. Everywhere the authorities are proceeding to similar attempts. The islands are gradually being populated with exiled workers.

The Greek bourgeoisie has allies in the labour movement of its own country. The socialists, incited by the government as well as by Albert Thomas, are conducting a splitting policy

in the organised labour movement. In Salonika, traitors have founded a reactionary trades council and a reactionary tobacco workers' union. The same people have broken up the trades council in Piraeus and expelled from the trades council of Athens the representatives of eight revolutionary trade unions.

The Greek socialists are conducting an anti-communist campaign and at the same time attacking the Soviet Union, accusing it of having violated democracy. They have carried their collaboration with the bourgeoisie so far that they allowed themselves to be represented in the delegation of the Greek government in Geneva. At the next meeting of the League of Nations the Greek bourgeoisie, along with the British financiers, will deal with the question of the stabilisation loan, that is, the economic and political subjugation of Greece to foreign capital. The Greek socialists will likewise share the responsibility of the bourgeoisie for this crime.

The Communist Party of Greece is replying to the general offensive of capital with the slogan of mobilising the working masses on the basis of their immediate economic and political demands. The active sections of the working class who take part in the trade union life and the various struggles are represented by the Communist Party. This was seen on the 1st of May, when the Communist speakers and the Communist slogans predominated.

Among the present important tasks of the Communist Party the most pressing is the fight against the threatening illegality of the Party. Everything indicates that the government is preparing to persecute the Party and the labour movement in general. In view of these reactionary intentions of the bourgeois coalition our Party is conducting an active campaign against persecution and illegality. In the last few weeks huge meetings of workers took place everywhere demanding the freedom of the labour movement and of the Communist Party. This campaign is being continued with undiminished strength.

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Since the above was written, telegrams from Athens report that 40,000 tobacco workers have been locked out, 300 thrown into prison. Bloody collisions have also taken place. The labour exchanges in Salonica are occupied. There have been shootings and bloodbaths, and bombardment by artillery. Unprecedented terror prevails in Macedonia and Thrace. Ed.

ECONOMICS

The Last Phase of Deflation in Denmark,

What it Costs to Create an "Honest" Crown, and Who must Pay the Damage.

By Ernst Christiansen (Copenhagen).

Since January 1st, 1927, the Danish crown has been, both effectively and formally, at par. The deflation is over. But it is just at this time that the Danish working class is being made to experience the last phase of the effects of deflation in their most violent form. For the greater part of the winter, the number of unemployed averaged 100,000, which meant that every third Danish worker was out of work. Even in May, when seasonal work had set in, there were about 80,000 workers unemployed. In the course of 1926, the rise of the currency was accompanied by wage reductions by as much as 17 per cent.

The upper classes, however, are not satisfied with seeing the crown at par and with having reaped the profit of its appreciation. On the contrary, the ruling classes in town and country alike are waging the most energetic fight for the purpose of a further exploitation of the working classes.

As will be remembered, it was the Social-Democratic Government of Stauning which effected a currency policy causing the crown to appreciate in the lapse of 18 months from 60 oere to par. When the Social-Democratic Government had effected this currency appreciation which was so greatly to the advantage of the ruling classes and brought them profits of millions without benefiting the working class in the least, the

position of this Government was by no means stabilised thereby. When the ruling classes had netted the currency profits, they had no further use for the Social-Democratic Government. An emergency relief Act, submitted by the Ministry towards the end of 1926 under the pressure of the unemployment which had been partly entailed by the currency rise, was frustrated, and at the Riksdag elections of December 1926 the bourgeois elements rallied in the two moderately Conservative parties, whereupon a pronouncedly **big agrarian** Government replaced the Stauning Cabinet.

This Government naturally also failed to mitigate unemployment; indeed, it has made no particular efforts in this connection.

On the other hand, the Government initiated a policy of deterioration in its entire social legislation and in the reduction of salaries for civil servants.

The Government has introduced a Bill providing for a substantial **reduction of unemployment relief** and representing a pronounced deterioration of social legislation for the sick, aged, incapacitated, and professionally injured, while there is hardly any reduction of the military expenditure. Altogether, the extent of the proposed deterioration figures at 30 or 40 million crowns, an amount which in a country of the small dimensions of Denmark naturally represents a catastrophic lowering of the standard of life of the persons affected thereby.

To this social aggravation must be added a **reduction of the salaries of civil servants** to the extent of some 30 million crowns, regardless of the fact that these salaries had already been reduced in keeping with the price recession, as established by the Statistical Department. The Government, presided over by a landowner whose property is encumbered to double its value by loans from high financial circles, has given prominence to this Bill so as to render possible a collaboration with the other bourgeois parties.

After the Riksdag elections of December 1926, the **Agrarian Party** forming the Government had, together with the **Conservative Party**, the majority both in the First and in the Second Chamber. Added to this, the **Left Radicals**, who were formerly allied with the Social-Democrats, approached more and more to the Right. The two Conservative parties are practically agreed as to the policy of restriction. Certain points of the programme will still be altered and the sum total will be slightly diminished, but in all essential details the actual Government programme is sure to be carried out, in so far this depends on the Riksdag alone.

As a matter of form, the **Social-Democratic Party** naturally assumed an attitude distinctly hostile to these restrictions. The bitterness prevailing among the working classes finds general expression at Social-Democratic meetings. But the Social Democratic leaders have turned down the suggestion made by the **Communists** and certain Left elements of the extreme Left of an effective fight against the Government Bill. The main task of the party is said to be the preparation for the election campaign of 1928, when a new Government is to be put into office. This means that the Social Democrats merely desire to exploit the indignation of the working classes at the cutting down of social achievements, so as to make propaganda for a new edition of Ministerial Socialism.

Within the broad working masses there is much inclination to accept the Communist proposal of adopting **extra-Parliamentary** means against the agrarian Government. This suggestion in the first place envisaged a **demonstrative strike of 24 hours' duration** as a preliminary to further proceedings. The question now arises as to whether it will be possible to induce the working classes to fight, or whether the Social Democrats will succeed in preventing a real fight by waging a **mockbattle in Parliament**. In this latter case, the Danish workers' will have to submit to all the consequence of currency stabilisation. The capitalists, meanwhile, can be glad that the Social Democrats, who procured them a profit of millions by the appreciation of the crown, are now again endeavouring to keep the workers from any real class struggle thus giving the capitalists the possibility to enhance their profits by a restriction of the social achievements of the Danish workers.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Indian Trade Unions Hold Seventh Congress.

By Balaboushevitch.

On the 12th of March the **Seventh All-Indian Congress of Trade Unions** was held in Delhi. The Congress, according to the decision of the Executive Committee of December 1926, should have been held in Calcutta and not in Delhi, and not on March 12th, but during the Easter Holidays. The unexpected change in the date and place of the Congress was caused by the desire of Comrade Saklatvala, who was in India, to put his programme on the Labour Question before the Congress. Indian trade union leaders being well aware of the enthusiastic welcome given Comrade Saklatvala by the workers, could not do otherwise but adopt his proposal. The date of convening the Congress was therefore altered.

This change in the arrangements met with the loud protest of a certain group of trade union leaders and was the reason for the comparatively small representation of this gathering of trade unions affiliated to the Congress. Up to the moment of the Seventh Congress, the Trades Union Congress embraced 37 trade union organisations. At the Sixth Congress, held in January 1926, the All-India Trades Union Congress had 52 trade unions affiliated with a total of 125,000 members, viz., approximately 43% of the organised workers of India.

Besides Comrade Saklatvala a number of prominent Labour leaders also participated at the Congress. The President of the All-India National Congress, Srinivasa Gyengar and the prominent nationalists Rajpat Rai, Malaviya and others were present. Rai Saheb Chanarika Prasad who took the chair at the Congress made a lengthy speech outlining the fundamental questions of the Indian Trade Union Movement.

In his speech Prasad gave much attention to the serious question of organising the large masses of the agricultural workers and the poor and landless peasantry of India. (In India there are 22 million unorganised agricultural workers and labourers working on the farms.) Up to this time, this question, which is of exceptional significance, was given little attention by the Congress. Prasad emphasised in his speech that to organise the agricultural workers the Congress must send its representatives to all the largest agricultural districts. Moreover, serious measures must be taken by the Congress to develop and guide the co-operative movement in the agricultural communities of India. Touching on the question of the development of trade unionism in India, Prasad pointed out that Indian conditions demand the reorganisation of the trade unions organised on the industrial basis.

Very unexpected was the statement of Prasad on the question of forming a **Labour Party in India**. Under the influence of the British Labour leaders the All-India Trades Union Congress adopted a number of energetic measures to form a Labour Party in India. A resolution was even taken to this effect at the previous Trades Union Congress, (held in January 1926) where, under the chairmanship of Thengdi a special commission was formed to draw up a detailed draft for organising the Labour Party. This Commission, by the way, was functioning up till very recently. For this reason Prasad's statement that "insofar as the workers of India have no right to send their representatives to the legislative organs of the country, nothing could be gained by discussing the necessity of creating an Indian Labour Party", was all the more unexpected. The outstanding feature of the Congress was the speech of Comrade Saklatvala in which he outlined the tasks of the Trade Union movement in India and the struggle of the working masses against capitalism and imperialism. Comrade Saklatvala called on the trade unions of India to maintain contact with the advanced trade union movements of other countries.

Besides Prasad and Saklatvala, Joshi, the General Secretary of the All-India Trades Union Congress made a detailed report at this Congress on the condition of the Indian Trade Union Movement.

The most important resolutions adopted were:

1. The Congress resolved to greet and thank Comrade Saklatvala in the name of the working masses for his self-denying work to improve the position of his fellow-workers.

2. The Congress categorically protested against the dispatch of Indian troops to China and demanded their immediate withdrawal. The Congress also expressed its solidarity with the Chinese people, its struggle for national freedom and approved of the policy of Kuomintang.

