

- INTERNATIONAL -

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To the Whole Working Population of the Soviet Union!

To the Toilers of the Whole World!

Communiqué of the Soviet Government.

Moscow, 9th June 1927.

The Soviet Government has published the following communiqué:

"The accredited representative of the Soviet Union to Poland, **Voykov**, has been murdered in Warsaw. This shocking act which has roused the whole world, underlines strongly the criminal policy of the reactionary forces who, in the present international situation, are striving to destroy the peace of Europe. The assassination of **Voykov** is one of the links in a chain of events which as a whole seriously threaten the peace of the world. Despite all the very great efforts of the Soviet Union to maintain peace, the danger is growing ever greater.

In connection with the perfidious assassination of **Voykov** which has followed a series of direct and indirect attacks upon soviet institutions by the British Government and the breaking off of diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union by the former State, the Soviet Government considers it necessary at the present moment to make known a number of other facts concerning the work of the British Government

and its subordinate organisations upon the territory of the Soviet Union.

In the Summer of 1925 an alleged 'merchant' carrying a Soviet pass made out in the name of **Steinberg** was wounded and arrested by the Soviet frontier guards whilst attempting to cross the Finnish-Soviet frontier. At his examination the arrested man declared that his name was not **Steinberg**, but **Sidney George Riley** and that he was a prominent member of the British Secret Service and a Captain in the Royal Air Force. He further admitted that he was one of the chief organisers of the conspiracy of **Lokkart** who, on the 3rd December 1918, was declared by a revolutionary tribunal to be outside the law. **Riley** declared further that he had come to the Soviet Union with the definite intention of organising terrorist attempts, arson, insurrections etc. He declared further that he had personally interviewed the present Chancellor of the Exchequer of the British government, **Winston Churchill**, and that the latter had personally given him instructions for the organisation of terrorist attempts and other divers acts in the Soviet Union. The written statements of **Sidney George Riley** corroborating the above state-

ments are in the possession of the Soviet Government. The material confiscated during the course of further arrests completely corroborated the statements of Riley.

At the end of 1926 the G. P. U. successfully frustrated an attempt on the life of Petrovsky, the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union and of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, as also an attempt on the life of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukraine, Tchubal.

At about the same time an attempt was carried out on the life of the chairman of the Leningrad district of the G. P. U., Messing. The instrument of this attack proved to be the son of a former Colonel of the Petlyura forces, named Truba, who was at one time commandant of Kharkov and who is now living in Warsaw. The young man had been a member of the Young Communist League for some time in order to utilise it as a cover for the counter-revolutionary white terror. He belonged to the same group as the authors of the attempts on Petrovsky and Tchubal.

At the same time a one-time volunteer in the army of Denikin, named Bilyukov was arrested. Bilyukov was also a member of the Y. C. L. and had tried to join the Communist Party. Bilyukov had prepared an attempt on the lives of the representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

An attempt on the life of Bucharin was planned for the 12th March 1927 to take place during Bucharin's speech upon the Anniversary of the February revolution. Only a fortunate accident prevented the carrying out of the plan. The terrorist responsible, one Gurevitch, the son of a merchant, then prepared a combined attempt upon Rykov and Stalin. The G. P. U. was successful in effecting his arrest in good time.

On the 10th May of this year, a group of former officers of the Kolchak army and inmates of the Institution for the Orphans of Deceased Noblemen in Leningrad were arrested in the last named town. According to the admissions of the members of this group, the group was in constant and direct touch with Mr. White, the head of the Consular Department of the British Mission in Moscow. Under the instructions of the British Mission this group was preparing to blow up the Kremlin and to blow up the Great Theatre during a meeting.

On the night of the 3rd June of this year, the G. P. U. was successful in preventing the blowing up of a house in the neighbourhood of the headquarters of the G. P. U. in Moscow. A melinite bomb weighing four Kilogrammes (one Kilogram equals 2.2 lbs avdp.) was found. The melinite was of French origin and the bomb case of British make. There is therefore no doubt that the component parts of the bomb were imported from abroad. Other objects left behind by the terrorists also give evidence to the same effect.

On the 7th June of this year, the accredited representative of the Soviet Union to the Polish Republic was murdered by a Polish national in Warsaw. British newspapers have already published an insolent interview with the ex-Czarist diplomat Sablin who is in touch with British Ministers and who justifies the murder. The British hand which guided the pistol of the Polish assassin can be clearly seen here.

On the 7th June a railway catastrophe was organised between the stations Shdanovitchi and Minsk which resulted in the death of the authorised representative of the G. P. U. for the White Russian military district, Opanski, who was accompanying an arrested Polish spy, an officer. Apart from Opanski, a chauffeur was killed and two other persons wounded.

Also on the 7th June at 9.22 p. m. two bombs, one of which failed to explode, were hurled into a meeting in the Communist Party Club in Leningrad wounding thirty people, some of them seriously. Objects left behind by the terrorists in their flight also prove clearly their foreign origin.

At the same time incendiary fires in factories, works, military magazines etc., were discovered in various districts.

At the end of May 1927 a powder magazine was discovered in flames in Leningrad. The person responsible for the incendiarism proved to be the commander of the magazine, Ussild, an Esthonian working for Esthonian agents in the service of the British Government.

At an earlier date, an incendiary fire was discovered in a factory in Dubrovka near Leningrad. The incendiary proved to be a Finn working for Finnish agents of the British Government.

In a number of cases of damage to factory plant, the examination conducted proved the damage to have been deliberate.

From all this it is completely clear that the British Government which is feverishly preparing for war against the Soviet

Union, is using all the means in its power to interfere with the peaceful constructive work of the workers and peasants of our State.

Characteristic is the fact that all these adventurous attempts have no social basis whatever in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is experiencing a rapid economic growth, and the well-being of the masses is on the upward grade. The alliance of the workers and peasants is stronger to-day than ever it was, and the State power of the proletarian dictatorship is growing. The wretched and criminal attempts of a reactionary clique to hinder the development of the Soviet Union are in crying contradiction to the tremendous organisational growth of the great proletarian Union. The Government is defending its position of peaceful constructive work.

Whilst continuing this constructive work with all energy, the Soviet Government considers it to be its duty to inform the toilers of the world and above all the international working class of the criminality of the British Cabinet and its agents.

The Government appeals to the whole working population of the Soviet Union to oppose the furious attempts of the enemies of the working class and the peasantry, with increased activity and still greater solidarity on the part of the workers and peasants.

The Government appeals to all toilers in the Soviet Union to work still more energetically at the work of socialist construction and for the strengthening of the defensive forces of the country.

The British Cabinet and its subordinate have been depressed by the results of our constructive work. Every new factory, every new power station, every new step forward in agriculture causes a wave of unbridled hatred in the ranks of the British capitalists who strive to turn our country into a dependent of the imperialists States and our workers into objects of foreign exploitation and our peasantry into yoked and landless slaves of imperialism who can be shot down at will, just as Chinese and Egyptian peasants are shot down now.

The Government appeals to the working class of the Soviet Union to defend the factories, the works, the stations and all the achievements wrested from the landowners and capitalists by the October Revolution.

The Government expects from the G. P. U. that it will take decisive measures to defend the country from foreign spies, incendiaries and murderers and from their allies, the monarchist and white guardist criminals.

The Soviet Government sinks the red banner of the Soviet Union over the body of Voykov and of the other true proletarian fighters who have fallen victims to the mercenary assassins and provocators of a new world war.

The Government of the Soviet Union declares, that, supported upon the broad masses of the toilers and upon their boundless heroism, it will clear the country of its enemies and continue the work of building up socialism and defend it against all attacks."

Appeal of the E. C. C. Y. I.

To the Workers' and Peasants' Youth of the World!

To the Young Soldiers and Sailors!

Comrades! The new world war, this is the terrible and real danger which is greater to-day than it has been since the war of 1914. Imperialist intervention in China, the war of the civilised robbers of world capital against the workers of China is an indisputable fact. The breaking off of the diplomatic and commercial relations between England and Soviet Russia is equivalent to immediate preparations for war against the first Labour State and the signal for a relentless fight against socialism. The English Conservatives are furiously preparing for a new attack on the Soviet Union.

The war is a vital question for the whole young generation, for the proletarians and peasants. The reactionary Governments are about to destroy you on the battle-fields, to let you bleed to death under the fire of guns and machine-guns, to poison and suffocate you with poison gas. Those who remain at home, will be fettered by the exceptional condition, will be compelled to work without respite and will be exposed to all the horrors of famine, cold and epidemics.

For what purpose? For the purpose of destroying your true fatherland, the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the workers of

the whole world, in which Socialism is being constructed, and thus to postpone for decades the victory of Socialism in all countries. In order to annihilate this State, in which, for the first time, the young workers have procured for themselves a six hours' working day, four weeks holiday, equal pay for equal work, socialist factory schools and have conquered the high-schools and universities as well as equal political rights, in which the life of the young has been built up on new socialist foundations. In order to destroy the 400 million slaves of yesterday in China, where children of five years have to work sixteen and more hours a day in the foreign concessions, in which juvenile workers are beaten to death by the inspectors of foreign employers.

Comrades!

Efforts are being made to turn you into Judases to your own class, to your own cause. Do not believe the mendacious stories which represent the war against the Soviet Union and China as a war of European civilisation against barbarism, as a war of freedom against force. True civilisation is the civilisation of Socialism, true freedom is freedom for the workers which is being put into effect by the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union, for which the oppressed masses in China are fighting. Do not believe the "civilised" imperialists who bestow on the backward nations nothing but the knout, opium, brandy and syphilis, and on their "own" peasants, workers and peasants nothing but unlimited exploitation, unemployment and Fascist vandalism.

Do not believe the so-called "Socialist Youth International" which, with lying phrases about peace, tries to lull your attention to sleep in order to betray you in the same rascally way as international Social Democracy betrayed the working class in 1914. The "socialist" leaders of all countries are only helping to prepare for a new war by continuing a furious agitation against the Chinese revolutionary workers and against the Soviet Union.

Do not believe the pacifists and anarchists who maintain that war can be combated by a military boycott, by refusing to serve or by unctuous propaganda.

Imperialist and counter-revolutionary wars can only be prevented by the revolutionary fight. War can only be combated by mass fighting, demonstrations, strikes, preventing the transport of arms and soldiers. Only by indefatigably unmasking the lying phrases about the defence of the bourgeois fatherland, only by revolutionary agitation in the army — at the front and in the rear — only by propaganda for fraternisation with the Red army, only by creating revolutionary illegal organisations in the bourgeois army, can preparations be made for the revolution and for the abolition of war. Only by destroying the cause of war — rotten, parasitic capitalism wading in a sea of blood, — can war be rendered impossible.

The new war — that is the real and immediate danger. To hesitate to fight against this danger cannot but lead to ruin. Close your ranks under the banner of the Comintern and of the Communist Youth International, under the red flag of revolution! Join in mass action with the adult workers against the conspiracy of international capital! Fight against the threatened danger of war! Oppose the plans of the interventionists who would thrust the workers into a new world war! Prepare for a sanguinary fight of Labour with the object of turning the counter-revolutionary war into a civil war.

Young proletarians of England, the greatest responsibility for the fate of the Soviet Union lies at your door! The duty of international solidarity puts you especially under the obligation of being the first to rise and, in the most energetic way, to defend the Labour State against war and to fight for the revolution. Use every means of mass action to frustrate the war-like plans of the Conservatives against the Soviet Union!

Young workers of Poland, Roumania, Finland and the border States! Baldwin wants to use you as instruments for suffocating the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union in their own blood. Resist him! Protest against war! Turn your weapons against your own officers! Fraternise with the Red army!

Young workers and peasants of the Soviet Union!

Be prepared for the decisive fight! The young workers of all countries will support you!

Young workers! Do not forget the bequests of Lenin and Liebknecht.

War on war!

Fight for the defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution!

Down with imperialist intervention in China!

Down with the preparations for an imperialist campaign against the Soviet Union!

Defeat your own imperialist Government — victory to the world revolution!

Down with the imperialists and social traitors!

Long live the united front of all workers and of those who are oppressed!

Youth in the front ranks of the revolutionary workers!

The Executive Committee of the C. Y. I.

Appeal of the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union and the Young Communist League of Great Britain to the Toiling Youth of the World.

Comrades,

The British imperialists, seeking to crush the Chinese revolution, are feverishly preparing war against the Workers' Soviet Republic. They have shattered all diplomatic and trading relationship with the proletarian State.

The Young Communist League of Great Britain and the All-Russian Leninist Young Communist League solemnly declare at this moment before the world's toiling masses that they lead and will lead a united bitter struggle against the blood-thirsty preparation of the Die-hards.

Neither Chamberlain, Joynson-Hicks, etc. nor the inevitable betrayal of the leaders of the Labour Party and the General Council of the T. U. C. will succeed in inciting British young workers against their Russian brothers.

The international solidarity of the young workers of Britain and the U. S. S. R. is impregnable.

The Soviet Union, the world fatherland of the toilers of the world, will be defended to the last breath by all members of the British and Russian Y. C. L.

The revolutionary youth of the Soviet Union is strengthening its work for Socialist construction of the Workers' Republic and the, Red Army, to meet the coming war.

We organise for the defence of the first Workers' State against the world "gendarmes", Baldwin, Birkenhead, Churchill, the conservative forgers' government, and not against the brother toilers of Great Britain, groaning under the yoke of capitalist slavery.

The revolutionary youth of Great Britain with their adult brothers are fighting the coming war by mass action and the mobilisation of the young workers for a general strike against the forgers' government.

If the British Die-hards declare war against Soviet Russia — the revolutionary youth of Great Britain will redouble its efforts in defence of the Workers' Republic, and against the British capitalists. It rejects the illusion of pacifism and it will fling every ounce of energy into the bitter struggle to convert the war against Russia into a war against the exploiters — against the Baldwin baby-starver government — for a Workers' Government in Britain.

The British revolutionary youth will fight untiringly and fearlessly for the defeat of British imperialism which will hasten the ultimate victory of the British workers.

British imperialism is the greatest enemy of the toiling youth of Great Britain and Soviet Union — of the toilers of the whole world.

The Young Communist Leagues of both countries are answering the preparations for war by strengthening the defence of the proletarian State, by strengthening the solidarity of the working youth of both countries.

We call upon the young workers of Great Britain and U. S. S. R. and of the entire world to close their ranks under

the banner of revolution and the leadership of the Y. C. I. for the decisive struggle against the imperialist intervention.

Down with British imperialism!

Long live the Soviet Union!

Down with the war against the Soviet Union!

Long live the defence of the Proletarian State!

Long live the indissoluble union of the working Youth of Great Britain and U. S. S. R.!

The defeat of the British Government in its war against the U. S. S. R. is the victory of the toilers of Great Britain and the whole world!

Long live the victory of the world revolution!

Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Great Britain.

Central Committee of the All-Russian Leninist Young Communist League.

The Soviet Union Defends Itself.

Communication of the United State Political Administration of the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 10th June 1927.

The following communication of the "United State Political Administration" (G. P. U.) has been published:

"Having regard to the fact that monarchist white guardists in the pay and acting under the instructions of a foreign secret service have commenced an open campaign of terror and destruction against the Soviet Union, the Collegium of the 'United State Political Administration' decided in its session of the 9th June to sentence the following persons to be executed by shooting and to publish the sentence:

Paul Dolgorukov, one-time Prince and landowner, member of the Central Committee of the Cadet Party. Went to Constantinople with the remnants of Wrangels army after the defeat of the Whites. Was a member of the Wrangel Finance Control Commission. Then went to Paris where he was vice-chairman of the white guardist 'National Committee' in Paris. Participated prominently in the activities of the foreign monarchist organisations both abroad and upon the territory of the Soviet Union. Entered the Soviet Ukraine illegally from Roumania in 1926 in order to organise groups of counter-revolutionary groups of monarchists and spies to prepare ground for foreign intervention.

Georg Elvengren, Staff Captain of Horse in a Cuirassier Guard Regiment, organiser and leader of insurrections in Germany and Karelia in 1918-19, member of the counter-revolutionary Tagantzev organisation in Leningrad which was dissolved in 1921, participated in the Cronstadt insurrection, close assistant of Boris Savinkov in the white guardist 'Union for the Protection of the Fatherland and Freedom', as member of this organisation assisted in the organisation of the attempt to have been made on the Soviet delegation in Genoa led by Tchicherin by supplying British money together with the British secret agent and member of the Royal Air Force, George Sidney Riley. Organiser of a series of attempts on Soviet representatives passing through Germany between 1921-23, used British money and resources of the monarchist 'Commercial, Industrial and Financial Union' in Paris. Organiser together with the international terrorist Aubert, the leader of the successful plan to assassinate Vorovsky, and together with the 'Czar' Kyrill of the attempt on Tchicherin in Autumn 1925 in France. Entered territory of Soviet Union illegally in 1926 in order to organise counter-revolutionary and terrorist groups.

Constantin Malevitch Malevski, one-time noble and officer in the Guards, in service of British secret agents, organised counter-revolutionary insurrection in Persia under instructions of British Mission in Persia for the advantage of British imperialism. Sent by British secret service in 1927 into Soviet Union to organise espionage and terrorism in Soviet Union.

Vladimir Yevreinov, one-time noble and Czarist consul, former chief of the Czarist secret service in Persia, employee of the State Bank of the Soviet Union, agent of the British Chargé d'Affaires Hodgson to whom he gave information concerning

the financial plans of the State Bank and concerning the troops of the Moscow military district.

Alexander Skalski, one-time noble, in the service of the British secret service, gave British spy in Finland, Bunakov, secret information concerning Soviet air service and the armament industry of the Soviet Union.

Michael Popov, one-time officer, comes from landowning and industrial circles. Journeyed 1926 to France, there joined monarchist organisation led by one-time Czarist ambassador Maklakov. Under instruction of latter organisation, returned to Soviet Union for secret counter-revolutionary work.

Eugene Shtsheglovitov, one-time noble, son of a Czarist general, organised counter-revolutionary monarchist and espionage work in service of foreign general staff.

Vladimir Vishnyakov, one-time registered lawyer, member of counter-revolutionary monarchist organisation, in touch with emigrants, assisted incendiaries and terrorists arriving from abroad.

Ivan Sussalin, one-time Colonel in the army of Wrangel, one-time noble, former chief of the Wrangel secret service. Organiser of the attempt in Bulgaria of the unsuccessful attempt on the life of the late Soviet representative Krassin. Entered the territory of the Soviet Union illegally in the service of the one-time Grand Duke Nikolai to organise and carry out terrorist attempts.

Alexander Murakov, merchant, member of counter-revolutionary monarchist organisations, financed the activity of these organisations on the territory of the Soviet Union.

Nikolaus Pavlovitch, one-time chief of the armed monarchist organisation in Kiev known as the 'Double Eagle', well-known spy attached to the Staff of Denikin. Carried out counter-revolutionary work in Kiev under the instructions of foreign monarchist organisations.

Boris Naryshkin, one-time officer of the Tchernin Husar Regiment, supporter of Kyrill, propagated the necessity of British intervention in the Soviet Union, worked systematically to form illegal counter-revolutionary groups, carried out espionage for a number of foreign representatives in Moscow.

Alexander Popov Karatov, one-time noble and Captain. Entered the territory of the Soviet Ukraine together with the monarchist Urenyuk, the organiser of a bandit troop and agent of the Roumanian Espionage Service, with a view to carrying out counter-revolutionary activities and banditry in the Ukraine.

Alexander Mikulin, one-time noble and one-time chamberlain, member of the National Council, member of a monarchist group under the leadership of the former Grand Duke Nikolai. Owner of a house serving as centre for spies and terrorists arriving from abroad.

Nikolaus Lytchev, one-time officer of the Railway Guard Regiment at the disposal of the Police Department. Was active during the course of the last two years as agent of the member of the British Mission in Moscow, Charnock, to whom he supplied military and political information.

Nikolaus Koropenko, one-time Captain in the army of Koltchak, trusted assistant of the white leader Semenov in Siberia, recently spy of the British Chargé d'Affaires Hodgson to whom he supplied information concerning the opinions of anti-soviet and monarchist circles, the condition of the Red Army and the defensive strength of the Soviet Union.

Salomon Gurevitch, Journalist, one-time chief of the illegal Boy Scout organisation, organiser of terrorist attempts upon Bucharin, Rykov and Stalin.

Sergius Masurenko, Koltchak officer, employed in the Central Administration for marine transport, was agent of the British Chargé d'Affaires Hodgson to whom he supplied information concerning marine and railway transport and military transport.

Vassili Anenkov alias Makhrov, alias Arsenyev, one-time officer in the army of Yudenitch. Arrived 1927 in the Soviet Union from Paris in the service of Russian monarchists and supporters of the former Grand Duke Nikolai with a view to the organisation of terrorist acts upon the territory of the Soviet Union.

Alexander Meshtcherski, one-time Prince and landowner, active monarchist. Worked to unite all active anti-Soviet elements, supporter of the former Grand Duke Nikolai.

The sentence has been carried out in each case."

A New Official Language.

Comrade Rykov, in the speech he made to the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet on June 1st, about "England and the Soviet Union" read among other things a letter from Preston, the British Consul in Leningrad, which bears witness to the espionage activities of the British representatives in the Soviet Union. We reprint the letter in facsimile:

British Commercial Mission,

L E N I N G R A D.

April 22nd, 1924.

9/517.

Dear Jerran,

I presume it is you whose hieroglyph appears as acting on behalf of Peters in a letter dated April 7th. I will try and find out about your "Diagas". Meanwhile please search your economic brain or, failing this the brains of the galaxy of economic talent at the Mission and tell me what is the meaning of the expression "fine chemicals" about which Reyntiner - I am sure he does not know the meaning himself - has asked me to report.

It is no easy matter for me to obtain information of the nature you require as my Russian birds, whom I send on jobs of this sort, run serious risk

Cecil Bertram Jerran, Esq.,

British Mission,

M O S C O W.

of being hanged and quartered by the G.P.U. for espionage.

Yours ever,



The British press first of all suppressed this document for a week. It was then compelled to comment on it. It does not indeed dispute the genuineness of the document, but maintains that it is a question of an ordinary request for an official inquiry. A curious official style, this language of scoundrelly spies about "Russian birds" who "run serious risk of being hanged and quartered by the G.P.U. for espionage"!

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The Future War and the Working Class.

By D. Maretsky.

(Conclusion.)

From the foregoing it will be seen what attitude international Bolshevism takes in regard to war. The international Bolsheviks are in duty bound: 1. to oppose an imperialistic war with their might, to permit "no War between the great slave-owners for the maintenance and consolidation of slavery" (Lenin); 2. to guard carefully against the possibility of an attack on the part of the allied imperialistic slave-owners on the Soviet Union; 3. to carry on the most determined fight against the "punitive" campaign already begun by the Imperialists against revolutionary China. 4. to mobilise the broad masses of all countries to support in the most active manner the revolutionary military defence of the Soviet Republic in case the imperialists should ever attack the Soviet Union; 5. in case

it should prove impossible to prevent the great Imperialistic war, to strive persistently to transform this war into a civil war.

For this purpose, however, it is necessary that there should be a systematic, persevering, obstinate campaign of exposure and prevention against the war.

The whole of the political work of the Communist Party must be linked up with the fight against the danger of war. The fight against Fascism and the growing pan-European Reaction must also be carried on stubbornly as a fight against the danger of war; the adventurous foreign policy of the Fascist States must be continually pilloried, the spread of Fascism in the army must be countered, and the real meaning of the Fascist coup d'Etat in the countries bordering on the Soviet Union, as also Chamberlain's policy to create a Fascist corridor along the Soviet frontier, must be exposed.

It is necessary to disclose in Leninist fashion the whole senselessness of pacifism, of bourgeois as well as petty-bourgeois pacifism, its absolute emptiness and its complete political impotence.

The open political fight against international Social Democracy is of special urgency. In this matter, the sections of the Communist International are in a very favourable position. For considerations as intelligible as they are base, the Social Democrats do not like to be reminded of their inglorious conduct during the world war. For this reason the Communists must propagate with all the more persistence the lessons of the years 1914 to 1918 and recall them to the minds of the masses.

The present leaders of the Socialist parties will again prove treacherous, they will again be the purveyors of cannon-fodder, again dally in the antechambers of Ministries and General Staffs (they are already sitting there: Paul Boncour & Co.), they will again invent "sacred aims" of the war and drag out from the arsenal of history the slogans of the "defence of home and country", of the best of native countries, of the native country of finance-capital.

Social Democracy, and even its "left" wing, carries on no real fight against the danger of war, nor can it do so. The Social-Democratic leaders merely give themselves out to be opponents of war. It is not possible for one to fight against war, so long as one countenances the maintenance and promotion of imperialism and white-washes its villainies.

Karl Kautsky admitted on May 1st in a sudden fit of candour that the battle-cry of the present international policy is: "Scoundrels of all countries, unite!". The fortunate patriarch of International Socialism "forgot", however, to add that the "scoundrels of all countries" run the League of Nations, that Mussolini plays the role of the beautiful Benjamin in the League of Nations, though in reality he is only Chamberlain's right hand, that Chamberlain directs the whole European policy under the slogan "Beat the Soviets!", that Social Democracy with its agitation against the Soviet Union constantly backs up Chamberlain, that the first violin in this agitation is played by German Social Democracy, the party of Karl Kautsky himself. It seems to us that, not only do the "scoundrels of all countries" unite, they also draw Social Democracy into their league. Special mention must surely be made of the Social Democratic legend of the so-called Imperialism of the Soviet Union or of "Red Imperialism". Social Democracy would much rather spread this legend than tell the masses the truth about the really really slaughter of the people for war. If the new Imperialism and its armaments.

To accuse the Soviet Union of "imperialist" aims is just as villainous as to place on the same level the armies of the imperialistic countries and the army of the Socialist revolution, the Red Army. How is it possible to compare predatory capitalist militarism with the promotion of the proletarian dictatorship's ability to defend itself?

And as the hacks of the Social-Democratic Press do this constantly they thereby prove that they are direct allies of Imperialism in its fight against the Socialist State.

The question, whether the imperialists will succeed during the next historic period in bringing about and carrying on a great war will be decided, as are all great questions in public life, by the course of the class struggle in the world

and by the relation of strength and activity of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The imperialists are preparing the war quite openly. The question, the decisive, main question, is whether it will be possible to get millions of men to go to war, for an imperialist war carried on according to "all the rules of the art" can only be a war of the masses. In other words, the most important question is whether a new August 4th, whether a repetition of the year 1914 in the direction of successful mobilisation of "moral factors" by the social traitors will be achieved, whether the masses will again become the victims of the mania.

This is a question of power, a question of concrete historic fight. On the one hand the whole armoured might of Imperialism, its complete apparatus of lies, hypocrisies, suggestion and compulsion, will be thrown into the scale of war and peace. In the same way, International Social Democracy will work in the same direction for winning the "power of the comes about, it will in a huge measure be the work of Social Democracy. It is even possible that a portion of the Communist Press will display "shameless conduct", for which Lenin has already prepared the Bolsheviks!)

We should not be Marxists, if we did not consider in a sober fashion our chances, i. e. the possibilities of preventing a big war or of transforming it into a civil war.

1. The whole of humanity, and especially the working class, still remembers the year 1914, still thinks of relatives and friends who were dragged into the Imperialist slaughter: tens of thousands of cripples and invalids are still living.

2. To deceive the masses a second time with the "humane" purposes of the war will be more difficult than it was the first time; even the virtuosi of Social-Democratic lies will not succeed in this case. It is not out of the question that, if a portion of the Communist Press collapses, considerable strata of Social-Democratic and even independent workers will refrain from following Social-Democracy.

3. In place of Tsarist Russia with its "outspoken Reaction" (Lenin) we have the proletarian Soviet Union, which pursues a distinct policy of peace, which in face of the blood-thirsty policy of the imperialists is the only safe refuge of international peace.

4. There is now a powerful Communist International, which did not exist in 1914.

5. The East of 1927 is not the same as that of the year 1914. At that time the Orient still slumbered. To-day even the backward bourgeoisie papers speak of the "awakening" of China.