3. A number of resolutions were adopted demanding the eight hour day, fixing of minimum wage, on prohibiting female labour underground, on insurance against sickness and unemployment, on old-age pensions, pensions for widows and orphans of workers, on observance of day of rest, on weekly payment of wages, on setting up a Central Wage Board to regulate disputes between the administration and the workers on the railroads.

4. The Congress expressed its desire to set up close collaboration with trade union organisations in all parts of the British Empire to struggle jointly against "the ruthless exploitation of British imperialism".

5. Of special interest is the resolution of the Congress on the question of international unity. The Congress approved the policy of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee in setting up international trade union unity and expressed the hope that this problem would be realised in the very near future. At the same time the Congress resolved to withhold its affiliation from any of the International organisations until international trade union unity has been achieved.

In contrast to the policy of the previous Congress this indeed was a step forward. Recently British reformists in India have been very active to get the Indian trade union movement affiliated to the Amsterdam International. During the past two years prominent leaders of the Amsterdam International and the British Trades Union Congress visited India and endeavoured to set up — not without some success — close connections with the leaders of the Indian trade union movement. The resolution adopted by the Congress on the question of International Unity proves that the reformists' attempt to draw the Indian trade unions into the Amsterdam International was unsuccessful.

Insofar as we have no full report on the Kongress to date we cannot tell whether the question of the split among prominent leaders of the Indian Trade Union Movement was taken up. At any rate it should be pointed out that this dissension is not of serious import for the Indian Trade Union Movement; the two hostile groups have no serious differences of opinion as their fight for the greater part is personal in character. Published materials show that Joshi, the General Secretary of the Congress, received the full confidence of the Trades Union Congress, although a group of leaders headed by Mukund Lal Sirkar had been carrying on a campaign against him.

Under pressure of the working masses, and not without the influence of Comrade Saklatvala, who was so enthusiastically welcomed by the workers throughout India, the Trades Union Congress and its reformist officialdom were forced to make a few changes in its policy and adopt a number of significant resolutions.

We cannot, however, register any serious advance in the Indian Trade Union Movement, as the majority of the trade union leaders in India do not support the class struggle but still believe in class collaboration.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Persecution of those who are Banished to the Italian Islands.

The persecution of those who are banished to the islands of Lipari, Lampedusa and Tremiti continues. In this way, the bourgeoisie is trying to humiliate, to suppress and to terrorise the strong revolutionary fighters who have not submitted to the Fascist reaction. The persecution, however, does not discourage the exiles but stimulates them to resistance and to loyalty to their own class. This is proved by letters received from the exiles, in which they describe the ill-treatment they have suffered, but at the same time call for the continuation of the

struggle. The ill-treatment described below is only a small part of what has actually happened, for much of it cannot be described by the exiles. Nevertheless the following details give a very good idea of the infernal situation of the exiles.

One who has returned from exile writes:

"Comrade X. asks me, through the medium of another comrade, to make known the treatment to which the exiles on Lampedusa are exposed, asking at the same time, that these facts may be communicated to comrades in other countries so that they may take an active part in the campaign against the Fascist terror and put an end to the moral and physical tortures which the exiles are suffering.

There are at present about 150 exiled comrades in Lampedusa, the majority of them Communists, who are given the absurd sum of five lire or less per day. With this sum of money, be it noted, they are supposed to provide for all their needs, although it is known that prices on the islands are very high and that it is impossible to get work. Furthermore, these sums are paid in arrear in order to increase the suffering of the exiles.

Again, the exiles may not go more than 200 meters from the centre where they live, on pain of arrest and imprisonment. Just for this reason, not a few of our comrades have had sentences heaped on them.

The Commandant of the Guard is a Sicilian Lieutenant of the militia who does not fail to fill the office entrusted to him in a truly Fascist manner. One evening, this Lieutenant threw himself on a group of comrades who were singing folk-songs and madly hailed blows on them. As this worthy representative of the Guard which has been entrusted with the defence of the Fascist Government, actually said, "too much consideration is shown to the insurgents. In order to avoid this unnecessary waste of time and money, one remedy — powder and lead — would be sufficient."

This same Commandant asserted in a categorical way "that, even if he had to kill some of the exiles, he would certainly receive a badge of honour from Mussolini". This is not one of the usual boasts. Threats are followed by deeds. One day, the same Lieutenant tried to compel some of the comrades to cry: "Long live Mussolini!" and "Long live the King!" When our comrades firmly refused, he replied by ill-treating all those who got into his hands. He went so far as to draw a dagger with cynical indifference and to aim a blow at one of our comrades who fell groaning to the ground with a wound in his abdomen. Another day, he surprised two comrades at a bar with other persons who were not exiles and arrested the comrades on the spot, accusing them of a "conspiracy". These two comrades were, without further ado, condemned to six months imprisonment on bread and water and sent to a prison near Naples.

These of course are only simple incidents. If one were to describe all the deeds of ignominy one could go on for ever."

The purpose of this persecution is obviously to reduce our comrades to submission to Fascism by continued mental and physical pressure. Unconditional surrender, renunciation of all political activity, of their political personality and of their moral dignity is demanded. Since however our comrades are personally prepared for any sacrifice, they are attacked through their family feeling by letting their wives and children starve. Then, when these families are completely starving, the Government offers them financial support in order through this "generous" action to induce the families, who do not as a rule understand the reasons for certain tricks, to advise their beloved exiles to behave differently.

The way our comrades reply to such shameful manoeuvres, may be seen from the following letter of a banished comrade to his wife:

"I understand from Y. that the Government has granted you 500 lire as a support for our children. Pay particular attention to what I say and be sure to obey my instructions. When you are invited to fetch the money, you must absolutely refuse it and tell them that they may give the 500 lire to the first blind man they meet but that we do not need their charity. Scream it in their very face. For these people, not content with having imprisoned us, with having plunged so many families into distress, not content

that so many children are in the streets without the supervision of their father, are now trying to humiliate us. And I, you see, should be ashamed if my children were to go and buy bread to-morrow with this ill-gotten money. Do not accept it therefore! If you have not enough for two meals a day, only have one, but keep the flag flying! Let us remain poor but proud of our honesty!

Capitalism Forges New Weapon against the Workers in America.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

Capitalism in America has forged another weapon with which to make war on the American Communist movement in the decision of the United States Supreme Court upholding the sentence of from one to 14 years imprisonment against Charlotte Anita Whitney.

Thus this capitalist high court in Washington places its approval on the anti-Communist legislation, that parades under the high-sounding title of criminal syndicalist laws, that has been adopted in many states of the Union since the war.

Ordinarily the centralised government at Washington is very jealous of its power. It carries on a studied resistance to so-called "state's rights". But in the absence of a federal law outlawing the Communists, it has been found "constitutional" for the various states individually to adopt such legislation. Thirty-five of the forty nine states in the Union already have such laws.

In some respects the laws upheld by the supreme court — those in California and Kansas are worse than the anti-trade union bill now before the British parliament, because they can be used against the trade unions as well as against the American Communist Party. In fact it is possible under these laws for the capitalist prosecutors to attack any form of "dangerous" working class activity wherever it may appear. They specifically declare illegal "any personal act or conduct, practices or the commission of any act advised, advocated, taught or aided and abetted with an intent to accomplish a change in industrial ownership or control, or affecting any political change".

It was under a similar law in the State of Michigan that C. E. Ruthenberg, the general secretary of the American Communist Party, who died recently, was sentenced to ten years imprisonment. Had Ruthenberg lived, the present decision of the high American court would demand that he immediately begin serving his sentence.

This new weapon in the anti-labour armory of the American ruling class means that the workers face increasing difficulties, not only to better their working conditions, fight for increasing wages and the shorter workday, but that even their right to organise into trade unions is threatened, since even the mildest forms of economic organisation can be interpreted as efforts to change "industrial ownership".

This supreme court decision gives another blow to the socialist and liberal claims that the labour-baiting and oppression incident to the world war were gradually being liquidated.

Miss Whitney was convicted in 1920, during the anti-Communist hysteria of that year. She was a member of the Communist Labour Party, declared illegal that year by the United States government. For the last seven years her case has been dragging through the California courts just as the Sacco-Vanzetti case has been making its dreary way, for more than seven years, through the legal tribunals of the state of Massachusetts. Miss Whitney is an intellectual who has thrown in her lot with the American working class. Her previous position in bourgeois society resulted in considerable attention being attracted to her case, scores of workers being sent to prison under the same law with little publicity or protest resulting. In the case of Miss Whitney, however, a furore of protest has swept the state, resulting in widespread campaigns demanding her release. She has been repeatedly denounced by the capitalist press as a "hopeless eccentric who should be treated with the amiable tolerance that we accord to children and the mentally abnormal", which is the usual denunciation by the bourgeoisie of those who desert them to fight for labour's cause.

The American Communist Party has waged a continuous struggle for the repeal of this legislation in the states where it

is to be found on the statute books. Encouraged by this favourable decision of the supreme court, however, the remaining state legislatures as well as the National Congress may be expected to adopt similar legislation, especially in view of the growing sympathy of the American workers and farmers for the struggle of the peoples of China, Mexico and Nicaragua, and their very evident hostility to any new attack by American imperialism against the Union of Soviet Republics. This new decision of the capitalist court will sharpen the class struggle in America. It will drive new sections of the working class to the left in the struggle against the exploiting interests.

How the Roumanian Siguranza stage a "Communist Plot".

Below we print the extract of public declaration by Willy Roth, the Roumanian Labour leader. The declaration throws a vivid light upon the methods with the help of which the Roumanian Siguranza extract "confessions" from the political prisoners who fall into their hands and how they discover "Communist plots". Ed.