6. If the world conflagration breaks out and its front is the frontiers of the proletarian and of the Capitalist States, there will be good chances in favour of the proletarian State in the fight against the Imperialists, even if the latter are superior in war technics. The incitement to civil war in our country, the experience of the famous Churchill "attack of the 13 States", have shown the Imperialists how difficult it is to make war upon a country, in which there is no ruling class of land-owners and capitalists. The "strength of the masses" is a prime factor in the fight of the army of the proletariat. And even if the mechanism of the Imperialistic war on two fronts converted the imperialist war into a civil war (rise of the first Soviet State and founding of the Comintern), the fact of an imperialist war on a single front, i. e. the fight of class against class within an international war — will transform such a war the more quickly into a civil war, behind the front, in the armies of Reaction. In the coming big war of the "white" and "red" roses, Imperialism is in danger of finding its grave.

1) Ultra-Left and ultra-Right deserters from the proletarian camp, heroes of loud phrases and of opportunist tendencies after the style of Frau Ruth Fischer & Co., who provide Chamberlain with material for war propaganda against the Soviet Union, will always be available.

POLITICS

British Provocation in Egypt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The fact that both the Egyptian Government and the Parliament have over and over again understood how to adapt themselves to the position of constraint created by the British rule of force in Egypt did not satisfy British imperialism. The Zaghulist majority in the Egyptian Parliament had done everything to avoid a conflict with Great Britain; it renounced discussing points which were in dispute, it removed the question of the Sudan from its agenda and did not discuss the British occupation which is a heavy burden for Egypt. The experiment was to be made of building up Egyptian independence within the scope laid down by the well-known British declaration of February 2nd 1922.

Events proved however that even this seemed too great a danger to British imperialism; for every step towards realising independence — towards removing foreign officials, towards independent action in the sphere of home policy and economic policy, — meant that the national movement was strengthened.

It turned out that Egypt could everywhere govern itself independently and that the restrictions imposed upon the country were therefore measures of compulsion which were in no way justified. In addition to this, the Parliament gave the Left wing of the Zaghulist party every opportunity of developing its radical programme; on every occasion, the National Revolutionary deputies made the fact clear to the people that true, complete independence had yet to be won. The attempts to come to an agreement with Great Britain by bringing to the fore the Liberal Constitutional Party and making appointments which best met the wishes of the British (such as the recent change of Government which replaced Adly Yeghen Pasha by Abdel Khalek Sarvat Pasha) also failed.

The British then began taking action which aimed directly at destroying even the shadow of independence — especially of the Parliamentary regime — which Egypt still possessed. The British High Commissioner snubbed the Egyptian Government, made pleasure trips during which he spoke as though he — the British High Commissioner — were master in Egypt and not the Constitutional Government, handed in notes which interfered in an extremely humiliating way with the internal affairs of Egyptian justice (it was insinuated that the Egyptian Courts had dealt very leniently with persons who had violated Englishwomen), protested against the right of the Egyptian Government to dismiss superfluous British officials, which was guaranteed to it by treaty, brushed aside the illusion that Great Britain was prepared to agree to the abolition of the capitulations — briefly, he made it distinctly felt that the Egyptian Parliament and the Government could not but react to the repeated interference in its sphere of action which belonged to it by right of solemn promises, unless they wished to become accomplices in the British deeds of violence.

Every protest of the Egyptian Parliament, every attempt at resistance on the part of the Egyptian Government was however a signal for a furious attack on the "Egyptian bands of demagogues" by the whole British Press which appears in Egypt, as well as by the London newspapers which are inspired by the British Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Headed by the "Times" and the "Daily Telegraph", the "patient endurance" of the British authorities in Egypt was stormed at week for week, any anti-British speech in Parliament was inflated into a dangerous conspiracy, the shadow of a Zaghul Ministry which would threaten the British power over the Suez Canal, was painted on the wall. The demands were: the dissolution of the Parliament, the appointment of an anti-Zaghulist Government and the abolition of all the reforms planned or carried through by the Constitutional Government.

One of the most important reforms which the Egyptian Government had been preparing for a long time and which, in the eyes of the majority of the Zaghulists, justified their agreeing to the Coalition Ministry and tolerating the incessant challenges of the British, was the reform of the army; it was a question of making the small, badly-equipped army, which was all the Egyptians had to oppose to the mighty British army and navy of occupation, at least actually Egyptian, that is free from British influence. With this object in view, it was pro-

posed to remove British officers from the highest commands in the army.

Although this reform was perfectly admissible according to the treaties between Great Britain and Egypt (Great Britain had only ensured for herself the right to maintain her army of occupation in Egypt, but had renounced the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Egyptian army), Lord Lloyd, following the aggressive line taken by British imperialism in recent times, immediately raised a protest against the Government's resolution which was supported by Parliament. The change of Government postponed the resolution being put into effect, but then the Egyptian Government declared itself in favour of its remaining in force.

This provided sufficient material for measures of force being taken. On May 30th, Lord Lloyd presented a note in which he warmly recommended that the proposals made by Great Britain should be accepted and that all should remain in status quo in the army. At the same time, three British dreadnoughts appeared in the harbours of Alexandria and Port Said in order to make it as easy as possible for the Egyptian Government to alter its resolutions.

The indignation in Egypt at this new provocation is immense. After the repeated measures of force used by Great Britain against Egypt in the course of the last few years: the sanguinary suppression of the revolt in 1919, the deportation of Zaghlul Pasha in 1913, the throwing out of the National Government in 1924, the refusal to permit the formation of a Zaghlulist Government in 1926 — the present expedition against the peaceful Egyptian people can in no way be justified even from the standpoint of imperialist "international law". This only proves once again how little value is to be attached to chartered promises unless they are backed by the power to put them into effect, and that, in the last instance, it will always be the privilege of the best naval guns to interpret treaties concluded between oppressed peoples and their imperialist "friends".

The Yugoslav - Albanian Conflict.

By P. L.

The fight of the Yugoslav Government for supremacy in the Balkans against the progress of Italian imperialism has become more acute.

Up to the present, the protecting hand of British imperialism, which shielded Italian imperialism in the Balkans, has caused Yugoslavia to surrender Albania. Italy used the favourable opportunity actually to colonise Albania, completely to penetrate it economically and to seize the most important strategic and military positions. The whole of Albania's machinery of Government, the State Bank, customs and the State monopolies, post, telegraph, transport, as well as air traffic — everything is ruled and exploited by the Italian imperialists. In the Albanian army Italian instructors play an important role. The Italian Minister in Albania actually plays the part of Mussolini's Governor.

The Government of Achmed Zogu, Albanian dictator by the grace of Mussolini, recently ordered the arrest of a translator of the Yugoslav Legation in Albania. The Belgrade Government demanded his immediate release on the score of diplomatic immunity. The Government of Achmed Zogu, on the advice of the Italian Minister, refused, stating that the prisoner, who is said to have acted as spy for Yugoslavia, had no claim to immunity. Thereupon, the Yugoslav Government recalled from Durazzo its diplomatic representatives in Albania. At the same time, the Albanian representative at Belgrade was handed his passport. Diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and Albania were thus broken off.

The acute conflict between Yugoslavia and Albania is the aggravated conflict between Yugoslavia and Italy. While the Fascist Press in Italy expresses itself in sharp tones and makes no secret of the fact that Italy will not tolerate the disputing of its dominion in Albania, the Yugoslav Government is trying to mobilise French and British Imperialism, as well as the League of Nations, which is to meet within the next few days, to effect the annulment of the treaty of Tirana, in which Albania delivers itself lock, stock and barrel to Mussolini as far as foreign politics and military matters are concerned. The Italian Government, hungry for prey, wishes to secure its hegemony in the Balkan Peninsula; the Yugoslav Government, on the other hand, will not surrender the territory it has stolen and prefers to meet Italy's dangerous competition.

The intensified fight between Yugoslav and Italian imperialism cloaks lurking dangers of war. Even though in the present international situation British imperialism may work for the smoothing over of the Yugoslav-Albanian conflict for the present, because for the moment a new Balkan war would not fit in with its military enterprise against China and against the Soviet Union, it must be clear as day to everybody what a hotbed of war is the Balkan Peninsula under the dominion of the imperialists. It will be seen that only a Federation of Socialist Balkan Republics could and would be in a position to drive out the imperialist interlopers and, by liberating all oppressed nationalities, to establish good neighbourship among all the Balkan States.

The Resistance of the French Working Class to Reaction.

By Michel HOLLAY.

The political life of France is at present characterised by the determined resistance of the working population to the campaign of persecution, which has been introduced by the Government of the National Block against Communism and the revolutionary trade unions, and it is at the same time characterised by the fight of the working class against the anti-Soviet agitation. The reactionary offensive, begun by Sarraut, Minister of the Interior, has not yet, however, been broken. The bourgeois Press is urging on the Government more wildly than ever to extirpate the Communist "traitors, barbarians and spies". When, on May 27th Minister of the Interior Sarraut disported himself as hero of the fight against the Communists, the members of the National Block turned their thumbs down and roared: "Action, action!" Not enough that the espionage-affair, fabricated by police-spies, had collapsed ridiculously, the reactionary pack demanded a French repetition of the Joynson-Hicks-Comedy and, in conjunction therewith, the breaking off of diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union.

Hundreds of our French worker comrades are already in prison, conviction follows conviction, criminal court proceedings are continually being started. The bourgeoisie is desirous of rendering all the Communist ringleaders hors de combat. For this purpose Minister of Justice, Barthou, has submitted a draft of a new disgraceful law, according to which all political offenders shall be kept in prison immediately after the first judgement, if the sentence is one of six months or more, without awaiting the judgement of the Court of Appeal. This Bill is evidently intended to fulfil the demand of the reactionary Press for imprisonment of all revolutionary leaders. For, if this plan is realised, all party and trade-union leaders, who have been condemned to years of imprisonment by the Lower Court, may shortly be under lock and key.

Another instrument of oppression used by French class justice is "physical compulsion", the changing of an unpaid fine for a political offence into a term of imprisonment. Only a few days ago the imprisonment of several comrades, who had been in prison since the middle of 1925 on account of propaganda made in Algeria against the Moroccan war, was prolonged by a number of months on the ground that they were not in a position to pay their fines. In this way, comrades Lozeroy and Arrighi were each condemned to a further eighteen months, Aucouturier to twelve months more, and Cazala to four months more.

The workers are already beginning to give sharp expression to their resentment against all these and other reactionary measures designed to rob the Labour Movement of its leaders and to gag it. The shouts of triumph from the parties and the Government of the "National Union" are already beginning to ring hollow. After Minister of the Interior Sarraut had received the moral reproach from his ministerial colleague Briand, Minister of Justice Barthou suffered a knock from the Parliamentary Commission which was instructed to deprive the Communist deputies Doriot, Vaillant-Couturier, Clamamus and Duclos of their right of immunity, but which it refused to do for fear of the electorate.

A still more vigorous thrust was administered by the working masses themselves. On May 29th, the yearly commemoration day of the fighters of the Commune, more than 100,000 workers demonstrated at the Wall of the Federates

under the slogans: "For the Soviet Union!" "For the Chinese Commune!" "Down with the employers' offensive!" "Down with the military law and Paul Boncour's mobilisation law!" The immense and enthusiastic demonstration was echoed throughout the whole of France.

On the same day there was a by-election for the Chamber of Deputies in the Département Aube, largely an agricultural district, populated chiefly by vine-dressers and weavers. The election, in which the C. P. of France participated under the same slogans as were used at the Paris Demonstration, afforded proof that French Labour is beginning to gather more closely and firmly around the C. P. The Communist vote rose from 9807 at the last election, held in May 1924, to 15,824. Both the Socialists and the Fascists registered an increase of votes, but they still remained a long way behind the C. P. (Socialists 8271, Fascists 6905). The National Block and the Radical Socialists, the two government parties, suffered a great defeat; the former showed a recession from 21,412 to 14,465 votes and the latter from 15,833 to 6434. The Communists, therefore, headed the poll. In this manner, the electorate has expressed its view of the Government as also of the Opposition and has declared its marked sympathy for the Communist slogans.

Still greater significance attaches to the campaign of the Communist Party against the Paul Boncour law. For a number of weeks hundreds of thousands of lists have been circulating in factories, agricultural districts, in barracks, aboard warships, in offices, etc., for the collection of signatures against the Paul Boncour project for mobilising the whole nation in case of war, against the new military laws, which are being planned, and, in general, against a new war. The French Chambre has already commenced the discussion of this law. Under the pretext — it will probably not be taken seriously — of introducing one-year service, it is desired to create a strong army of professional soldiers (120,000 to 200,000 strong), which, in case of necessity, could be called upon to fight against the workers or against the other portion of the regular army, in case the latter should prove insufficiently "reliable", and, in case of war to act as compulsion service for the "unreliable" workers and peasants in military tunics.

In his last great speech in parliament Sarraut described the corrosion of the French army and navy through Communist propaganda. Fresh manifestations have recently occurred in the army, especially among the reserves, who have this year been called up for twenty-five days of training for the first time since the war. There was the "Bourges incident": 300 soldiers demonstrated their dissatisfaction for hours on end by singing the "International".

All this goes to prove that the working class is on the watch. The Communist Party of France is carrying on this war of defence with all its energy. The confidence of the working class is growing, a fact which is to be seen from the result of the subscription organised by the C. P. F.: within a few weeks a sum of 200,000 Francs was raised in support of the Party's activity.

The C. P. F. does not miss any opportunity of raising its voice against any of the other disgraceful plans of the bourgeoisie, and particularly against their constant economic offensive against the working class. The Minister of Commerce in the Poincaré Government, Bokanowski, submitted to Parliament at the instigation of the heavy industries and the manufacturers a project for a protective tariff, according to which the customs duties at present covering industrial products and agricultural produce would be raised on the average by 25 per cent. That meant a further 25 per cent increase in the cost of living, despite the circumstance that in the course of the year 1926 living had become 19 to 26 per cent dearer and that the employers' associations are trying harder and harder to cut wages. At the same time, Poincaré endeavoured to dispose of the State monopoly for the manufacture of matches to a Swedish-American match trust, pointing out that this trust was prepared to make to France a loan of 80 million dollars, which sum France needed to meet her financial obligations.

The economic offensive, therefore, proceeds parallel with the political campaign of agitation against the C. P. F. and the revolutionary trade unions. And this circumstance has contributed in no small measure to make it clear to the working masses that they must fight with all their might against the purpose of capitalist reaction, namely to destroy the Communist Party in order to make out of the working class a convenient instrument for its efforts after power.

The Resignation of the Government in Persia.

By S. Iranski.

The Mustafa el Memalek Government has resigned.

Mustafa el Memalek has been called upon to form a Cabinet three times in the course of a year, in June 1926, in September 1926 and in February 1927. Thus, the Government has lasted four months since the last reconstruction of the Cabinet in February 1927. Such frequent changes of Cabinet are a fairly common occurrence in Persia. It is characteristic of the past year however that the formation of a new Cabinet has been entrusted three times to the same person.

The duties of the Foruga (Sok ol Molk) Government which was formed in December 1925 immediately after Resa Khan was chosen as Shah, were to get the foreign governments to recognise the new dynasty, to legalise the revolution which had taken place in the eyes of the population, to carry through the elections for the Sixth Session of the Parliament and to complete negotiations which had already been begun with regard to the agreement between Persia and Turkey. The Government, which was too much absorbed in internal affairs, or, to put it more exactly, with the affairs of the new Monarchy, did not devote the attention they deserved to the relations between Persia and the Soviet Union. Under the influence of this defective regulation of affairs, the national economy of Persia suffered a severe depression. The economic crisis became particularly acute in North Persia towards the end of the summer of 1926.

The Mustafa el Memalek Cabinet, which followed the Foruga (Sok ol Molk) Government, was faced above all by the task of regulating the relations between Persia and the Soviet Union. In spite of the fact that a "well-trying Nationalist" was at its head, this Cabinet did not show much capacity for work. Having sprung from a coalition, it proved unstable because of internal conflicts and soon lost the majority in Parliament in spite of being a coalition government.

This is extremely characteristic of Persian "parliamentarism". Although Persia has nominally a Parliament built up on the European model, there are actually no political parties, in the European sense of the word, in Persia. The political groupings in Parliament are usually determined by personal fractions. Individual, influential deputies, who aim at Ministerial posts, form their own groups, to which they give all kinds of pretentious names ("Unity", "Independence", "Freedom"). The "leaders" of such groups who, not infrequently, are instruments for carrying out the will of the British Mission in Teheran, the capital, make agreements among themselves with regard to the Ministerial posts in the next government, form the majority in Parliament and overthrow the existing government which is in competition with them.

Thereupon, the fight for the Ministerial posts usually begins; the "leaders" of the Opposition, in their efforts to win over as many deputies and groups as possible to their side, make promises, greater than they can fulfil, to their "adherents", which, in a short time, leads to the formation of new fractions and a new majority.

This "Parliamentary work" is counter-balanced by the pressure of individual strata of Persian society who are clearly aware of their class interests and try to enforce them, as well as by the pressure exercised by the Shah, who either compels Parliament to do what seems to him most desirable at a given moment or, if it suits him better, washes his hands of the whole affair by taking cover behind the "will of the people". The three last Cabinets of Mustafa el Memalek arose from a compromise between the endeavours of progressive circles in Persia to regulate their relations with the Soviet Union, which the Shah had to take into account, and Persian parliamentary practice which he did not, at the moment, think it advisable to oppose. In consequence of these combinations, the Cabinet was reconstructed three times within a year, the head of it each time being Mustafa el Memalek, of whom the advanced circles in Persia expected that he would regulate Persia's relations with the Soviet Union.

As a matter of fact, each of the Mustafa el Memalek's Cabinets has made efforts to justify these hopes. At the end of the summer of 1926, Teimur Tasha, the Court Minister, was sent to Moscow where he succeeded in coming to an under-

standing with regard to all questions under dispute, but the resolutions which had been passed, were rejected by the parliamentary leaders. At the end of March 1927, Ali Guli Khan, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, went to Moscow. The Soviet Government met Persia's wishes, and the Foreign Minister's negotiations with the Soviet Union passed off with entire success. When the negotiations were already completed however and both sides were proceeding to confirm the agreements in question, the Mustafa el Memalek Cabinet resigned, as it had been in the minority in Parliament.

It is not without interest to recall that this method of influencing the course of negotiations has already been applied several times by the reactionary circles and by the British agency which backs them. In 1921, a few days before the treaty of friendship between the Soviet Union and Persia was signed, the Sapekhaar Government in Teheran was overthrown by a military revolt. Nevertheless they did not succeed in preventing the treaty being signed. In 1923, when, after more than a year of negotiations, the commercial treaty between the Soviet Union and Persia was about to be signed, a crisis of the Mustafa el Memalek Cabinet was brought about in Teheran, and that time the signing of the treaty was successfully frustrated.

Now, after four years of extremely severe complications in the domain of the commercial relations between the Soviet Union and Persia, both sides were for the third time preparing for the signing of the treaty, and exactly the same thing happened as in 1923. The third party, to whose advantage it is to keep the commercial relations between the Soviet Union and Persia in a state of tension, systematically does everything to frustrate the attempts to regulate these relations. The extremely degenerate and venal character of a certain section of the "politicians" of Teheran is preparing the soil on which British intrigues against the Soviet Union often obtain rich results.

The progressive elements in Persia, however, are gradually overcoming the "English disease", with which Persia was inoculated; and when, at the beginning of 1927, the British agency tried, with the help of certain Government circles, to turn to account the discontent of Persian merchants in order to boycott the Soviet Union, it soon became convinced of the utter fruitlessness of this enterprise. The attempts of the British when, in March 1927, the Persian Foreign Minister went to Moscow, to distract the attention of the Government and of the public in Persia from the necessity of regulating the relations of Persia with the Soviet Union by organising insurrections in the Western provinces of Persia (Kurdistan and Luristan) were equally unsuccessful. These revolts were either nipped in the bud or quickly suppressed.

For many reasons, progressive circles in Persia regard the resignation of the Cabinet as inopportune in view of the present international conditions. In reference to this, the Teheran newspaper "Tufan" of May 29th, writes among other things:

"A change of Cabinet is undesirable, because negotiations with Moscow are not yet completed, because legal reform has not yet been carried through and because Parliament has not yet been able to revise the Budget."

CHINA

The Military Situation in China.

By Storin.

The great victories of the Wuhan Government on the decisive Peking front gave rise to immense excitement among the imperialists and the occupation troops, as also among the remainder of the Angodsun (the name of the united armies under the command of Chang Tso Lin. Ed.). The plan to throttle the Wuhan Government has again failed, and the revolution is once more triumphant in spite of all difficulties and obstacles.

The strategic position of the army advancing against Peking is characterised roughly by the following facts: The Province of Shansi, with its governor Yen Si Shan, is now as ever neutral; among the troops of Yen Si Shan there are undoubtedly portions which sympathise with Feng Yu Hsiang, who is advancing on Peking. The Province of Shantung is occupied by troops of Chang Tsun Chang numbering about

70,000 men, while his chief forces are at the moment evidently outside the frontiers of Shantung, in the Province of Kiangsu and in the northern part of the Province of Anhwei. In Kiangsu, Chang Tsun Chang is operating with the remainder of the armies of Sun Chuan Fang, numbering about 20,000 men.

The rest of the defeated Mukden army of Chang Tse Liang, the son of Chang Tso Lin, withdrew to the northern bank of the River Hoangho and at present disposes of a fighting force numbering at the most from 30,000 to 40,000 men. In the Peking-Tientsin district there are about 40,000 Mukden soldiers, who could hardly afford support to Chang Tse Liang. Opposed to these forces of Chang Tse Liang there are the troops of Feng Yu Hsiang and Tang Sen Shi composed of 50,000 fully armed and capable soldiers, who have won big victories. Furthermore, in the district of Shunin there are about 60,000 to 70,000 soldiers of the Honan portion of the Revolutionary People's Army. In the Province of Shensi and in the western part of Honan there are a further 50,000 soldiers, some of them under the command of Feng Yu Hsiang and some under other generals.

The Wuhan Government therefore has a distinctly preponderating force in the fight against the Mukden troops and is in a position to attack the fortified bridgehead on the River Hoangho. In case of further victory on the part of Feng Yu Hsiang, of the defeat of Chang Tse Liang and of complete neutrality on the part of the Governor of Shansi, the question of Chang Tsun Chang's intentions and what action he will take, will become of great significance to the Wuhan Government.

In spite of their extremely advantageous flanking position against the advancing Wuhan troops, the army of Chang Tsun Chang is greatly handicapped by the operations against the army of Chang Kai-shek. It is very improbable that Chang Tsun Chang will be able to liberate important forces to operate against Tang Sen Shi and Feng Yu Hsiang. Chang Kai-shek's offensive lends weight to this assumption. That will facilitate the march of the Wuhan army against Peking. The revolutionary armies of Feng Yu Hsiang and Tang Sen Shi are developing further their decisive offensive against the relatively narrow sections of the northern portion of Honan and of the southern portion of the Province of Chili. Nevertheless, one cannot regard the situation created here as unalterable and stable. The rapprochement of the foreign imperialists to Chang Kai-shek — the reports of negotiations between him and the Mukden generals point in the same direction — may change this position.

From this point of view the objectives of the attacking operations of Chang Kai-shek are characteristic. The operation directive of Chang Kai-shek confines the task of his army to the occupation of Pengpu. That would indicate that he has no definite intentions. This may in some measure be explained by the political intentions in regard to the Angodsun. In any case, we can for the present count upon the mutual crippling of the armies of Chang Tsun Chang and Chang Kai-shek. It was previously our opinion that the operations of Chang Kai-shek would not be of specially energetic character. His army of about 120,000 men has not a definite numerical superiority over those of Chang Tsun Chang and Sun Chuan Fang. Again, the political condition of his army is not very satisfactory.

In this relation, two extremely important facts must be mentioned, which in the further course of events will undoubtedly play a very important part. Japan, who landed troops in Tsingtao, occupied the line Tsingtao-Tsinan. Furthermore, the troops of the foreign imperialists are about to occupy the Peking-Tientsin Railway with strong forces. These factors make it appear possible that the imperialists will resist actively the conquest of Peking by the Wuhan Government.

In spite of these obstacles and in spite of all possible hindrances, the way is open to Feng Yu Hsiang and Tang Sen Shi for further victories in North Honan and in the Province of Chili. In addition to their strategic significance, these victories will also have great political significance, as they will effect further disruption in the enemy armies and further develop the peasant movement.

The peasant movement is growing at an extraordinary rate. Not very long ago there were 5 million peasants participating in the revolutionary movement. At the present time, there are in the Provinces of Kwantung, Honan and Hupeh more than 20 million peasants organised in the associations and

participating actively in the revolutionary movement. The peasant troops ("Red Lances") are giving effectual support to the revolutionary Southern troops.

The march of the counter-revolutionary troops against the capital of the Wuhan Government is marked by a number of serious defeats. Naturally, the final liquidation of the remaining counter-revolutionary forces in West Hupeh by the national-revolutionary army requires considerable effort and a number of serious operations. The divisions of Yan Sen and Wu Pei Fu are still grouped in the territory north of the Duntin Lake as far as Nan Yang. Against these counter-revolutionary groups the best of the forces have carried on the most active operations. The operations against the Yan Sen group, consisting of a frontal attack accompanied by an enveloping movement, will bear fruit in the near future. Operations have also commenced against the group of Wu Pei Fu.

On the whole we can again report a distinct development of the success of the Chinese revolution. There are still many difficulties to be faced. We know from our experience in the Russian civil war what difficulties revolutionary troops have to surmount. Nevertheless, we do not doubt that all these difficulties will be overcome. Distinct political aim and determined action are powerful weapons in the hands of the revolutionaries of China in their fight against the disjointed counter-revolutionary forces, both of the Chinese militarists and of the foreign imperialists. In the present state of affairs, a march of the revolutionary armies to Peking cannot at all be regarded as impracticable. Such a march would be unthinkable in a war between two states. It is, however, a very real possibility under the circumstances of civil war, where the strategic actions are most closely related to the whole development of the revolutionary forces.

THE BALKANS

The Result of the Parliamentary Elections in Bulgaria.

By P. R. (Sofia).

It was with unheard-of cynicism that on the day after the Bulgarian Parliamentary elections, Lyapcheff declared that they had taken place without the least disturbance of the peace.

So as to win through at any price, the Lyapcheff Government had mobilised the entire police apparatus and the Fascist organisations. In this connection the Government made use of the following means of "propaganda":

The prohibition or "mobbing" of meetings of any party of the Opposition; the arrest and internment of the Opposition agitators and candidates; the blockading and inundation of entire districts with police, detectives and so-called "apex-commands" (Fascist militant bodies); the dissolution of Oppositional district councils and the appointment of Government commissaries to replace them; an economic coercion, especially against the peasants, by the repeal of the permission to graze or glean firewood in State pastures or forests and the threat of collecting all tax arrears should the debtor fail to vote for the Government; the destruction of the electioneering correspondence and publications of the Opposition in the post-offices and the confiscation of Oppositional voting papers as illicit matter; the organisation of political trials on a huge scale in the month just preceding the elections, and the like. Even now that the elections are over, the press of the Opposition is full of accounts of acts of terrorism.

Political murders and the "disappearance" of individuals again began to occur. The peasant publication "Zemledelsko Vavrashdanye" was again and again confiscated by the police for having dared to ask the Government the whereabouts of P. Dragneff, a peasant candidate from Stara Zagora, who was arrested by the police and then completely disappeared. According to press reports, the following members of the Opposition were assassinated during the few weeks preceding the elections: Michael Ilieff, a member of the Peasant Union from the village of Rakovsky, the murderer being a Fascist called V. Dobrikoff ("Zemledelsko Zname" of May 21st); Marin Ilieff, murdered in the village of Debnevo (Troyanko) by adherents of the Government, who were naturally never discovered

("Novini"); P. Vasileff, found stabbed in the town of Stara Zagora, the murderer having been a bribed soldier who was, of course, also not arrested ("Svobodna Ryetch" of May 1st); Sapicho Ilieff, shot by police and Fascists in the streets of Troyan, said by the "Utro" (a paper friendly to the Government) to have been "suspected of being a member of the Communist Party".