On November 14th, 1926, I was arrested in Bucharest by agents of the Siguranza. After more than ten years in the Labour movement, formerly as editor of the Transylvanian German Socialist organ "Der Kampf" and subsequently as trade-union secretary of Herrmannstadt, I was known to the Siguranza and, like hundreds and thousands of Roumanian workers, I was persecuted as a Communist.

Although no criminal offence against the existing reactionary law of the land could be proved against me, I was kept for a month in the prison of the political department of the Bucharest police (Siguranza).

Within the first few days of my arrest a "declaration", drafted and written by Inspector Banculescu, was presented to me for signature. This declaration consisted of a series of inventions and misrepresentations. It contained, inter alia, the statement that I was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Roumania, together with Alex Köblös, Boris Stefanov, Pavel Tkatshenko, Moses Kahana and others who led the illegal Communist movement. A number of meetings were mentioned and minutes cited; of these I had no knowledge whatever; they were evidently invented or forged. I, together with these known leaders of the Communist Party, was accused of being the author and distributor of all the illegal leaflets, brochures, newspapers, circulars, etc. from the revolutionary movement of Roumania, found by the Siguranza during the past two years.

This declaration further construed — with the help of forged letters and protocols, — a secret organisational connection, on the one hand, between the above-mentioned revolutionaries and me and, on the other hand, with a number of well-known leading workers and intellectuals of the united trade-union movement, of the "Workers' and Peasants' Block", of the League for Human Rights and of the Anti-Terror League of Roumania. All these, according to the declaration, were members of a huge common conspiracy.

This declaration was presented to me for signature. I declined, however, to sign the fabrication. In order to force the signature out of me, Commissary Munteanu Sion and several detectives subjected me to weeks of torture. Throughout many nights my naked body was beaten with big rubber truncheons until I lost consciousness, the beating being continued when I recovered, and the soles of my feet were belaboured with staves and wet tow. The chief Inspector of the Siguranza, Dumitru Vladimirescu, attended the scene personally and participated in the torture. He issued the order that everything should be done to compel me to sign. What this "everything" meant was told to me plainly by a detective, who said that if I did not sign I should not get away with my life. I was openly threatened with death.

In order to escape the fate of Pavel Tkatshenko, who several months earlier had been tortured to death by organs of the Siguranza, I put signature to the declaration.

So that the marks of the maltreatment might have time to disappear, I was isolated for months in infirm condition on the premises of the Siguranza. During transportation to the

court martial, I managed to effect an escape. As up to the present I have been compelled to remain in hiding, it has not been possible for me before to appeal to the public.

I hereby declare: The declaration signed by me, the declaration with my signature held by the Bucharest police (Siguranza), is a machination of the police containing a great number of falsifications and misrepresentations. My signature was forced from me by torture and under threat of murder, and it is, therefore, null and void.

At the same time and by the same means, a similar declaration was forced from the Bucharest joiner's labourer J. Alexiu. The president of the Pan-Roumanian Association of Lawyers, the bourgeois member of Parliament, D. Dobrescu, stated openly in the Press that the body of this workman bore traces of the most terrible maltreatment.

This proves that these declarations are to serve a special purpose. This purpose is made clear by the latest events in Roumania. The Minister for Labour, Francu-Jassy, recently addressed to the Public Prosecutor a request for the dissolution of the united trade-union associations, with their membership of forty thousand, on the ground that they have developed an activity inimical to the State. The trade-union fighting organisations of the workers of Roumania are to be smashed up, hundreds of their leaders are to be brought before courts-martial and thrown into prison. In order to work up this plan, it was necessary to fabricate "plots", in which all the leaders of the trade unions and of other legitimate organisations which are fighting against the rule of terror of the Roumanian oligarchy (League for Human Rights, Anti-Terror League) are to be involved. I and the workman Alexiu were compelled to produce such evidence against these organisations and to create pretexts for their destruction. Herewith I declare, just as Alexiu did in the Roumanian newspapers, that the declaration signed by me is invalid; it is a fabrication of the Siguranza signed by me under threat of murder.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The 5th Party Conference of the C. P. of China.

THE POLITICAL AND ORGANISATORY REPORT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

(Report of Comrade Chen Tu Su.)

The first part of this report bears the heading: "The Tactics of the Party in the Course of the Last Two Years". In this respect, Comrade Chen Tu Su distinguishes four periods.

a) **First Period:** From the 4th Party Conference of the C. P. of China to the Rebellion of Kuo Sun Ling (in December 1925). This stage is characterised by the rise of the Communist movement, which reached its highest point in the events of May 30th, 1925 (shootings in Shanghai). In the period in question, the proletariat was fighting for the hegemony in the revolutionary movement, a development which led to emphasising class differences. We could then observe the beginnings of bourgeois defaction, the bourgeois ideology being interpreted in Tai Tsi Tao's book, "The Philosophical Foundations of Sunyatsenism". In southern China it still proved possible to maintain a united front with the bourgeoisie against the two militarist leaders, Li Chen Hui and Yang Shi Min, but the Hong Kong strike was already waged altogether under the slogan "The labour movement must be combined with the national movement, the dominating rôle of the proletariat in the latter being fully maintained."

In this first period the Communist Party of China committed no mistakes. It waged determined war against the tendencies voiced by Tai Tsi Tao and maintained the principle of a union with the Left wing of the Kuomintang for the purpose of a common fight against the Right wing. The same policy was observed at the second Party Conference of the Kuomintang. The accentuation of opposition to British imperialism must be regarded as a step in the right direction on the part of the Communist Party.

b) **Second Period:** From the Rebellion of Kuo Sun Ling in December 1925 till the Retreat of the National Army from the Heights of Hankow. This period is mainly remarkable for

the recession in the revolutionary movement and the strengthening of the reaction. At the commencement of the second period, southern China saw the continuation of the fight against feudalism, which found expression in the murder at Canton on August 25th, 1925, of Lao Chun Kai, Minister of Finance to the Canton Government (killed by the accomplices of the feudal lords) and in the fights which followed it. The struggle against the bourgeoisie also grew in vehemence during this period. The bourgeoisie was engaged in organising its political parties.

In this period Chang-Kai-Shek played the part of an "armed Tai Tsi Tao". The events of March 20th, 1926, were no mere coincidence. (We here refer to the armed demonstration organised by Chang-Kai-Shek at the head of his troops against the Government of which Wang Tsin Wei was at the head and against the workers' strike committee, a development which led to the demission of Wang Tsin Wei, to the temporary weakening of the influence of the Left Kuomintang members and the Communists in the Kuomintang and in the army, and to the strengthening of the reactionary elements in the province.) Chang-Kai-Shek rendered apparent the tendency of the bourgeoisie to secede from the revolution, this desire being mainly promoted by the increasingly obvious divergence of class interests among the various groups engaged in the national-revolutionary movement. The Canton conference of the Kuomintang on May 5th, 1926, was wholly under the influence of Chang-Kai-Shek.

With reference to the events of March 20th, there were at that time within the Communist Party considerable differences of opinion as to the advisability of an assault or a retreat. The retreat of the Communist Party was occasioned by a lack of forces and the omission of the Party to make adequate preparations. It must be admitted that considerable mistakes were allowed to occur at Canton.

At the close of the second period the differences in the camp of the militarists were aggravated, the Mukden clique opposing the clique of Chili. At the same time there were greater differences among the foreign imperialists, a fact which was reflected in the course of the Customs Conference.

c) **Third Period:** From the Commencement of the Northern Expedition till the Occupation of Shanghai by the National Troops. This section was characterised by a renewed rise of the revolutionary movement. It saw the development of the workers' movement and the establishment of a broad foundation for a movement among the peasantry. At the same time, the struggle against foreign imperialism increased (occupation of the British concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang).

The session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party at Peking in February 1926 sanctioned the project of an expedition to the north. Although there were subsequently some differences of opinion on various heads, one cannot speak of great mistakes having been committed during this period.

The expedition to the north was the result of collaboration between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. At the close of the third period, however, the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie was aggravated, especially in connection with the attempts made by the bourgeoisie to exploit the military expedition solely for its own ends. This struggle led to the complete rupture, at Shanghai, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the latter revealing pronouncedly anti-revolutionary tendencies.

d) **Fourth Period:** Since the coup of Chang-Kai-Shek at Shanghai. This last section is altogether different from the preceding ones. The bourgeoisie has seceded from the revolutionary front. The true nature of the forces which had taken part in the national struggle, has become apparent, and their attitude throughout the developments becomes increasingly obvious. The result is a consolidation of the united front of the proletariat, the peasantry, and petty bourgeoisie. The dangers lurking within the revolutionary movement itself have been greatly lessened.

The prospects for the near future figure as follows: Accentuation of class differentiation; growth of the forces of the proletariat, peasantry, and petty bourgeoisie and of the military resources of the revolution, the further development of which thus appears assured.

The second section of the report bears the title: "The Rôle of the Bourgeoisie in the Revolution". From a historical

point of view, the defection of the Chinese bourgeoisie is no new departure. In history, the bourgeoisie betrayed every revolution. The Chinese bourgeoisie is opposed to the militarists but favours a compromise with the foreign imperialists, from whom it hopes to receive rewards and favours. The Chinese bourgeoisie is not only opposed to the proletarian revolution, but is not even able to carry out a bourgeois-democratic revolution. After taking part in the revolution for a short time, the Chinese bourgeoisie became counter-revolutionary. **Chang-Kai-Shek** represents the **Left bourgeoisie**, which turned pronouncedly counter-revolutionary after April 12th, 1927. The **Right wing** of the Chinese bourgeoisie, the so-called "**Compradores**", it is hardly worth while to mention in this connection.