All the arrested Opposition members were cruelly tortured; not even their wives and children were spared by the sadistic police. Thus the bourgeois-democratic party organ "Zname" of May 14th reports that the police fetched the children of Ivan Ekimoff and I. Alexoff (members of the Opposition) out of the elementary school and flogged them brutally at the police station.

In many districts, such as Orkhanye, Lom, Ferdinand, and the like, the electioneering terrorism assumed acute forms. Panic reigned at Orkhanye, where the Government candidates were colonel Calloff (Minister of Foreign Affairs during the Zankoff Government) and St. Ivanoff (former district chief of police). These men knew no scruples in attaining their aim. Even the Government organ "Zora" (in close connection with Lyapcheff) had on May 23rd to admit the extreme terrorism practiced in the Orkhanye region. Thus the editor-in-chief of this paper writes in an article bearing his signature: "I went myself to Orkhanye so as to ascertain whether the rumours of terrorism were true, and I had to own that the form of terrorism prevailing there is scandalous. It would appear that the Orkhanye region is a mediaeval feudal district, the satraps of which are determined at any price to be elected as delegates. In spite of the steps I undertook with the various authorities towards mitigating the situation, nothing could be done in this direction." (All in heavy type in the "Zora" itself.)

It is impossible in a single article even to hint at all the cruel acts of terrorism perpetrated.

In spite of the outrageous terrorism it employed, the Government secured fewer votes than the Opposition. It owes its predominance in the Chamber merely to the reactionary election system, based on the principle of majority. The election victory of the Lyapcheff Government is a "Pyrrhan" victory in a war against the working classes of Bulgaria.

The numbers of votes figured as follows:

	Votes
Government Coalition with Stambolovists	521,246
Opposition, in all	562,078
(thereof: Toilers' Parties: 305,894)	
Bourgeois List in the Petritch District	37,809
Invalid Votes	12,000

The mandates, as recorded by the Government, are distributed as follows:

	Mandates
Democratic Sgovor (Government Party)	167
Stambolovists (allied with the Government)	6
Democrats	11
Social Democrats	10
Liberals	6
Radicals (Dissidents)	2
Smilovisti	1
Small Tradesmen	6
Workers' Party	6
Peasant Union ("Vrabtcha")	44
Tomovists (Right Wing of Peasant Union)	3
Neutrals (in Petritch District)	11

In many places the bloc of toilers' parties was actually realised by the establishment of a united front between the Workers' Party, the Peasant Union, the Small Tradesmen, and the Social Democratic Party. In all such places the Government suffered a decided defeat. In other places the formation of such a bloc was frustrated as a result of the attitude of the petty bourgeois parties (Social Democrats, Small Tradesmen, and Peasant Union).

In the districts in which the Workers Party went independently to the elections, it netted 26,000 votes; in Sofia alone 5867 votes and two mandates. As regards the number of votes, the Government was beaten in every town, including the capital.

The so-called "invalid" votes (12,000) count to the Opposition. These are the votes of the unlegalised lists of the toilers' parties, which failed to be recognised as a result

of the Government terror and all manner of machinations. The votes of the Petritch district (general bourgeois list) also mainly benefit the Opposition.

Altogether the Opposition received 611,000 votes, as against 521,000 votes for the Government. The total number of votes of the Government, votes wrung from the population with fire and sword, was 521,000, or 39.1 per cent. of all votes registered. But thank to the magnificent election system, the Government nevertheless received the majority of mandates, a majority which will be made to serve as the Parliamentary cover for a sanguinary Fascist dictatorship.

The last word, however, does not rest with this "Parliamentary" Bulgarian Government, but with the working class and the rest of the toiling population of the country.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Struggle of the Striking Tobacco Workers in Bulgaria.

(A Letter to the "Inprecorr".)

Sofia, June 3rd, 1927.

Two days prior to the Parliamentary elections, on May 27th, the tobacco workers of the Bulgarian capital approached their employers with demands for an increase of wages, observance of the eight hour day, and a general improvement in working conditions.

The employers refused, and the tobacco workers started a strike which at the present moment comprises the workers of 10 tobacco factories, totalling some 2500. The workers of the other Sofia tobacco factories may be expected shortly to join forces with the strikers. In the provinces, the 1000 workers of the tobacco factory at Pazardjik have already joined the movement, while the tobacco-workers' organisations in the other great tobacco centres (Plovdiv, Haskovo, Stanimaka, Duonitza, etc.) have declared their readiness to co-operate in a general Bulgarian tobacco-workers' strike, which would thus comprise 30,000 male and female workers.

Severe measures on the part of the police have already been brought to bear on the strikers. Up to the present, the strike committees of two factories and 150 of the strikers have been arrested, many of the prisoners being subjected to maltreatment. The Government newspapers encourage the policy to attack the strikers and endeavour to raise sympathies against the strike by maintaining that it was organised "in obedience to orders from abroad".

What are the demands of the strikers?

Their main demand is for a wage increase. Between 35 and 40 per cent. of them get daily wage of 20 to 40 leva (the leva being worth about a halfpenny). The lower wage barely suffices for a single midday meal. The workers demand a rise of 15 levas for all drawing less than 60 levas daily and a rise of 10 levas above this limit. They also ask for equal treatment for male and female workers if employed on the same work.

The second demand purports the observance of the eight hour day. In the tobacco industry the average working time is a nine hour day.

The third demand refers to the improvement of working conditions and a more humane treatment of the workers.

What is the actual significance of this strike?

After the military-fascist coup of June 9th, 1923, the first blow was struck at the tobacco workers' trade union association. St. Kiradiyeff, the secretary of the association, was murdered by Fascist bandits, as were also many others of its functionaries. After the destruction of the trade union there ensued the ferocious attack of capital on the entire working class especially on the tobacco workers. It is with the proceeds of the tobacco industry in particular that the Fascist coup was financed.

The tobacco industry is well organised; it spells the ruin of thousands of small producers; it exploits 30,000 tobacco workers mercilessly, and has also the monopoly of the Bulgarian tobacco trade, so that even the consumers are at its mercy. The present Sgovor Government is practically a com-

mittee for looking after the interests of the tobacco capitalists.

Since June 9th, 1923, the present tobacco workers' strike has been the first decided struggle against the tobacco magnates. It is the beginning of the impending class struggle between capital and labour. All strikes hitherto attempted were met with the most violent means of violence and terror on the part of the Zankoff and Lyaptcheff Governments, so that the workers should be forced to accept the conditions of their employers; this was the case with the workers of the sugar factories of Gorna Orekhovitz and the dock labourers of Varna. The striking tobacco workers are backed by all the working class of Bulgaria. The Independent Trade Union Associations have instituted collections for the material aid of the strikers.

The striking tobacco workers are determined to answer all deeds of violence by a yet firmer closing of their ranks. The strike is being conducted by the Independent Tobacco Workers' Union. Besides persecuting the strikers and the strike committees, the Bulgarian Fascist Government has turned upon the Independent Tobacco Workers' Organisation, the activity of which it is determined to hamper.

The struggle of the tobacco workers is being waged under quite particularly serious conditions. The entire State apparatus and the armed Fascist bands have been mobilised to safeguard the interests of the capitalists. Therefore the support of the struggling workers and of the entire working class of Bulgaria has become an urgent duty for the world proletariat.

PLENUM OF THE E. C. C. I.

Resolution on the Statements of Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch at the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I.

At the proposal of the Delegations of the Communist Parties of Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia and the United States of America the following resolution was adopted at the Plenum of the E. C. C. I.:

The Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. declares before the Communist workers of the whole world that in the present very serious situation, in the midst of the enemy's attack, some former leading members of the Comintern have thought it opportune to make gross and inconsiderate attacks on the Bolshevik world Party. The actions of these leaders of the Opposition impede and render more difficult the decisive revolutionary tasks of the present moment: mobilisation of all revolutionary forces and rousing the entire international working class against the imperialist war.

The V. World Congress of the C. I. condemned Trotskyism as a "petty bourgeois deviation". The VII. Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I. (December 1926) in its resolution on the question of the Soviet Union, condemned the Opposition bloc as the embodiment of a "Social Democratic deviation" aimed at "continuing to foster defeatist moods and a capitulation ideology within the Party". The Plenum pointed out "the incompatibility of these views with the fundamentals of Leninism" and declared that the platform of the Opposition "is contrary to the principles of real internationalism and to the fundamental policy of the Communist International". The VII. Enlarged Plenum declared that "the Opposition bloc has become a rallying ground of all and sundry bankrupt tendencies inside and outside the C. P. S. U., condemned by the Party and the Comintern". The Plenum branded particularly the "disorganising activity" of the Opposition bloc.

Comrades Trotsky and Zinoviev, in spite of their own solemn obligations contained in the declaration of October 16, 1926, in spite of the clear decisions of the entire Party membership and of the 15th All-Union Conference of the C. P. S. U., in spite of the decisions of the VII. Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I., far from ceasing their reactionary activity, directed against the policy of the Comintern, have continued it more energetically than before.

As Comrade Zinoviev, who, through the decision of the VII. Enlarged Plenum, has been relieved of all activity in the Communist International, could not participate in the present session, Comrade Trotsky appeared as the spokesman of the Opposition bloc. Comrade Trotsky repeated with unprecedented

violence the attacks of the Opposition bloc on the Leninist policy in all fundamental questions of the revolution.

Between the policy represented by Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch at the present Plenary session of the E. C. C. I. and fully endorsed by Comrades Zinoviev and Radek and the policy of the Communist International established by Lenin is a deep and unbridgeable gulf. The main features of this Oppositional anti-Communist policy are:

1) Interference with and discrediting the struggle of the Communist International against the menace of war. The Trotskyites do not direct their energy against the imperialist instigators of war, on the contrary, Comrade Trotsky declared that "the greatest danger of all was the Party regime". Under this slogan Comrade Trotsky propagates in reality reactionary defeatism against the cause of the proletarian revolution. On the other hand, in spite of repeated invitation, he has not swerved an inch from his well-known anti-Leninist standpoint in regard to the fundamental questions of revolutionary tactics in the first imperialist world war.

It was just the differences then existing between Trotsky and Lenin (rejection of revolutionary defeatism, rejection of transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, rejection of the slogan of fraternisation), which constituted in the world war the dividing line between Bolshevism and all the shades of Social Democratic opportunism. Contrary to Lenin's injunction to concentrate particularly on real practical work against the menace of war, Comrade Trotsky did not submit to the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. a single practical proposal for the struggle against the imperialist war. He limited himself to the demand, repeatedly rejected by the Communist International, to break up the Anglo-Russian Committee, which at this moment would have only promoted the intentions of the reformist betrayers of the British working class.

2) An utterly wrong estimate of the character of the Chinese revolution contrary to Lenin's doctrines, on the tasks of Communists during a bourgeois-democratic revolution in backward semi-colonial countries. Defeatist exploitation of isolated and partial defeats of the Chinese revolution, particularly of Chiang Kai-shek's coup d'Etat in order to spread petty-bourgeois liquidatory panic-moods. Gross misrepresentation of the policy of the C. P. S. U. and the C. I. prior and after the Shanghai revolution, for the purpose of charging them with the betrayal of the Chinese revolution.

Comrade Trotsky who in 1923 on the threshold of proletarian revolution, opposed the formation of Soviets in Germany, demanded at the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. immediate establishment of dual power in the form of Soviets, the immediate aim to be: overthrow of the Left Kuomintang Government. This seemingly ultra-Left but in reality opportunist demand is nothing but a repetition of the old Trotskyite standpoint of skipping the petty-bourgeois peasant stage of revolution, a standpoint advocated by Comrade Trotsky already in 1905 jointly with the Mensheviks against Lenin.

3) Complete political and organisational alliance with the renegades expelled from the C. P. G. of the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group, whose immediate reinstatement in the Comintern was proposed by Comrade Trotsky and whose "bulletin" is continually supplied with material by the Opposition leaders. Through the medium of the Opposition leaders not only the expelled ultra-Left groups, but also all other class enemies receive in this manner regularly a false version of the internal affairs of the Party which is at the head of the proletarian dictatorship. The alliance between the Trotskyites and renegades of the Maslow type, assumes a particularly disorganising significance in view of the fact that the Maslow group intends to publish an anti-Communist daily organ, is preparing the establishment of its own anti-Communist Party and is working for the establishment of a counter-revolutionary "Fourth International".

4) The demand that in the struggle against the menace of war the orientation of the Comintern should be towards the anarcho-sindicalist elements. Thereby the revolutionary united front tactic, the Bolshevik of capturing the proletarian masses, which is more necessary than ever just now when the menace of war is greater than ever before, is substituted by the sectarian policy of rapprochement to international anarchism and syndicalism who are fighting with the foulest means against the Comintern and the Soviet Union side by side with the worst White Guard elements.

5) Deliberate defamation and discrediting of the Communist International which is charged by Comrade Trotsky with a hangmen's policy against the Chinese proletariat, the Executive of which he abused as an institution of bourgeois-liberal "cheap-jacks of the national bloc", whose policy he opposes as a "dastardly policy". Deliberate defamation and discrediting of the Soviet Union, to whose policy Comrade Trotsky attaches the epithet "national-conservative narrowness". This lie is the direct complement to the bourgeois Social democratic incitement campaign against the alleged "Red imperialism" of the Soviet Union.

The common connecting link between all these attacks by Comrade Trotsky on Leninism is the continuation of the struggle against the inner-Party regime of the C. P. S. U. and the C. I. under the false banner of "freedom of opinion" borrowed from Menshevism, a struggle already condemned by the Fifth World Congress and the VII. Enlarged Executive. These attacks of Comrade Trotsky are solely intended to shatter the discipline of the Bolshevik organisation of the revolutionary proletariat, to undermine its unity, to lower its prestige in the eyes of the working class and to weaken it in the face of the imperialist and social-traitor enemies.

Comrade Trotsky tried in vain to disguise his Menshevik attacks by "revolutionary" pseudo-radical Left phraseology, by hypocritical reservations of his willingness to submit to the decisions which have been made and by dishonest offers "to settle the conflict" in order to conceal his desertion from the Communist workers. The futility of such manoeuvres is particularly evident in Comrade Trotsky's final declaration: "We will fight to the uttermost against this course". Comrade Trotsky tried in vain to disguise his disrupting policy by suggesting with the help of ludicrous deceptive phraseology that the Social Democratic standpoint was not his, but rather that the Comintern was adopting an opportunist policy.

Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch endeavoured to interfere with the work of the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. by continuous circulation of anti-Party fraction material, by systematic interruptions and other disorganising actions.

The Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. is held at the moment when the international situation is extremely serious and critical. The distinctive feature of the present world situation is not only growing acuteness of all class struggles, but above all, the immediate danger of a predatory attack of the British imperialists and their vassals on the Soviet Union, the intervention of the imperialists against the national liberation struggle in China which is already in full swing, the joint fierce offensive of all reactionary forces against the Comintern, the attempt of the bourgeoisie to suppress and crush the labour movement and the Communist Parties in the most important capitalist countries.

Just at a moment like this Comrade Trotsky and his followers launch a fierce attack on the Comintern, the only leading organ of the world revolution, and against the Soviet Union, the only State organised form of the world revolution. At a moment like this the Trotskyites accuse the Communist world Party of treachery and make the charge of degeneration against the State of proletarian dictatorship. This attack of the Trotskyite Opposition follows the same lines as the onslaught of the bourgeoisie and its agents intended to destroy the important strongholds of the proletarian world revolution.

The present situation makes it incumbent on the entire Communist International to frustrate this attack of the Opposition bloc, to preserve strict unity in its ranks and to concentrate all available forces on the preparation of the struggle against the imperialist war, on stubborn defence of the only proletarian state of the world, and on whole-hearted support for the great Chinese revolution.

The reply of the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. to the attacks of Comrade Trotsky, which are nothing but a desperate struggle of individual political deserters against the front of the Communists of the world is: solid determination to put an end to these disruptive manoeuvres. The policy as well as the actions of the Opposition leaders are a direct sabotage of the Communist struggle against the imperialist war. The attitude of Comrade Trotsky and of those who share his views, is imbued with the spirit of coalition with the renegades, the spirit of Menshevik wobbling between the camp of revolution and the camp of imperialist counter-revolution. This wobbling which is characteristic of Trotskyism constitutes a crime in the present acuteness of the class struggle. The Comintern feels in duty bound to liquidate once and for all this ultra-Left social-democratic tendency as well as the continuous hostile attacks of this group of

bankrupt leaders who are becoming dissociated from the proletariat.

Therefore the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. resolves:

1) The E. C. C. I. declares that the principal policy as well as the action of Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch to be incompatible with their position of member and candidate of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

2) The E. C. C. I. forbids categorically any perpetuation of fractional struggle on the part of Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch.

3) The Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I. empowers the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. and the I. C. C. to effect the formal expulsion of Comrade Trotsky and Vuyovitch from the E. C. C. I. in the event of this struggle continuing.

Resolution on the Chinese Question.

1. The Significance of the Chinese Revolution.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. places on record that recent events have entirely confirmed the point of view of the Communist International concerning the Chinese Revolution, and are a brilliant confirmation of Lenin's predictions as to its international role.

The great Chinese Revolution is becoming more and more an enormously important factor directed against the whole system of international imperialism and its principal world centres.

On this account the policy of Social Democracy and of the Amsterdam International is direct abetting of imperialism. This policy is aimed at veiling the meaning of the Chinese Revolution and of imperialist intervention; it is a policy of platonic slogans and pacifist half-measures, merging into the direct justification of the criminal war against the Chinese Revolution (Thomas, MacDonald & Co.).

The E. C. C. I. declares that the international significance of the Chinese Revolution becomes all the greater since the counter-revolutionary war of strangulation, conducted by the imperialists against the Chinese people, the concentration of imperialist armed forces in China (the foreign warships and troops, the practical occupation of Manchuria by Japan, the practical seizure of the principal ports by Great Britain and the United States, etc.) is accompanied by provocative actions against the Soviet Union and by the maturing of mighty conflicts within the anti-Chinese imperialist front which, at the present stage is united.

Consequently, only by the despicable role generally played by Social Democracy which is actively taking part in the ideological preparations for the war and only by its bourgeois pacifism, which conceals its social imperialism, can the position of Social Democracy and the leaders of the Amsterdam International on the question of the Chinese Revolution be explained.

The Communist International holds that a party or organisation which calls itself labour, and which refrains from conducting a most determined struggle against intervention in China, which lulls the vigilance of the working class and advocates passivity on this question, objectively (and sometimes subjectively) assists the imperialists. These parties assist imperialism not only in strangling the Chinese workers and peasants, and thus helping to strengthen the imperialist system, but help it in its preparations for war against the Soviet Union and for world war in general.

The Executive Committee of the Comintern imposes upon all Sections the obligation actively to support the Chinese Revolution and to put up an active fight against intervention in China by mobilising the masses, organising masses resistance to the despatch of troops, arms, etc. The Executive Committee of the Comintern imposes upon all its Sections the obligation to explain to the broad masses of the proletariat and the toilers generally the international meaning and significance of the Chinese Revolution, the connection between counter-revolutionary intervention in China and the preparations being made for new wars and with the domestic crusade against the working class (anti-trade union Bill in England, the Military Laws in France, the Fascist terror in Italy, etc.).

The Executive Committee of the Comintern believes that it is necessary at the same time to conduct persistent work

to expose the policy of Social Democracy and of the Amsterdam International which are sabotaging every step taken actively to counteract the imperialists and their government.

2. The Crisis in the National Revolutionary Movement and the New Situation in China.

The E. C. C. I. places on record that the progress of events in the Chinese Revolution has confirmed the estimation of the driving forces of the revolution made at the last Enlarged Plenum. The E. C. C. I. particularly places on record that the progress of events has entirely confirmed the forecast made by the VII. Enlarged Plenum concerning the inevitable abandonment of the united national revolutionary front by the bourgeoisie and its desertion to the counter-revolution.

This process was expressed in the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat by Chang Kai-shek and a number of other generals, the formation of the Nanking Government and the secession of the Right Wing of the Kuomintang who have formed their own counter-revolutionary organisation and claim it to be the Kuomintang.

Chang Kai-shek's coup has created a new general political situation in China and a new alignment of the principal class forces in the country. The Chang Kai-shek coup signifies a fundamental re-grouping of classes, and consequently the tactics of the Comintern must be based on these new circumstances. Any attempt to base tactics on the possible compromise with Chang Kai-shek or with the Right wing of the Kuomintang would be nothing less than direct capitulation to Chang Kai-shek and open betrayal of the interests of the Chinese Revolution.

The principal cause for the treachery of the bourgeoisie and of its military leader, Chang Kai-shek, was the growing mass movement of the working class and of the peasantry, and the increasing pressure of the combined forces of international imperialism. Scared by the development of the mass movement and its revolutionary class demands and slogans, the bourgeoisie inevitably had to prefer — and did prefer — a deal with the imperialists and militarists rather than the further development of the revolutionary struggle. By this the bourgeoisie placed itself outside the ranks of the revolutionary front. Notwithstanding partial defeats and the counter-revolution brought about by Chang Kai-shek and Co., the revolution has passed to a higher stage: the bloc between the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the proletariat has collapsed and is beginning to be transformed into a bloc between the proletariat, the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, in which the proletariat is assuming an increasingly leading role.

The stage of the Chinese revolution which has now closed was marked by the existence of two camps: the camp of foreign imperialism, feudal militarists and the compradore section of the big bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the camp of the national revolutionary bourgeoisie, the peasants, the artisans and the workers on the other. In this stage there was a tendency for the two camps to break up into three: the national bourgeoisie tending to separate itself and oppose the "Left bloc" of the proletariat, the artisans and the peasants.

The present period is marked by the existence of three camps: Chang Kai-shek is already shooting down the workers and peasants, but is still fighting against the Northern militarists.

The logic of the struggle, however, is converting these three camps into two, but into two new camps in so far as the big bourgeoisie (led by Chang-Kai-shek and Pei Chun-chi & Co.) must inevitably line up more and more closely with feudal reaction and foreign imperialism. This process will become accelerated.

The crisis in the Chinese revolution in the present combination of social class forces indicates and proves that the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution against feudalism (including the agrarian revolution) and the conclusion of the struggle against imperialism (i. e., the realisation of national liberation) can be brought about only in the struggle against the bourgeoisie which has become counter-revolutionary. A consistent struggle for national liberation not only does not run counter to the development of the mass movement of the workers and peasants or to the demands of the agrarian revolution, but directly presupposes the growth of the movement of the widest masses of the rank and file.

The E. C. C. I. believes that the tactics of the bloc with the national bourgeoisie in the period of the revolution which has now passed, were absolutely correct. The "Northern campaign" alone, accompanied as it was everywhere by the growth of the trade unions, peasant leagues and peasant committees, and by the growth of the Communist Party of China, is sufficient historical justification of these tactics.

The E. C. C. I. believes that the Presidium acted correctly in simultaneously giving instructions to expose Chang Kai-shek, to seize the important strategical positions in the apparatus of the government and of the Kuomintang, to isolate the Right Wing of the Kuomintang, to take the orientation towards the masses, etc., etc.

The E. C. C. I. also approves the attitude adopted by the Presidium immediately after the Chang Kai-shek coup which was first indicated in the manifesto of the Communist International, issued immediately following the coup.

The E. C. C. I. again emphasises that the Chang Kai-shek coup and the radical re-grouping of classes of which it was the expression, must serve as the starting point for the whole of our future tactics, which must exclude unity, compromise or agreement with the bourgeoisie which has betrayed the national revolutionary movement and has become an active counter-revolutionary force.

The E. C. C. I. affirms that the line of policy of the Social Democrats and of Amsterdam concerning the "internal" questions of the Chinese Revolution, logically follows from its attitude towards the policy of imperialism in China.

The "Left" Social Democrats in words "defend" the Shanghai workers, but in fact, by erecting a Chinese wall between the social revolution and the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China, and in fighting against the vanguard of the Chinese workers, the Communists, they are combating the hegemony of the proletariat in the national revolution and consequently favour the victory of the bourgeois imperialist bloc.

Official Social Democracy and Amsterdam are steering a course more and more towards supporting Chang Kai-shek and in favour of linking up with the yellow "labour" organisations in China, which are striving to establish counter-revolutionary in the place of revolutionary trade unions.

In charging the Communists with splitting the Chinese national revolutionary movement, (Right Social Democrats) and with inadequately protecting the special interests of the Chinese proletariat ("Left" Social Democrats), international Menshevism is in fact becoming the direct ally, not only of foreign imperialism, but also of its Chinese agents, the Nanking gang of executioners of the working class.

3. The Partial Defeat of the Chinese Revolution and Principal Forces of the Counter-Revolution.

The E. C. C. I. places on record that the series of bourgeois counter-revolutionary coups (Shanghai, Nanking, Canton, etc.) represent partial defeats of the Chinese revolution and a real acquisition of strength by the counter-revolutionary bloc.

The E. C. C. I., however, regards the view as incorrect that these defeats menace the fate of the revolution as a whole.

This view is wrong, for the reason that it considers the Chinese bourgeoisie as the greatest danger to the revolution. The combined forces of Chang Kai-shek would have been crushed by the victorious revolutionary armies, however, had not the principal strongholds of the counter-revolution been supported by the forces of international imperialism, which employs all methods and has its own agency among the vacillating elements of the national revolutionary front.

The E. C. C. I. imposes upon all its Sections the imperative duty of explaining to the working class and the peasantry the fundamental fact that the imperialist troops, which have practically occupied all the important industrial centres of China, are the main counter-revolutionary forces in China.

The relatively weak Chinese bourgeoisie would not represent a serious menace to the Chinese Revolution, if it were not directly and indirectly supported by the foreign interventionists. The latter are concentrating their armed forces, blockading ports, isolating the revolutionary centres, financing the counter-revolutionary armies, exerting continuous diplomatic pressure, supporting bourgeois conspiracies in the territory of the revolutionary government, organising the sabotage of industry, trade and credit, by the foreign and native bourgeoisie, etc.

It is particularly important to point out the frantic efforts of the imperialists to break up the labour and Communist organisations, to suppress the peasant movement and to isolate the Soviet Union.

As against the partial defeat of the revolution, however, we have the fact that it has passed to a higher stage of development and that a more intensive mobilisation of the masses has commenced. The growth of the peasant movement, organisation of armed forces of insurgents, the series of victories achieved by the spontaneously organised forces over the armies of the treacherous generals, the preservation of the working class organisations in spite of the raging terror, the continuous growth of the Communist Party and the Left wing Kuomintang are all important symptoms of the further development and intensification of the Chinese Revolution.

In its main tendencies, the Hankow Government and the Left wing Kuomintang represent a revolutionary bloc of the urban and rural petty bourgeois masses with the proletariat. Notwithstanding possible and even unavoidable betrayals by various generals, groups of generals, or individual political leaders of the "Left wing" of the Kuomintang, the development of the class struggle must inevitably rouse the masses, whose movement is the pledge of future victory.

The E. C. C. I. therefore holds, that the liquidatory view that the crisis in the Chinese Revolution is a prolonged defeat and creates a new international situation is profoundly incorrect. This view is just as wrong as the pessimistic estimation of the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union. Since it is wrong in substance it cannot but serve as an instrument for the disruption of the proletarian ranks, which would be particularly harmful at the present time, when unity of will and action of the Communist International and of the revolutionary proletariat is particularly necessary.

4. The Organisation of the Worker and Peasant Masses and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist Party of China.

The enormous difficulties which the Chinese revolution encounters on its path, primarily the difficulties connected with the armed and other intervention of the combined forces of the imperialists create conditions in the struggle which demand that the overwhelming masses of the toilers be drawn into the struggle if a victorious completion of the revolution is to be achieved. Only by drawing these masses into the active struggle can the forces be created which shall break the internal counter-revolution and the imperialist interventionists, avert the partition of China by the imperialists, eradicate the survivals of feudal conditions, complete the bourgeois democratic revolution and put the question of the transition of the development of China to Socialist lines.