The third part of the report is entitled: "**The Relation of the Proletariat to the Petty Bourgeoisie**". The participation of the petty bourgeoisie in our revolution has been characterised throughout by vacillation. The proletariat must make concessions to the petty bourgeoisie for the sake of having its support. In this connection we have not been able properly to carry out the resolutions of the C. C. of the Chinese C. P. passed at the plenary session of July 1926. In the provinces many mistakes have been made in this regard. Our task now consists in drawing the petty bourgeoisie into the Kuomintang.

The fourth section of the Report bears the title: "**The Land Question**." The main work in this question after the fourth Party Conference of the C. P. of China held in January 1925, consisted in organising the peasantry and in the fight for the reduction of the rent of the land. This movement is now passing over to a higher stage and is being converted into a fight for the land. The peasantry is making an elementary upheaval and wishes to solve the land question itself. The agrarian revolution is now already no longer a question of theory, but of practice. In the province of Hunan a struggle is proceeding for the equal distribution of the land: this fight is directed not only against the big landowners but also against the small landowners and the big lessees. The struggle is proceeding in an elementary manner.

We have conducted an all too peaceful policy. The big landed estates must now be confiscated; at the same time concessions must be made to the small landowners who have to be reckoned with. At present the alliance with the small landowners is still necessary. We must not fall into ultra-Left errors, but must pursue a middle course. Nevertheless, even for the confiscation of the large and middle landed estates, it is necessary to await the further development of the military actions. The only correct solution at the present moment is to deepen the revolution after it has first been spread.

The fifth section of the report bears the leading "**The Hegemony of the Proletariat**". This hegemony is becoming a fact. The strike committee at Canton had Governmental authority and exercised great influence among the **Left members of the Kuomintang**. It was, as a matter of fact, a parallel Government. In the province of Hunan, the influence of the proletariat is likewise strong; the petty bourgeoisie and the **Left Kuomintang** in this province are under the leadership of the proletariat. In northern China the Communist Party also plays the leading rôle in the revolutionary movement. At Shanghai the proletariat was often isolated, but since May 30th the fight has been waged under the auspices of the proletariat.

The proletariat does not yet aspire to full authority; it is not yet in possession of decisive power. Nor has the **Communist Party** as yet sufficient armed forces at its disposal to seize the reins of Government. The treachery of Chang-Kai-Shek means the defection of 99 per cent. of the big and middling bourgeoisie. Together with the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat must create new forces.

The question of Shanghai is also a problem of the mutual relations of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The proletariat of Shanghai fought splendidly, but it must be borne in mind that the city is not only a centre of the proletariat but also a very important stronghold of the bourgeoisie. Even combined with the petty bourgeoisie, the proletariat of Shanghai is insufficiently strong. The opinion prevails that Shanghai cannot become the basis of the national revolution. Indeed, it is said that it will only be possible to deal imperialism at Shanghai a decisive blow when the national revolution has taken firm footing all over China. This essentially mechanical theory of determinism is not devoid of certain elements of

truth. Nevertheless, I consider this argument mistaken. At Shanghai there are even some liberal bourgeois groups which are not yet wholly lost for the cause of revolution.

The sixth part of the Report is entitled: "**The Military Factor and the Social Basis of the Chinese Revolution**". The military forms of the national movement did not originate in the revolutionary masses themselves. The armed force of the people is not yet organised. The present armed forces of the national Government have developed out of the old militarist army and consist partly of peasants and partly of the mob. The commanders of these forces are descendants of the landlord class. Therefore the army is a doubtful force. For the revolutionary army it is essential that the proportion of riff-raff in the ranks and the proportion of landlords' sons among the commanders be materially reduced. The vacillations of the army have their social bases.

The seventh portion of the Report treats of "**The Territorial Foundation and the Line of Progress of the Revolution**". The general impression is that the revolution is now progressing in a northwestern direction and not towards the south-east, which is a stronghold of imperialism. This question deserves to be elucidated from all standpoints. It is not right that we should be asked to leave it altogether to the **Kuomintang**. Such a policy would be tantamount to tying ourselves to the apron-strings of the Kuomintang.

The eighth part of the Report refers to "**The Relations of the Communist Party to the Kuomintang**". The Kuomintang is a revolutionary association, a revolutionary league of many classes. Therefore the proletarian party had likewise to enter it. At present the Kuomintang is a union of three classes, the workers, the peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie. This union will be strong as long as it is in a position to satisfy the requirements of the classes it represents, and the peasant class in particular, and provided that the bourgeoisie under Chang Kai-Shek does not succeed in subordinating it to its influence.

The ninth portion of the Report is called "**The Reorganisation of the Army**". This does not merely mean the reformation of the army or the introduction into it of new political factors. Political propaganda in the army alone is insufficient. The army must be brought nearer to the workers and especially to the peasantry. The proportionate number of members of the landowner class among its leaders must be diminished. Without a change in its social foundations, there can be no reorganisation of the army.

The tenth part of the Report deals with "**The Establishment of Revolutionary-Democratic Power**". The regime of the national Government is naturally no regime of militarists. But we are still far from a revolutionary-democratic order of things. This fact must be admitted even by the **Left members of the Kuomintang**. We are faced with the task of starting to erect a really revolutionary-democratic authority as soon as the situation in regard to the national Government has changed and the threat of foreign intervention and a militarist offensive has disappeared.

The national Government can look back on an eventful history. At present it is the **Government of an alliance of the Left Kuomintang and the proletarian party**, some of the **Ministers in the Cabinet being Communist proletarians**. We may, however, not cherish the illusion that this Government is already a realisation of the principle of revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. This would be a mistake. And wherefore is the present Government not yet a realisation of that principle? Because it is not yet a Government of the masses of workers and peasants, but only a bloc Government of their leaders. On the other hand, the present Government must by no means be under-estimated, for it undoubtedly represents a step forward on the way to a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship. This stage must be exploited if we are to arrive at a Government which is controlled by the masses, i. e. at the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers, the peasantry, and the petty-bourgeoisie.

The eleventh section of the Report is called "**The Financial and Economic Situation**". Formerly we were little interested in the problems of financial and economic construction. We had not enough determination to take part in the Government. In future we must occupy ourselves more with these matters. We must pay attention not only to questions of the mass movement, but also to financial and economic factors, if we desire to consolidate the foundations of the revolution.

OUR PROBLEMS

The Tactical Line of Action of the Comintern in China.

By A. Eichenwald (Moscow).

(Conclusion.)

What was the Strength and the Weakness of the Positions of the Chinese Proletariat?

As we have seen, the Communist Party of China had undertaken a number of steps towards the organised consolidation of the influence of the proletariat (in the Kuomintang, in the Government, in the army).

These however were only the first steps.

The process of the bourgeoisie losing the "most important" role in the revolution and of the role of chief driving force being transferred to the proletariat, was by no means accompanied by a simultaneous re-distribution of the "key positions" in favour of the proletariat. The deeper the revolution penetrated, the more difficult it was for the Right members of the Kuomintang to avoid becoming isolated from the vital forces of the national revolutionary movement, the greater efforts did they make not to lose their positions, not to let them pass into the hands of the proletariat.

The strength of the Chinese proletariat was that the Communist vanguard of the proletariat, while preserving its independent class line, class ideology and class organisation, formed a close union with the broad masses of petty bourgeois workers; the fact of the C. P. of China joining the Kuomintang was an expression of this union. A second strong point of the Chinese proletariat was that the Communist Party of China, supported by this union with the Kuomintang, indisputably gained a powerful and absolutely leading influence over the peasant movement and of course especially over the labour movement. On the other hand the weakness of the positions of the young Chinese proletariat which was numerically comparatively small was that the "instruments of war", the centres of organisation, the key positions, were to an insufficient extent in their hands or in those of reliable allies.

It was just this strength and this weakness of the Chinese proletariat which determined the character of the crisis which has supervened. The bourgeoisie with Chiang Kai Shek at its head, did not succeed in isolating the proletariat, did not succeed in aiming a blow at the Communists alone and destroying the proletarian organisations by separating them from the Kuomintang; Chiang Kai Shek, much against his will, roused the national Government and the Kuomintang against him and thus obviously slid down into the camp of imperialism. Chiang Kai Shek on the other hand, did not succeed in defeating the Chinese workers, in taking possession of a number of the most important centres. He did, however, succeed in causing an actual split in the ranks of the army and in carrying a number of corps with him. To put it briefly, the strength and the weakness of the Chinese proletariat proved to be the weakness and the strength of the Chinese bourgeoisie.

On the actual Difference between the Tactics of the Opposition and the Tactics of the Comintern.

If, while taking all this into consideration, we try to form an estimate of the tactical propositions of the Opposition, we may rightly say that the objective aim of these propositions was to endanger or destroy the sources of the strength of the Chinese proletariat and to under-estimate or ignore the work done towards improving the weak sides of its positions. While pointing out the necessity of the independence of the proletarian movement, the sages of the Opposition suggested seceding from the Kuomintang, i. e. they suggested to weaken the alliance between the proletariat and the proletarian party on the one hand and the working masses of the petty bourgeoisie on the other hand, thus making it easier for the bourgeoisie to gain the lead over the masses.

The Opposition, by imitating uncritically and mechanically our attitude towards joining the bourgeois governments in capitalist countries, mocked at the fight for the control of the apparatus of the army and the Government, mocked at the "Minister

Communists", and stated through the mouth of Comrade Radek that it was of course "possible" for Communists to join, but that it was still unknown "to what extent this was in keeping with the policy of Communism". Comrade Radek added that "if this is not a revision of Leninism, then the word revision does not exist."

The strategists of the Opposition were however clever enough to get stuck in another question which has the significance of a point of issue for determining the whole tactical line of the Comintern and of the Chinese proletariat. The point of issue from which we have to start in working out concrete methods for the revolutionary fight is that of estimating the degree of the whole revolutionary situation in a country. If for instance, we have maintained that the revolution in a country does not come first, but second on the agenda, it nevertheless obliges us to draw certain tactical conclusions.