It is possible to draw the masses into the struggle only on the basis of the agrarian revolution in the rural districts and by satisfying the needs and the political requirements of the urban workers. The abolition of rents paid to the rich, the re-distribution of land, the confiscation of the prohibition of usurious capital, radical reduction of taxation and the transference of the burden of taxation to the shoulders of the more wealthy sections, etc., must be carried out in the territories of the Hankow Government and should rouse the masses against the bourgeois traitors and northern militarists.

Agrarian revolution — such is the fundamental inner social economic content of the new stage of the Chinese revolution. The most important thing at the present time is to secure the "plebian" revolutionary solution of the agrarian problem from below by the tens and hundreds of millions of the peasants themselves. And in this, the Communist Party must take the lead of the movement. The Communist Party must conduct a policy even within the government to induce it to encourage the release of the agrarian revolution as the only way by which it will become actually the organisational-political centre of the workers' and peasants' revolution and an organ of revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. On the other hand, only on the basis of such a policy, enacted from below and above, is the creation of really reliable armed detachments and the reorganisation of the whole army on a sound revolutionary foundation, possible.

In the towns, efforts must be made to raise the standard of living of the working class, to improve radically their juridical position in the factories as in social life generally, to repeal all laws which place the workers in the position of a dis-

franchised "order" and to carry out the slogan of the eight-hour day, to raise wages and recognise the rights of workers' organisations, etc.

Simultaneously rapid, bold and determined efforts must be made to carry out the policy of the mass arming of the workers and peasants, primarily the organised and more class-conscious of them. This policy must be carried out with all the necessary firmness.

The E. C. C. I. holds that the Communist Party of China must exert all its efforts directly and in alliance with the Left Kuomintang, to carry on energetic work to mobilise and organise the masses. Most energetic recruiting of workers in the Party; most energetic recruiting — in town and country — of the toiling masses in the Kuomintang, which must as speedily as possible, become a broad mass organisation, — such is the principal task of the Communist Party of China at the present time.

The E. C. C. I. calls upon the Communist Party of China to pay close attention to the necessity for strengthening and enlarging all the various mass organisations of the workers and peasants: trade unions, strike committees, factory councils, workers' corps, etc., peasant committees, peasant leagues, agricultural labourers' organisations, peasants' armed units, organisations of the urban petty bourgeoisie, organisations of artisans, home-workers, etc. In all these organisations, propaganda must be carried on for affiliation to the Kuomintang and thus help to convert the latter into a powerful mass organisation of the revolutionary petty bourgeois democracy and the working class.

The E. C. C. I. resolutely rejects any attempt to oppose the tasks of the national revolution to the tasks of the class struggle of the proletariat and holds that this contrasting of the two tasks, which is observed among ultra-Left European groups and among the Social Democrats, is nothing more nor less than the repudiation of the hegemony of the proletariat in the democratic Chinese Revolution to the advantage of the alleged "working class" guildism which politically is a form of opportunism and converts the proletariat into the tail of the democratic camp. As a matter of fact after the desertion of the bourgeoisie to the counter-revolution, the proletariat is becoming more and more recognised as the leader and guide of the whole national revolutionary movement. The Chinese Revolution cannot develop further or achieve victory unless the role of the working class is raised to that of leader of the whole of the democratic revolution which can be brought to its conclusion only in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

5. The Communist Party and the Kuomintang.

The Communist Party of China can fulfil the tasks that are imposed upon it only to the extent that it, as the vanguard of the working class, will preserve its own political features, distinct from the political features of even the most radical petty bourgeois revolutionaries.

No matter what the political situation may be, the Communist Party must never become merged with any other political organisation. It must represent an independent force; it is the organisation of a special class, — the proletariat, the most consistent and most revolutionary class in the country. For that reason the Communist Party must never allow restrictions to be imposed on it in advocating its views and mobilising the masses under its own banner. It must never abandon its right to criticise the waverings and hesitations of the revolutionary petty bourgeois democracy. On the contrary, only such criticism will stimulate the petty bourgeois revolutionaries to go to the Left and secure the hegemony of the working class in the revolutionary struggle.

The independence of the Communist Party of China must not, however, be interpreted to mean that it must become exclusive and isolated from the non-proletarian toiling strata and particularly from the peasantry. On these grounds, the E. C. C. I. resolutely rejects all demands for the Communist Party to leave the Kuomintang, or that it should take up a position which would actually lead to its leaving the Kuomintang. To advance at the present time the slogan: "There is no need to leave the Kuomintang yet" is just as stupid as to put forward the slogan: "Leave the Kuomintang". The present moment demands that the proletarian party shall secure the leading role of the proletariat within the Kuomintang. In China the Kuomintang is the specifically Chinese form of organisation in

which the proletariat comes into direct contact with the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry. It is impossible to claim the role of leader for the proletariat unless the Communist Party, as the Party of the working class, claims the role of leader within the Kuomintang.

The E. C. C. I. holds that the policy of under-estimating the Kuomintang as a peculiar organisational form of the revolutionary movement would in fact lead to the Kuomintang banner being captured by the Right wing. For the very reason that the banner of the Kuomintang is an exceedingly weighty political factor in the country, the bourgeois leaders, headed by Chang Kai-shek, strive to march under the banner of the Kuomintang. The tactics of the Communist Party should be not to screen this political manoeuvre of Chang Kai-shek's, which would have been the case if the policy of leaving the Kuomintang had been adopted, but to expose the bourgeois politicians as traitors to the cause of the national revolution, traitors to the Kuomintang; traitors to the anti-imperialist camp.

The E. C. C. I. considers as incorrect the view that the national liberation revolution (anti-imperialist) has "ended" and that a different, — a class, a peasant and labour revolution has "commenced". After the Chang Kai-shek coup, it became particularly clear that the national liberation revolution can develop only under the hegemony of the working class. And precisely for that reason, the banner of the Kuomintang, being the banner of the struggle for national liberation must not be surrendered to the betrayers of that struggle.

The E. C. C. I. believes that, following from the tasks of a bold and determined development of the mass movement, the Communist Party of China must with equal boldness and determination strive to convert the Kuomintang into a genuine mass organisation embracing the toiling population of town and country.

The E. C. C. I. is of opinion that the tasks which now confront the Kuomintang demand that the organisational forms should be accordingly adapted to these tasks. It is necessary as speedily as possible to bring about much greater and closer contact with the masses and to recruit wide masses of the workers, peasants and artisans into the Kuomintang, to secure the collective affiliation of labour, peasant, soldier and artisan organisations (trade unions, factory committees, peasant committees, peasant unions, artisans' guilds, army organisations, peasant guerilla detachments, Red Spear organisations, purging them from counter-revolution elements, labour corps, etc.), the electoral principle must be fully introduced in all the local and central leading bodies of the Kuomintang, etc., etc.

Only by so determinedly steering a course for the development of the Kuomintang into a genuinely wide, genuinely elective, genuinely mass and genuinely revolutionary democratic organisation, will the pre-requisites be created for the consolidation and the victorious development of the democratic revolution in China.

Only if such a course is taken, will the maximum counter-measures be taken against the possible and inevitable abandonment of the movement by wavering groups of Left wing Kuomintang elements (as happened in Canton) and against the betrayal of various generals and other military leaders. The Communist Party must in good time expose every symptom of wavering in the direction of alliance with Chang-Kaishek or with the imperialists and take corresponding agitational, propaganda and organisational measures.

While preserving and developing its own Party organisation, the Communist Party of China must to an increasing degree exercise influence over the work of the Kuomintang. It will be able to fulfil this task only to the extent that it is completely conscious of its own class proletarian position, that it strengthens and consolidates its own organisation, that it attracts working class Communists to the leadership of the Party, raises the influence of the Party among the broad masses of the workers and peasants and raises the authority of the Party among them.

The E. C. C. I. notes that waverings have been observed in the Communist Party of China precisely on this point and that the Party has not always with adequate firmness criticised the leaders of the Kuomintang and that within the Party there was at times expressed the fear of the development of a mass movement, especially the movement of the peasants to capture land and evict the gentry and landlords, etc., These waverings, particularly harmful at this stage of the revolution,

show that not all the comrades in the Communist Party of China have sufficiently clearly understood the line of policy of the Comintern in the Chinese Revolution. The E. C. C. I. considers it necessary for the above-mentioned mistakes and waverings to be explained widely in the ranks of the Communist Party, for unless this is done, the danger of fresh vacillations in connection with the fundamental questions of the Chinese Revolution will unavoidably become greater. The Communist Party of China as a Party of the working class must take the leadership of the agrarian movement of the peasantry into its own hands and ruthlessly combat every effort to restrict the extent of that movement.

The E. C. C. I. expresses the firm conviction that the young Communist Party of China, which has revealed tremendous growth and has already given examples of revolutionary heroism, will speedily rectify these errors, which were absolutely inevitable in the extremely complex progress of events and as a result of the youth of the Communist Movement in China.

6. The Hankow Government, the Question of Power, the Army and the Tasks of the Communist Party of China.

The E. C. C. I. regards as incorrect the view which underestimates the Hankow Government and which in fact denies its great revolutionary role. The Hankow Government and the leaders of the Left Kuomintang by their class composition represent not only the peasants, workers and artisans, but also a section of the middle bourgeoisie. Therefore, the Hankow Government, being the government of the Left Wing Kuomintang, is not yet the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, but is on the road to it and will inevitably, in the course of the victorious class struggle of the proletariat and in discarding its radical bourgeois camp followers, develop in the direction of such dictatorship.

The E. C. C. I. holds that the Communist Party of China must take a most energetic part in the work of the Hankow "Provisional Revolutionary Government". To refrain from taking part in the work of the Hankow Government, or to adopt a vaguely sceptical attitude towards it, while being on the surface "radical-revolutionary" is in fact to repeat the mistake of the Russian Mensheviks in 1905, when they considered it wrong to join the Provisional Revolutionary Government of that time and preferred to be "the extreme proletarian opposition".

The characteristic feature of the attitude of the Mensheviks was that they refused to join a revolutionary government but joined in counter-revolutionary coalitions.

Participation in the Hankow Revolutionary Government cannot be compared with the bourgeois-socialist coalitions in Europe, for the Hankow Government is in fact conducting a revolutionary war against the imperialists, the feudalists and now against a considerable section of the bourgeoisie of its own country.

The E. C. C. I. holds therefore that the Communist Party must most energetically work in the organs of the government, both centrally and locally, while criticising the inadequate firmness revealed by its immediate allies and securing a correct line of government policy.

The E. C. C. I. calls the particular attention of the Communist Party of China to the fact that more than at any other time is it now necessary to maintain the closest contact between the revolutionary government and the masses of the people. Only if such close contact is maintained — and obtained primarily through the Kuomintang — only by maintaining a determined course towards the masses, will it be possible more and more to strengthen the authority of the revolutionary government and its role as the organising centre of the revolution.

The task of the Communist Party of China is to secure that the Hankow Government shall maintain such a course. Unless this task is fulfilled, unless the mass movement is developed, unless the agrarian revolution and a change in the conditions of the working class are brought about, unless the Kuomintang is converted into a genuine mass organisation of the toiling masses, unless the most intimate contact is maintained between the Hankow Government and the masses, it will be impossible to bring the revolution to its victorious conclusion.

The E. C. C. I. holds that only if such tactics are adopted will the participation of the Communists in the Government be

justified. Unless these tactics are employed, the participation of the Communists in the government will merely bear the character of a political deal between leaders, which will be thwarted by the progress of events and the great class struggle. To link up and constantly link up the work in the government with the work among the masses is the most imperative duty of the Communist Party of China.

The E. C. C. I. holds that in the present conditions it is a matter of revolutionary expediency to bring about the large scale democratisation of the Kuomintang, to see to it that it embraces the widest section of the masses and secure the widest development of all forms of labour and peasant mass organisations. It is impossible to ignore the specific features of Chinese development, which have created such a peculiar organisation like the revolutionary Kuomintang, which directly determines the composition of the government. The special form of contact between the toiling masses and the revolutionary government which corresponds with the present stage of the Chinese revolution is the Kuomintang embracing the large bulk of the masses, the leading organs of which are elected by the masses and which elected organs appoint the national revolutionary government.

The difference in the situations prevailing in the various provinces in the territory governed by the Hankow Government will cause at first a variety in the forms of organisation of the local government, for example, the rule of the peasant committees and peasant leagues in the villages, the rule of Kuomintang committees, etc. On the question of the establishment of local government, the fundamental task of the Communists is to get the masses of the toilers, the hundreds and millions of workers and peasants to take part in the establishment and work of these bodies.

The E. C. C. I. considers it inexpedient at the present time to advance the slogan of Soviets, which (in the Hankow territory) can mean nothing less than a slogan proclaiming soviet rule.

In the present conditions of development of the Chinese Revolution, to put forward this slogan against the Hankow Government on the basis of an under-estimation of that government, on an under-estimation of the Kuomintang, would lead to a breach between the working class and the petty bourgeois revolutionary democracy.

To advance the slogan for the immediate establishment of Soviets of workers, peasants' and soldiers' deputies, at the present stage of development of the Chinese Revolution would signify an unavoidable dual government, an orientation for the overthrow of the Hankow Government, would be tantamount to leaping across the Kuomintang form of organising the masses and State power directly to the Soviet form of government in China as the State form of the proletarian dictatorship.

The E. C. C. I. also considers that at the present time the question arises with particular acuteness of the reorganisation of the army, of establishing military units absolutely loyal to the revolution, and of establishing contact between the armies and the workers' and peasants' organisations, of securing cadres for the army, of converting the army from a mercenary into a regular army of the revolution, etc.

With the further development of the revolution which will mark the beginning of the process of development of the democratic revolution into a Socialist revolution, it will be necessary to organise Soviets of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies, and the slogan for the formation of Soviets will become the principal slogan of the Party.

7. Various other Problems of Revolutionary Policy in China.

The Communist Party in China is confronted by problems of extraordinary complexity. The interweaving of the struggle against the imperialists and militarists with the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the presence of large armed imperialist forces on the territory of China, the practical dismemberment of China into three zones, the extreme variety of relations — economic and political — the existence of a common imperialist front and the antagonisms within that front, the absolutely uneven maturity of the revolution in various parts of China, the special "military" forms of the revolution and the antagonisms within the armies, etc., etc., all these create exceptional difficulties.