In the "Year Book for Politics, Economics and the Labour Movement, 1925/26, p. 8, which appeared in November 1926, we find, in Comrade Zinoviev's article "The Prospects of the World Revolution", the latest line of march of the revolution, mapped out by Comrade Zinoviev. "If we regard the situation according to a universal standard, we are justified in saying that, to all appearances, the revolution is on the agenda in Europe whilst in the Orient it only takes second rank." In order to avoid any misunderstandings, Comrade Zinoviev announces the laconic formula: "First of all Europe, then the East, and finally America". (All the italics by me. A. E.). What can be said to this? Only one thing. After statements of this kind, it is politically inadmissible to attempt to act the part of a politician who "has foreseen everything", of a unique, revolutionary strategist, of a revealer of the mistakes of others with regard to the way and the pace of the development of the Chinese revolution.

Comrade Radek, who has made a strictly Marxist analysis of the Chinese revolution, has taken great pains to discover all the dangers, all the contradictions, all the necessary steps, and was the first to raise his voice by prophesying a turning point in the history of the Chinese revolution in the near future. By recounting such things, the Opposition is endeavouring to make a certain amount of political capital out of the difficulties and defeats which have fallen to the lot of the Chinese revolution.

All these forms of speech have, so to speak, all possible advantages and "only" one single defect; they are actually incorrect, they are simply a direct misrepresentation of facts. As is well known, the Opposition made no special tactical suggestions with regard to the Chinese question, in the autumn and winter 1926/27, unless we take into account the above mentioned proposals of Comrade Zinoviev that the East be considered "in the second place". On March 13th of this year, Comrade Radek read his paper in the Communist Academy, in which he for the first time formulated the standpoint of the Opposition and — as the members of the Opposition maintain — pointed out for the first time the approach of a critical moment in the Chinese revolution. In the meantime the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. had passed a great and extremely important resolution on the Chinese question on March 3rd of the current year.

"It is necessary" — we read in the resolution — "to draw the attention of all functionaries devoted to the revolution to the fact that in the present time the Chinese revolution is passing through a critical period in connection with the re-grouping of the class forces and with the concentration of the imperialist armies, and that its further victory is only possible if a direct course is steered towards the development of a mass movement. If this is not done, serious danger threatens the revolution."

A number of highly important tactical steps are provided for on the basis of these sharp and clear indications.

"It is necessary to direct our course towards arming the workers and peasants, towards transforming the peasant committees in the provinces into actual organs of power with armed self-protection... It is necessary to steer our course towards ousting the Right members of the Kuomintang, discrediting them politically and deposing them from leading positions... The Communist Party must not hide the treacherous and reactionary policy of the Right group of the Kuomintang, and must mobilise the masses round the Kuomintang and round the Communist Party of China... Wherever it is and on every occasion, the Communist Party must take its stand as such."

We have seen above that the Communist International has maintained a correct and clear line in the questions of the Chinese revolution the whole time. The Comintern foresaw the approach of the crisis and foretold it, it was also able to take in advance a number of necessary tactical steps in connection with this crisis.

The tactics of the Opposition and those of the Comintern were distinguished from one another in that the Comintern pointed out the approach of the crisis sooner than did the Opposition and laid down true and concrete lines of tactics, whilst the Opposition was belated with its statements as to the war, made them later than the Comintern, and thus was not able to prescribe a correct tactical line, made certain mistakes and vacillated and finally made proposals which were actually harmful and essentially wrong.

The Balance of Accounts.

Let us summarise a few results.

From the character of the Chinese revolution and from the present situation in China we may conclude that it would have been a mistake to enter into the necessary temporary block with the national bourgeoisie without having at the same time foreseen the inevitability of treachery on the part of this concomitant of the revolution.

It would have been another great mistake to cling to the bourgeoisie as concomitants in the revolution, to be afraid of frightening them by intensifying the class war, to be afraid of driving the bourgeoisie over into the camp of imperialism by developing this fight etc.

We have seen above that the Chinese Communists organised and led the class war of the workers and peasants in spite of the resistance and the sabotage of the Chinese bourgeoisie. It would have been a mistake to trust the Right members of the Kuomintang, to trust the representatives of the national bourgeoisie, who had in their hands important key positions in the Government and in the army.

Finally, it would have been a mistake to isolate the class war of the proletariat, to bring it into contradiction to and detach it from the national, anti-imperialist fight of the petty bourgeois working masses. This is why the Comintern, while helping the C. P. of China to consolidate and grow, steered its course towards "keeping the Communists Party within the Kuomintang."

After all that has been said, it is not difficult to understand that, in present circumstances, the task of the Comintern is not to revise its main tactical line but to carry it on, to intensify it and to apply it to the present situation in China.

What is fundamentally new in this situation is that the Chinese bourgeoisie has become a counter-revolutionary force, that Chiang Kai Shek has turned into an agent of international imperialism, that he has become an enemy of the anti-imperialist revolution. Not a single Communist, not a single proletarian, not a single peasant, not a single worker of any kind must let himself be deceived for a single moment and regard any possible military action of Chiang Kai Shek against the militarists of North China as an anti-imperialist war.

The Chinese militarists have fought against one another from time immemorial. They will continue to wage war until the proletariat and the peasantry of China have wrung the neck of the rule of imperialism.

The Chinese working class will be capable of taking into consideration the experiences of the last few months, it will be capable of deepening, sharpening and continuing the main line of its tactics. The Chinese proletariat and its party will carry on the fight for the development of the broadest mass movement, for its organisation and especially to carry through the agrarian revolution as quickly as possible, with even more energy and intrepidity than before. The Chinese proletariat and its party will fight with more decision and vigour than ever in order that the revolution may as soon as possible lean on armed forces which are truly loyal and truly revolutionary and which are able to carry on to the end the fight to destroy the imperialist rule in all its ramifications. The Chinese proletariat and its party will fight still more obstinately and with greater determination for the leadership of the revolutionary movement of the petty bourgeoisie, for union with this movement, for the conquest of the whole power by the revolutionary Kuomintang, by the Kuomintang of the Communists and the Left.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

On Agitation for Rationalisation and on Recruiting the Broad Masses for the Realisation of the Campaign.

III. On the Recruiting of the Working Masses for the Work of Rationalisation in the Factories.

The Work of the Party Nuclei.

For the purpose of promoting the general activity conducted by the Party with a view to recruiting the masses in the interest of rationalisation, the Party nuclei must co-operate with the economic organs and the trade union functionaries in working out the respective practical measures suited to the actual task of rationalisation in any individual concern and in keeping with the object of the political education of the workers. The Party nuclei must attempt to attain a combination of the activity of the economic and trade union organs with a view to solving the practical tasks of rationalisation in their enterprises, workshops, and work departments. In the nuclei meetings and in collaboration with the Party functionaries the general progress of the work concerning the rationalisation of the works must be discussed, in which connection a more active participation of the Communists in the activity of the production conferences and a promotion of the production committees by the best-trained and most active Party members must be striven for.

The Work of the Trade Unions.

A factor of decisive significance for recruiting the working masses in the interest of rationalisation are the trade unions together with their leading organs, the central committees of the associations, the trades councils, district committees, etc., and especially the production conferences and commissions.

In this connection the following points are to be observed:

a) The trade union organisations must see to it that in the establishment and realisation of the rationalisation measures the interests of the workers are adequately safeguarded. At the same time the trade unions must attempt to obviate the bureaucratic abuses which threaten to arise in connection with rationalisation on the part of the economic organs.

b) So as to promote the realisation of the rationalisation programme, the measures to be effected in the works (including such as aim at the promotion of working discipline and the proper organisation of the work) must be put up for discussion at the delegates' conferences and at the general meetings of the workers of both sexes (of the work departments as well as of the whole undertaking). At the same time, the suggestions of the workers, aiming at the elimination of errors in the realisation of the rationalisation programme must be carefully considered and duly brought up for discussion.

c) The trade union organisations must furthermore seek to effect that the production conferences and commissions should pass from the discussion of promiscuous suggestions to the systematic elaboration of the fundamental measures to be effected in the works in the interest of rationalisation; similarly they must exercise a systematic control of the execution of such resolutions as are passed by the production conferences.

d) The experiences of the provisional workers of the control commissions organised in the individual concerns must be employed for the purpose of rendering their work instrumental in recruiting the main body of the workers in the respective concern for direct participation in the rationalisation of production.

e) The work of training a new staff of functionaries for the trade union conferences must be increased, specially qualified persons out of the broad working masses being chosen for this task; furthermore, the training of the already existing staff of functionaries must be perfected by their inclusion in the technical, expert, or other circles for rationalisation.

f) The interest of the trade union organisations in inventions on the part of the workers must be enhanced, the practical employment of certain inventions and perfections being

promoted by the economic organs, the suitable reward being secured by the organisation of exhibitions of inventions, consultation centres, etc.

g) The activity of the production conferences and commissions must also to a great part (especially in works employing a considerable amount of female labour) be effected by women and juveniles, questions of rationalisation being dealt with at the meetings of the female and juvenile workers.

The Tasks of the Economic Organs.

A practical participation of the working masses and their organisations in the technical perfection proposed and in the improvement of the organisation of production makes it necessary that the economic organs show due interest in the questions at issue. The main tasks of these organs are as follows:

a) They must keep the Party and trade union organisations duly informed as to the proposed measures of rationalisation and in particular provide the requisite material for agitators and propagandists who will facilitate the discussion of the said measures among the masses. The economic organs and the technical staff must explain these questions to the mass of workers in general assemblies or in the delegate meetings, as also in the production conferences.

b) The economic organs must take an active part in the production conferences and in the discussion of all these suggestions and give the necessary explanations in the case of proposals which appear either superfluous or technically unfeasible. They must also accept the immediate responsibility for the execution of the resolutions passed with their consent.

c) The economic organisations must join with the trade unions and their technical sections in promoting the recruiting of the managerial and technical personnel for active participation in the production conferences and commissions and in the activity of the production circles and the consultations for technical self-training. They must also guarantee a proper attitude on the part of the management towards the criticism of the technical staff as regards the various shortcomings of production.

d) The economic organs must show more interest in the questions raised by individual workers or members of the technical staff in regard to the shortcomings of production (supply of material and instruments, workers' protection, etc.); they must control and correct the activity of the administrative apparatus in the sense of this criticism and not permit a bureaucratic treatment of such matters. They must proceed from the standpoint that only an active participation of the working masses can guarantee a successful execution of the rationalisation of production.

TEN YEARS AGO

The Kronstadt Soviet is to Revoke its Resolution.

Petrograd, May 30th. The resolution of the Kronstadt Soviet was communicated to Pereverzev, the Minister for Justice, who informed the Government of it. Under instructions from the Government, the Minister of Justice then approached the Petrograd Soviet and, using it as an intermediary, proposed to the Kronstadt Soviet that it should revoke its resolutions and enter into negotiations with him.

Conflict Between the Sebastopol Soviet and Admiral Koltchak.

Petrograd, May 30th. A conflict has arisen between the C. C. of the Sebastopol Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet and Admiral Koltchak, the Commander of the Fleet. The C. C. arrested Major Petrov, the commanding officer of the port and accused him of complicity in the profiteering business of Dickenstein, a leather speculator. Koltchak demanded that Petrov be released, but the C. C. did not carry out his demand.

Thereupon Koltchak addressed a telegram to Lvov the Prime Minister and Kerensky the War Minister. Kerensky accompanied Koltchak to Sebastopol in order to settle the incident. According to a report in the "Russkoye Slovo", of May 31st, it is now settled. Koltchak has remained in his post.

Stricter Supervision of the Tsar.

Petrograd, May 30th. Conference of the delegates from the front. A soldier called Belyiansky, from the garrison of Zarskoye Selo reports that there has been a slackening in the supervision of the Tsar. Thereupon a resolution was passed demanding that the ex-Tsar Nicholas II be transferred to the fortress of Peter and Paul.

The Petrograd Workers on the Seizure of Power by the Kronstadt Soviet.

Petrograd, June 1st. Meetings attended by large numbers took place in Petrograd, at which the declaration of the Kronstadt Soviet was discussed. Some of those present welcomed the fact that the Kronstadt Soviet had seized power, others protested against it and called upon the Provisional Government to take energetic measures against the Kronstadt Soviet.

Kerensky Denies the Fact of Fraternisation at the Front.

Petrograd, June 1st. Kerensky, the War Minister, stated in Kiev to the members of the municipal organisations that he could categorically maintain that fraternisation among the soldiers at the front absolutely did not exist as a mass symptom. According to his words, the grouping of troops according to the national principle is at present absolutely impossible. As regards the Constituent Assembly, it cannot be called before November for it is impossible to withdraw the people from their agricultural work for the election campaign.

("News of the Moscow Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies" of June 3rd 1917.)

The Officers Complain of the Decline of Discipline.

Petrograd, June 1st. The conference of the officers of the army and navy (in camp) passed a resolution about the present situation of the army to the effect that the war spirit and discipline in the army are completely declining, that the soldiers do not respect their superiors and have no confidancy in their officers. All this is the consequence of the peace propaganda originating behind the lines.

The Eight Hours' Day in the Russian Military Works.

Basle, June 1st. Havas reports from Petrograd that, according to the "Russkaja Wolja", Kerensky has introduced the eight hours' day in all military works.

Henderson in Petrograd.

In Favour of continuing the imperialist War.

Petrograd, June 1st. At the meeting of the Provisional Government, Henderson, the English Labour Minister, said that the English and the allies were waiting impatiently for the Russian people to consolidate their freedom and to join in the common action of the allied armies, for this was the only way to achieve a peace in keeping with free democracy.

The Bolsheviki in Favour of Creating Control Councils.

Petrograd, June 1st. The Executive Committee of the Petrograd organisation of the Russian Social Democratic party has issued an order stating that it is necessary "to recommend to our comrades, the workers, to organise control councils in the factories consisting of representatives of the workers". This control should extend not only to the daily work in the factories but also to the whole finances of the undertaking.

The Provisional Government on the Kronstadt Question.

Petrograd, June 6th. The Provisional Government, having heard the report of Ministers Zeretelli and Skobeliev, has resolved: 1. To thank Zeretelli and Skobeliev for the trouble

they have taken; 2. to call upon the Kronstadt Soviet of the Workers' Deputies to name the representative of the town of Kronstadt; 3. that the Kronstadt Soviet should prepare for the municipal Duma on the basis of the Government regulations; 4. that the Minister for Justice be urged to appoint a commission in which the Kronstadt Soviet shall be represented to investigate the case of the persons arrested in Kronstadt.

Petrograd Prepares for the Municipal Elections.

Petrograd, June 7th, 1917. The whole town is taking part in the preparations for the elections. Meetings are held in factories and workshops at which members of various parties speak. Those present at the meetings take a keen interest in the speeches, some of them applauding, some expressing disapproval. Groups form in the streets, discussing the question of how to judge the various parties. The papers devote almost the whole of their columns to election propaganda. The streets are gay with posters. In connection with the election campaign, the Bolsheviki have issued posters and two pamphlets: "The Platform of the Bolsheviki for Communal Policy" and "Whom shall we elect to the Municipal Duma?"

The Bolsheviki and the Meshrayontzi together have organised a great election meeting and demonstration for the eight of June.

The elections are to take place on June 9th.

The Effect of the Russian Revolution Abroad.

Strikes and Demonstrations in Austria.

The trial and the death sentence of Friedrich Adler (May 18th) have caused demonstrations and strikes of large masses of workers in Vienna and all the large towns, but especially in Buda Pest and Prague. Even when the verdict was pronounced against Friedrich Adler, there were demonstrations in the Court and in the streets where large crowds had collected. Loud cries were heard of: "Peace and bread! Down with the Government! Long live revolutionary international Social Democracy! Bring out Friedrich Adler! Follow the example of the revolutionary Social Democracy of Russia!" A strong body of police and military threatened the demonstrators with drawn swords and dispersed them. Many persons were arrested.

In the weeks which followed, not only were meetings of protest organised in various halls and in some of the open spaces in Vienna, against the wishes of the official leaders of social democracy — in the large hall of the concert house a demonstration of sympathy for Friedrich Adler took place attended by several thousand persons, including numerous intellectuals — but large strikes broke out. These strikes took place chiefly in the munition factories and metal factories in Vienna (10th, 16th and 21st municipal districts of Vienna) and in the large works in Lower Austria (environment of Wiener Neustadt). There were even conflicts with the military. The national revolutionary movement in Czechoslovakia and in Hungary made rapid progress.

A group of Left social democrats took definite form. Amongst these, the greatest initiative was shown by Left radical representatives of some important metal works and students who professed their adherence to the programme of the Zimmerwald Left and who, though in a rather indefinite way, propagated the programme and tactics of the Bolsheviki. The Opposition movement caused anxiety to the social patriotic leaders. They began with a furious agitation against the "irresponsible elements" and went so far as to denounce them to the police. Some of them, in order to distract the attention of the labour movement tried to suggest to the Government that it should fulfil "demands" such as universal franchise for the Local Councils and Provincial Assemblies (on the same lines as German social democracy).

In some large factories, the behaviour of the Russian workers made a great impression. The demand for the formation of workers' Soviets especially is the subject of animated discussion in various places.

The Conference of the National Council of the Socialist Party of France.

The National Council of the Socialist party of France met in Paris on May 27th and 28th. The questions of the Zimmerwald and Stockholm Conference as well as of the Russian revolution were prominent in the consultations and in the discussions. A resolution was passed both by the majority and the minority, with a show of hands, acknowledging the principle that an international conference should be held in Stockholm. The Zimmerwald Left declared through the mouth of its representative, that it agreed to this proposal, but that only a Stockholm Conference which was held in the spirit of a Zimmerwald Conference could come into consideration.

The Socialists Cachin and Moutet, who had returned from a visit to Russia made in agreement with the French Government, gave a report which clearly showed that the Russian revolution had made a great impression on them. The Conference listened to this report with great attention.

A demonstration in which 1500 demonstrators took part, was held before the "Hotel Moderne" on the Place de la Republique, where the National Council was sitting. Cries were heard of "Give us peace! Bring back our soldiers! Let us go to Stockholm!" A few delegates addressed the crowd in order to calm them and to promise them that a delegation would be sent to Stockholm. They very next day, however, a number of well known Social Imperialists protested against sending French Socialists to the Stockholm Conference.

(According to the monthly journal "Demain" of June 1917.)

Reprisals of the French Government.

The Government responded to the increase of the revolutionary forces by the most oppressive "Tsarist" measures. In the last days of May, more than 1200 "suspected" persons were arrested near the railway stations. The "Journal du Peuple" was suspended for a fortnight because it had not erased the following sentence which had been censured by the Government:

"But the anti-Parliamentary tendency in the country is growing, and if a government of the coup d'etat were to have deputies arrested, not a single Socialist would stir a finger to defend the Parliament and the Parliamentarians."

The newspaper "What has to be said" was suspended for two months. The Government further prohibited two meetings which were to serve exclusively educational purpose (one of them was to be devoted to Victor Hugo) and which were organised by the young trade unionists of the Seine. It also prohibited the meeting of the Society for the Documentary and Critical Study of the War, which was of quite a private character and which even counts among its members persons who are known for their great patriotism. Even a meeting of the railway workers of the South held in Bayonne and at which were to serve exclusively educational purposes (one of tude of the working class since the commencement of hostilities, was closed by a police commissary.

At the private and public meetings of the Chamber, the republican deputies Dalbier, Meunier, Accambray and the two Socialists Raffin-Dugens and Jobert vehemently criticised the April offensive which had been decided upon at a War Council held in Compiègne under the presidency of Poincaré the "Sinister". Raffin-Dugens referred to the fact of numerous soldiers, many of whom were mere children, and in spite of their having received the croix de guerre, having been shot by order of court martial without their trial being conducted according to the rules of procedure and without the possibility being allowed of appealing for pardon. Renaudel, the ruffian, then joined in the debate and denounced the "secret propaganda", i. e. the propaganda of the Zimmerwald Left and of the Internationalists.

The Trade Union League of teachers of both sexes, whose congress had already been prohibited in July 1916, and with which Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Clara Zetkin had expressed fervent sympathy, had resolved to hold its annual conference in the summer of 1917. The Government however simply forbade this conference also. A few teachers of both sexes were arrested in the provinces, including Helene Brion and the two Mayons who had published a very moderate brochure about the trade unionist teachers and the war. Other teachers were removed to other schools or discharged. (Loriot, Lucie Colliard). Several active Anarcho-Communists were sentenced to terms of imprisonment of from six months to two years for distributing a pacifist leaflet.

Many groups of Communists and Syndicalists passed resolutions in this period (May and June) of a definitely revolutionary character, in which they protested against Kerensky's dictatorship and the Press campaign which was being carried on against the Internationalists and the Bolsheviks. Whilst the administrative commission of the Socialist party sent an address to Kerensky for which the Social Opportunists and the members of the majority voted, the minority were receiving the delegates of the Soviets very cordially.

(From Henri Guilbeaux "French Trade Unionist and Socialist Movement during the War".)

Lloyd George Institutes Investigation Committees.

Berne, May 30th. The question of labour unrest in England was once more discussed in the House of Commons on May 25th.

Lloyd George admitted that the question of the discontent of the workers was a source of great anxiety to the Government. The Government had therefore resolved to set up a commission of investigation to inquire into the reasons for the discontent, especially any possible defects in the war legislation, above all among the machinists and dock labourers and to make suggestions for reform. For this purpose, the country will be divided into seven districts; in all these districts the investigation would be made simultaneously by sub-committees consisting of a representative of the workers and one of the employers with an impartial president.

Gigantic Election Demonstrations in Hungary.

Buda Pest, June 8th. To-day the Constitutional party and the Franchise Committee of the citizens and workers of the capital organised great demonstrations in favour of a general and secret franchise. By way of demonstration, all the factories and works stopped working for four hours. All the shops, cafés and restaurants were closed. Even the trams did not run. A crowd of persons calculated at a hundred thousand strong marched to the Town Hall where deputy Vazsony made a speech. He called upon those present to swear that they would not rest until they had obtained the general and secret franchise. He then requested Burgomaster Barczy to hand to the King an address in favour of general and secret franchise and to inform him of the franchise oath of the masses which was no less sacred to them than was the coronation oath to the king. Barczy declared that he would willingly and with complete conviction interpret the wish of his fellow-citizens to the King. The Burgomaster then went to the King, in order to hand the franchise address to him. The demonstration was very effectual.

Russian Newspapers Forbidden in France.

The "Journal du Peuple" reports from Paris that the revolutionary Russian papers "Izvestiya" and "Pravda" have been forbidden in France.

The Question of a Union of Internationalists.

By N. Lenin.

(Published in the "Pravda" of May 31st.)

The National Conference of our Party has recognised the necessity of bringing about an approach to and union with those groups and tendencies which really take their stand on internationalism, on the basis of a breach with the policy of the petty bourgeois betrayal of socialism.

as very desirable and made the following suggestions (the suggestions were first presented to the "Meshrajonzy" in the name of Lenin and a few members of the C. C., but later the majority of the C. C. approved of these suggestions):

"The union is urgently to be desired. It is proposed by the C. C. of the Russian Social Democratic Labour party to accept a representative of the 'Meshrajonzy' in the editorial staff of each of its two newspapers (the present 'Pravda', which is being turned into a popular newspaper for the whole of Russia, and the central organ which is to be founded in the near future).

It is proposed by the C. C. to create a special organisation commission which is to summon the Party Conference (within 6 weeks).

The Conference of the 'Meshrajonzy' shall have the right to send two delegates to this commission. Should the Menshevist adherents of Martov break with the defenders of the country, it would be desirable and necessary to admit their delegates.

Freedom of discussion about questions in dispute should be ensured by the publication of the material for discussion in the 'Priboj' and by free exchange of opinion in the revived newspaper 'Prosveshtshenie' ('Enlightenment'). (Sketched by Comrade Lenin in his name and that of a few members of the C. C., on May 10th 1917).

The Meshrajonzy on their part framed a different resolution. This runs:

"With regard to unity. We recognise that only the closest union of all the revolutionary forces of the proletariat:

1. will make the proletariat a leading combatant on the path to socialism;
2. will give it the possibility of being the leader of Russian democracy in the fight against all the remains of the feudal rule and of Tsarism;
3. will make it possible to lead the cause of revolution to a victorious end and finally to solve the questions of war and peace, the expropriation of the land, the eight hours' day etc.

The Conference is of the opinion:

a) that the necessary union of forces is only possible under the banner of Zimmerwald and Kiental, on the basis of the programme and decisions of the party in 1908 and 1910, in 1912 and 1913;

b) that no single labour organisation, whether it be a trade union, an educational club or a co-operative society, no single labour paper or journal should remain outside this union;

c) at the same time the Conference declares itself to be the most decided and enthusiastic partisan of union on the basis of the principles mentioned."

The question of which of these resolutions will more quickly lead to unity must now be discussed and decided by all internationalist workers.

Taken as a whole, the "Meshrajonzy" have struck the right path for a breach with the "defenders of the country" in their political resolution.

In these circumstances, it is impossible, from our standpoint, in any way to justify the splitting up of forces.

In fulfilment of the resolution of our National Conference, the C. C. of our Party regarded the union with the Meshrajonzy

The question of the union was also discussed at the Conference of the Meshrajonzy*) in Petrograd.

*) "Meshrajonzy" — literally "Adherents of the 'inter-district' organisation" — is the name taken by a group which came into being before the war and existed until the 6th Party Conference (July 1917), when it amalgamated with the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks. Officially, the organisation was not fractional in character. Its members were ex-Trotskyists, Plechanovists and, until the February revolution, about 200 workers. It issued pamphlets and two numbers of the illegal newspaper 'Wperiyod' ('Forwards'). With regard to the war, the 'Meshrajonzy' maintained a decidedly internationalist point of view, and in their tactics they were closely allied to the Bolsheviks. In the summer of 1917, Trotsky, Jurenjeko, Lunatsharsky, Volodarsky etc. belonged to the Meshrajonzy."

Has the Dual Power Disappeared?

By N. Lenin.

(Published in the "Pravda" of June 2nd, 1917.)

No. The dual power has remained. The fundamental question of all revolutions, the question of who holds the power in the State, is, as it was before, an indefinite, vague and unsolved question.

Let us compare the Government papers such as "Ryetch" on the one hand and "Isvestiya", "Dyelo Naroda", "Rabotchaja Gazeta" on the other hand. Let us read the scanty — alas, all too scanty — official reports of the meetings of the Provisional Government and see now it "postponess" dealing with these open questions because it is incapable of adopting a definite course. Let us read the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet passed on May 16th about the most real, the most important question, the question of the fight against economic ruin, against the inevitable catastrophe — and we form the conviction that the dual power still exists in full measure.

Everyone recognises that the country is approaching a catastrophe at an enormous speed, and yet they are content with a policy of delay.

Or is it no policy of delay when a resolution about a question such as that of economic ruin is, in a moment, such as the present, handed on from commission to commission, from department to department, from subdepartment to sub department? When, in respect of the unprecedentedly mean behaviour of the coal magnates of the Donetz Basin, who deliberately disorganise production, the same Executive Committee passes a resolution which again contains nothing but pious wishes? To fix prices, to restrict profits, to determine a minimum wage, to begin with the formation of State regulated trusts — but by whom? How? "Through the central and local administrative bodies of the Donetz Basin. These administrative bodies must be of a democratic character and so composed that they include representatives of the workers, the employers, the Government and the democratic revolutionary organisations!"

It would be comic, if it were not such a tragedy.

For it is a well-known fact that the "democratic offices did exist and do exist both in the provinces and in Petrograd (even the Executive Committee of the Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies), but they have not the power to do anything. The negotiations between the Donetz workers and the industrialists have been going on since the end of March — March! More than six weeks have passed! The result is that the Donetz workers must realise that the employers are deliberately disorganising production!

And the people is being put off with promises, with commissions, with consultations of "representatives" of the workers and employers (is this not equality?) and with being told over and over again the fairy story of the white bull!

The root of the evil is in the dual power. The root of the mistake made by the Narodniki and Mensheviks is their lack of understanding of the class struggle which they would like to replace, to exchange or to modify by phrases, promises, commissions "with the participation" of the representatives.... of the same government of a dual power!

The capitalists have become enormously rich during the war. They have the majority of the Government on their side. They want the whole power, from the point of view of their class situation they cannot do anything but fight for and protect their sole rule.

The working masses who form the overwhelming majority of the population and who dominate the Soviets, who their power to be the power of the majority, are always hearing promises of "democratic" life. The workers know that democracy means the rule of the majority over the minority and (not the other way round — as the capitalists wish), they are fighting for the improvement of their position in life, only since the revolution, and not even that everywhere, and not since the beginning of the war. The masses of workers must fight to have the sole rule, i. e. the rule of the majority of the population, which means they must fight in order that the questions may be decided by the majority of the workers and not by an "understanding" between the majority and the minority.

The dual power has remained. The Government of the capitalists remains a government of the capitalists, even if a few Narodniki and Mensheviks, who are in the minority are added to it. The Soviets remain the organisation of the majority. The leaders of the Narodniki and the Mensheviks are awkwardly trying to sit between two stools.

The crisis is growing. Things have gone so far that the capitalists have the presumption to injure and arrest production in an unprecedented way. Unemployment is increasing. There are already some lock-outs in the form of the disorganisation of production by the capitalists (coal is the bread of industry!) and in the form of increasing unemployment.

The whole responsibility for this crisis, for the approaching catastrophe, falls on the shoulders of the leaders of the Narodniki and the Mensheviks. At the present moment, it is just they who are the leaders of the Soviets, that is of the majority. The annoyance of the minority (the capitalists) must inevitably submit to the majority.

Only those who have forgotten what the experiences of other countries teach, only those who have forgotten the class struggle, will wait in confidence for an "understanding" with the capitalists in this burning and fundamental question.

The majority of the population, i. e. the Soviets, i. e. the workers and peasants, could easily have saved the situation, could have prevented the capitalists disorganising production and bringing it to a standstill; they could have taken it under their control immediately and in fact, had it not been for the "policy of understanding" of the leaders of the Narodniki and Mensheviks. They have taken on themselves the whole responsibility for the crisis and the catastrophe.

There is only one issue from this dilemma, a resolution of the majority, the workers and peasants against the minority, the capitalists. Delay can only aggravate the disease.

From the standpoint of Marxism, the "policy of understanding" of the leaders of the Narodniki and Mensheviks is a symptom of the vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie, which dare not trust itself to the workers, which dare not break with capitalism.

Such vacillations are inevitable — as is also our fight, the fight of the proletarian party to remove these vacillations, to enlighten the people as to the necessity of creating, organising, increasing production against the will of the capitalists.

There is no other issue. Either we must return to the sole rule of the capitalists or advance to true democracy, to the decision of the majority. The present dual power cannot last long.

The Parties at the Election for the Municipal Administration in Petrograd.

By N. Lenin.

(Published in the "Pravda" of June 6th 1917.)

The lists of candidates for the local municipal administration have been published. Unfortunately we only have data for ten districts. Nevertheless, we gain an extraordinarily clear picture of the parties, a picture which it is imperative to study closely both in the interest of the election propaganda and in that of throwing light on the connection between the parties and the classes.

It is well known that the membership of a party is both a condition for and a standard for measuring political development. The more the political development, the enlightenment and the political consciousness of a given people or a given class is advanced, the more generally will its members belong to some party or other. This general principle is confirmed by the experience of all civilised countries. It is easy to understand that from the point of view of the class war this cannot be otherwise; failure to belong to a party or an insufficiently definite party line of the party organisation means an indefinite class character. (This in the best case; in the worst case, this defect means that the political masses are deceived by charlatans, a phenomenon which is well enough known in countries ruled by parliamentarism.)

What kind of picture with regard to the parties do the lists published in Petrograd show us?

Altogether 71 lists have been made out in the ten districts. These can be divided into five groups at the first glance:

1. The Russian Social Democratic Labour party — Bolsheviks. Lists were made out in all the ten districts. Our party is taking part in the elections in a block with two other groups, with the Meshrayontzi and the internationalist Mensheviks*). This block is founded on strict principles, it has been made known to the public by the resolutions of the Petrograd and All-Russian Conferences of our party. The fundamental question of present-day political life in Russia and in the whole world is the question of the struggle between the internationalism of the proletariat and the chauvinism (or the "defence of the country") of the large and petty bourgeoisie. Our party has openly proclaimed that it is determined to put into effect "an approach and union" between all internationalists. (See the resolution of the All-Russian Conference with regard to the union of the internationalists against the petty bourgeois block of defenders of their country.)

The party of the proletariat took an open, clear and united attitude at the election.

2. The party of the "People's Freedom", i. e. of the Cadets, which is in reality a party of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, shows no less clearly its class character. This party also put up ten lists in ten districts. As is well known, all the parties of the landowners and capitalists are now supporting the Cadets, though for the time being, they are doing it in secret.

3. The third place as regards a definite party line is taken by the newly formed Radical Democratic party which has only put up lists in six of the ten districts. This party is known to no one, but it is obviously a capitalist party which places its hopes on "gaining" votes with promises which bind it to nothing — a kind of disguised Cadets.

4. The fourth place is taken by a group which put up 17 lists in 9 districts; these are the Narodniki (Labour group, Socialist Revolutionaries and People's Socialists) and Mensheviks, plus the ill famed "Unity" group in a variegated mixture.

This is the genuine petty bourgeois stew, the petty bourgeois lack of principle. None of these parties can make up its mind to pass a resolution with regard to the approach and union between these groups. They are borne along by events, they are in the tow of chauvinism. They have fallen into a swamp, are struggling in it and, in every district, they are trying in a different way to "climb out" as cleverly as possible. To creep out or to remain in the swamp — that is their motto.

If they are of the same opinion with regard to the principle of defending the country or of supporting the Coalition Government, why do they not combine to form a united political block which is in reality based on principle and takes up an open attitude in this election campaign?

The gist of the matter is that the petty bourgeoisie, i. e. the Narodniki and Mensheviks, have neither principles nor a party line! They are all defenders of the country and partisans of the present Government, but they have no faith in one another. In one district, the Social Revolutionaries take their stand alone, in another in a block with the People's Socialists

*) The internationalist Mensheviks, a group of the Mensheviks under the leadership of Martov, who had remained true to internationalism, took part in the Zimmerwald conferences with Axelrod, and published an internationalist paper "Nashe Slovo" ("Our Word") in Paris. When the Bolsheviks issued the slogan "Turn the imperialist war into a civil war!", Martov, as a simple pacifist, preferred the idea of putting a rapid end to the war and concluding peace, i. e. a compromise between the workers and the capitalists. After the February revolution, an independent group of the "Internationalist Mensheviks" was formed, which vacillatingly and uncertainly supported the Bolsheviks in many questions of home and foreign policy. In July 1917, it even negotiated with a view to joining the Bolshevik party, but the October revolution finally drove it into the counter-revolutionary camp.

and the Labour group. (With people who are in favour of expropriation with compensation, with parties which, in 1906/07 were publicly accused of bowing to the interests of private property by the Social Revolutionaries Vikhlyayev*), Chernov and others.) They most frequently take their stand in the block with the Mensheviks, sometimes in the block with the group "Unity", the group about which the newspaper "Dyelo Naroda" writes alternately with hostility and contempt.

It does not matter! The electors swallow it all! The petty bourgeoisie understands nothing of party, nothing of principles. In the newspaper, "we" are against the group "Unity", but in order to get into the Duma, "we" are — in favour of it...

Exactly the same applies to the Mensheviks. In their newspaper, they are opposed to the group "Unity", at the All-Russian Conference of the Mensheviks, the ill-famed Deutsch was greeted with noisy disapproval, so that the group "Unity" publicly complained of it. It does not matter, the petty bourgeoisie has a bad memory; we will behave as do the petty bourgeois. "On principle", we are opposed to Deutsch and Yordansky**), we fight against them in the sight of the workers, but in order to gain a few seats, we do not hesitate to appear on the same list with those gentlemen! All the class conscious of workers that the block of the Social Revolutionaries and of all the Narodniki and Mensheviks is a block of people who timorously drag the heroes of "Unity" with them and are ashamed of their allies!

In two districts, those of Kasan and Spassky, there are neither Mensheviks nor Social Revolutionaries; they have obviously hidden themselves in the lists of the district Soviets of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, i. e. in the non-party lists. (In both cases, the number of candidates is inadequate, 38 and 28 to 54 and 44 of the Cadets and 43 and 46 of our party.) In two districts, the petty bourgeois parties have not even been able to raise their peculiar half-heartedness with regard to a party line and have finally sunk into the swamp of non-partiism. "If only they elect us, why do we need to belong to a party?" This is the motto of the bourgeois parliamentarians always and everywhere.

5. The fifth group is that of absolute independents. In ten districts, they have put up 28 lists, most of the groups existing in one district only. This is not only narrow-mindedness, it is narrow-mindedness confined to a single district. What a variety of groups there is! A group of "House Administrators", a group of "Employees in Educational Establishments", a group for "Honesty, Responsibility and Justice", and if we do not like that, then "Democratic Republican and Socialist Workers put up by non-party Democratic Republican Workers who take part in the House Committees"...

Comrades, Workers! All apply yourselves to work, to regulating the worst kind of housing, to rousing and instructing domestic employees, backward workers etc.! Join in the agitation against the capitalists and the Cadets disguised as "Radical Democracy" and against the Cadets who are hiding behind them! Join in the agitation against the swamp of the petty bourgeois defenders of the country, the Narodniki and the Mensheviks, against their block of independents and their lack of principle, against their dragging with them the adherents of compensation and the heroes of Plekhanov's "Unity" with whom even the Government papers "Dyelo Naroda" and "Rabotshaja Gazeta" are not ashamed to go arm in arm in their combined lists with the Labour group.

*) Vikhlyayev was agrarian statistician and a Social Revolutionary and is to-day professor at the Moscow University.

**) N. Yordansky, a Menshevik, liquidator, defender of the country, editor of the "Sovremennii Mir" ("The World of the To-day"), later a partisan of the Plekhanov group "Unity". Under the influence of the October revolution, he has now developed towards the Left and is publishing a Russian newspaper in Helsingfors which acknowledges the Soviet Power as its platform.