The E. C. C. I. holds that in the face of these difficulties it is quite proper in principle for the Hankow Government to manoeuvre in its attitude towards foreign imperialism. The

E. C. C. I. rejects the view which on the grounds that the government is non-proletarian, excludes on principle the "Brest-Litovsk" tactics of manoeuvring.

The E. C. C. I. holds that this view rests on a profound theoretical and political error.

In the conditions of growing proletarian revolution, when the proletarian party is in revolutionary opposition to the government, it as a rule is **opposed** to the war conducted by that government, it stands for the **overthrow** of that government and is certainly **not** in favour of lightening the tasks of that government.

In the present conditions in China, the Communist Party is in **favour** of the war conducted by the Hankow Government, it is **responsible** for the policy of the Hankow Government, to which it has directly joined. It is in favour of **lightening** the tasks of the Government. For that reason, the Communist Party cannot be opposed "on principle" to the tactics of manoeuvring. **Being responsible** for the policy of the Government, the Communist Party would be acting stupidly if **under all circumstances** it would oppose and reject the tactics of compromise, i. e., if it insisted on fighting on all fronts **simultaneously**.

The E. C. C. I. therefore holds that this question must be settled in accordance with the concrete conditions, which cannot be foreseen, for it is impossible to foresee and calculate with absolute precision the relation of forces of the opposing sides.

The tactics of manoeuvring may be applied also in the **economic** policy of the governments, which need not necessarily immediately confiscate all foreign enterprises. Here too compromise is permissible in principle.

On the other hand, the E. C. C. I. considers that the sabotage conducted by the native and foreign bourgeoisie in a number of enterprises (industrial, commercial and credit) which leads to unemployment and is conducted for the purpose of creating economic chaos and paralysis, may compel the government to confiscate and nationalise such enterprises. The nationalist government must not permit the traitors to the revolution to destroy economic life; in such circumstances it must by determined measures carried out by its organs and with the aid of the proletarian organisations, take over the management of these enterprises into its own hands.

The time when compromises must be made or when the offensive must be undertaken, is determined by concrete circumstances. The E. C. C. I. particularly holds that the tactics proposed by certain comrades in connection with the Chang Kai-shek coup in Shanghai were absolutely stupid. These tactics were to anticipate the coup by a rebellion against the imperialists and Chang Kai-shek or to give them armed battle on a wide front. The tactics of rebellion are: Having commenced rebellion, to **attack**. Rebellion should only be commenced when there are some chances for success. One cannot "play with rebellion". The tactic of rebellion under all circumstances is not a Leninist tactic. If an extensive armed uprising of the workers in Shanghai would have taken place, they would have been cut up by a bloc of the armed forces of Chang Kai-shek and the imperialists, and the flower of the proletariat of China would have been physically exterminated in battle, for there were no chances of success.

The general situation in China at the present time calls for the following military political strategy to be adopted by the Communist Party: the development of military operations against the North, the development of the agrarian revolution throughout the whole of the territory of the Hankow Government and the conduct of intensive work of disintegration in the rear and the army of Chang Kai-shek with the aim of liquidating it, which does not exclude, of course, conducting military operations against him at the appropriate moment. Reliance upon the masses will have great effect also in the civil war. If a proper policy is carried out, the victory of the revolution is assured.

The Communist Party must make it its task to strengthen the united front of the workers, peasants and petty bourgeoisie. In developing by every means the agrarian movement, it will also be necessary to guarantee to the petty bourgeoisie the inviolability of their working property, helping them in the struggle against money-lenders' capital, etc. The Communist Party must be at the head of the mass movement in the zones occupied by the counter-revolutionary forces, while it strengthens the block of the real revolutionary forces in the zones of the Hankow Government which follow the lead of the

working class, welding these class forces into powerful organisations.

The organisation of strong, illegal organisations beginning with the Party and ending with peasant leagues, the organisation and leadership of the peasant movement and the movement of the workers, preparing mass actions and working among the forces, — these must constitute the principal tasks of the Party.

8. The Parties of the Comintern and the Chinese Revolution.

From the standpoint of the general estimation of the significance of the role of the Chinese Revolution, the E. C. C. I. places on record that:

1. Most of the Sections of the Comintern have not sufficiently realised this significance and have displayed insufficient activity in the matter of supporting the Chinese revolution.

2. That the same inadequate activity is revealed by the Communists belonging to the Anti-Imperialist League.

The E. C. C. I. considers it absolutely essential that these defects shall be speedily rectified, and to this end calls upon all the Sections to take resolute measures in this direction along the following lines:

a) Agitation and propaganda in the press.

b) Work in the trade unions and other mass labour organisations.

c) Work in the colonies and dependencies of the respective imperialist countries.

d) Work among the forces which are being sent to China.

The E. C. C. I. draws attention to the necessity for serious preparations to be made effectively to really stop the despatch of troops and arms to China. The E. C. C. I. imposes upon all its Sections the duty to conduct most energetic work among the imperialist troops and urge upon them to go over to the revolutionary troops of the Chinese people.

The E. C. C. I. instructs the Central Committees of the various Sections to draw up concrete measures in the direction indicated.

The E. C. C. I. sends fraternal greetings to its Chinese Section and promises it the warmest support in its great revolutionary struggle.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

A New Section of the Front.

By A. Kurella.

There were three items on the agenda of the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I., held in May 1927: **struggle against war** and for the defence of the Soviet Union, the **Chinese revolution**, the **tasks of the working class in Great Britain**. The Executive dealt with these three questions in the form of political resolutions in accordance with the directions of the VII. Enlarged Plenum which had designated precisely these three sections of the front: Great Britain, China and defence of the Soviet Union, as the most important at the present juncture.

However, the Plenum was compelled to adopt a **fourth political resolution**. During the Session of the Plenum a new struggle was forced on the Comintern: the Opposition bloc in the C. P. S. U. deemed it necessary to utilise the Plenum for a new attack which in fierceness and hostility surpassed everything that has been hitherto done by the Opposition bloc.

The **fourth resolution** adopted by the Plenum "On Comrades Trotsky's and Vuyovitch's action at the Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I." assigns to the Comintern a fourth section of the front on which the Comintern Sections must carry on as energetic a struggle as on the other sections of the front if they intend to do their duty to the revolution.

What led up to this action, what was new in it, what induces us to take such a harsh view of this action?

Firstly: **The fact of the action itself**. In the well-known **declaration of the Opposition of October 16th** it undertook "to carry out the decisions of the Party re the inadmissibility of fractional activity", "to abstain definitely from exercising criticism of the Comintern and of the policy of our Party which might degenerate into attacks which would weaken the position of the Comintern as the fighting organisation of the international proletariat, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

as the vanguard of the Comintern or of the Soviet Union as the first State of proletarian dictatorship". At the same time it declared "as absolutely inadmissible direct or indirect support of fractionalism by any groups in the individual Sections of the Comintern against the policy of the latter" (here follows the enumeration of the groups including the Urbahns-Weber in Germany).

Through this new action prepared by the discussion speech of Comrade Zinoviev at a non-party meeting which was broadcasted throughout the country and in which the speaker made virulent attacks on the Central Committee of the Party, this declaration of October 16th has been treated as a mere scrap of paper. As shown by the production and circulation of extensive Opposition literature (articles, theses, declarations, etc.), the promised "dissolution of all fractional groupings" which were formed around the views of the Opposition has not taken place. As we will subsequently see, the "criticism" exercised by the Opposition at the Plenum cannot be designated otherwise than as "incitement". One of the proposals of the Opposition aimed actually at the reinstatement of "Left workers" expelled from the C.P.G., the names Schlecht and Urbahns being expressly mentioned.

Trotsky endeavoured to justify the open defiance of the Comintern through the abandonment of the declaration of October 16th by saying that they declared at the time that "even now they stick to their opinions".

How can this breach of the given promise be interpreted in any other manner than: that the Opposition is determined to take up now, regardless of anything, the struggle against the C.P.S.U., and the Comintern with all the means at its disposal?

Secondly: The time and the manner of the new action of the Opposition. In their speeches both the representatives of the Opposition repeatedly admitted that the present situation is extremely serious, they even accused the Comintern of failing to understand the seriousness of the situation. Under these circumstances, it would have been only natural if the Opposition had done its utmost to help the E.C.C.I. by practical proposals re its tactics, to find the path which in its opinion is the right path. Instead of this the Opposition offered relentless resistance to all proposals made by the Comintern, it refused even to discuss the theses and resolutions submitted and set against them its own counter theses imbued with the spirit of irreconcilable struggle against the Executive of the Comintern and the C.P.S.U.

How is it possible to interpret this kind of action at the present juncture otherwise than: that the Opposition has given up any idea of collaboration with the Comintern and considers its task to struggle against it.

Thirdly: The tone of the Opposition and the character of the accusations. In the "theses" submitted to the Plenum by the Opposition (with which our readers will become acquainted when the Minutes of the Plenum will be published) there is a whole series of monstrous accusations which, as already mentioned, do not differ in anything from the accusations which we are used to seeing in the Korsch and Ruth Fischer bulletins.

In his concluding speech, the reporter on the question of war peril, Comrade Kuusinen, described this tone of the Opposition as follows: "The document which calls itself draft theses deals firstly from beginning to end with opportunism; secondly with national conservatism; thirdly with example to the revolutionary proletariat, what should not be done if the international proletariat and the Soviet Union are to escape ruin; fourthly it declares that the tactics towards the British Trade Unions have made it easy for Chamberlain to attack the Trade Delegation in London and to get out of all possible consequences of this act; fifthly, it declares that a thoroughly bad bargain was made with the traitors in Berlin (at the Anglo-Russian Committee). How is this tone to be interpreted? It is simply an assertion that the cause of the proletarian revolution has been betrayed. Who is supposed to have betrayed it? The Pol. Bureau of the Russian Party, the Central Committee of the Russian Party which endorsed this, the traitors Bukharin, Stalin and Tomsky."

Another speaker, Comrade Pepper, quoted similar statements from the "theses" of the Opposition on China: "The workers were not simply beaten, they were beaten by those who were leading them". According to Trotsky, who are these leaders? After comparing Chang Kai-shek with Cavaignac, he said: "Cavaignac would be impossible without Ledru-Rollin,

Louis Blanc and other cheap-jacks of the national bloc. Who has played this role in China? Not only Wan Tin-wei, but also the leaders of the Communist Party of China and mainly their teachers in the E. C. C. I.". And he went on: "In the face of the impending dangers, to keep silent on the mistakes of the leaders would be the greatest crime before the Party and the Revolution".

Yesterday, "national narrow-mindedness" and "Thermidor" — today "national conservatism" and "Louis Blanc".

How could one interpret this "progress" in the characterisation of the role of the Comintern and the C.P.S.U. otherwise than: that the Opposition is determined to dissociate itself from the "Louis Blancs" and their treacherous opportunism?

In his concluding speech already quoted, Comrade Kuusinen, after enumerating the accusations of the Opposition, asked a question: "Is this the struggle for peace? Or is it defence of the Soviet Union? Comrade Trotsky has been War Commissar. If a common soldier had carried on such an agitation at the front during the war and had adopted such a tone against the leadership which Comrade Trotsky had in his hands: 'The leaders betray, etc.' what would Comrade Trotsky have done to this common soldier? And supposing a general had spoken in this tone, what would you have done in such a case?"

The representatives of the Opposition were unable to give any answer to this question.

Fourthly: The substance of the "practical proposals" of the Opposition. In an interjection Trotsky said to a speaker who reproached him with failing to collaborate in the practical solution of difficult problems: "I have endeavoured to expose the opportunist muck which you are spreading here."

And what "pearls" has the Opposition been able to produce? Here it must be stated that it is no easy matter to ascertain what the Opposition wants. There are as many theses, "declarations" and articles, varied arguments, analyses and "proposals". Even now the Opposition has really no clearly defined policy. This has always been our argument. Let us examine what the documents say, which were submitted to the last Plenum. The resolution of the Plenum enumerates the "practical proposals" of the Opposition: Three proposals re war against war: immediate exit from the Anglo-Russian Committee and breaking off of official relations between Soviet Trade Unions and the General Council; reinstatement of the expelled "Left workers" such as Schlecht, Urbahns and others, in the Communist Party; alliance with Anarchist and Syndicalist groups. An important proposal re tactics in the Chinese revolution (which has in its wake a series of practical consequences): Immediate formation of Workers' Soviets with the object of establishing a parallel Government (dual government as in 1917 in Russia) side by side with the Hankow Government which is now the centre of the Chinese Revolution hardly consolidated at the present stage.

These practical proposals testify to one thing: Trotskyism as an ideological system directly opposed to Leninism is again in full bloom and is pitting itself against Leninism on all the sections of the front of the Russian and International revolution. Those who know the history of the struggle between Leninism and Trotskyism will meet again in the enumerated practical proposals exactly the same errors of which Trotsky was guilty in the period of his acutest struggle against Lenin and the Bolsheviks. The falseness of Trotsky's repeated declarations that on entering the Bolshevik Party in 1917 he left behind his past is becoming more and more evident. In fact, Trotsky is unable to dissociate himself from his old non-Leninist standpoint in regard to the analysis of the driving forces of such not purely proletarian revolutions as the Russian prior to October 1917 and the present Chinese revolution, and also in regard to the tactics of war against war.

The struggle between Leninism and Trotskyism reached its culminating point during the world war. Trotsky himself admitted that the impending war made all problems extremely acute. The difference between Leninism and Trotskyism too was intensified and adopts more and more open forms through the impending war. This is the only political interpretation of the recent action of the Opposition bloc in the important questions of international policy at the present juncture.

In their concluding speeches during the Plenum the speakers of the Opposition directed their chief attack against the alleged pernicious "internal regime of the C.P.S.U. and the Com-

intern". But this is only a "safety curtain" behind which the preparation of the fighting forces for the political struggle are hidden. When Trotsky declares that he (and naturally his followers) "will fight to the utmost" against this course, this is nothing but a declaration of political war to the knife: **Antagonism between Leninism and Trotskyism reaches its culminating point.** No reconciliation is possible between them.

This is the impression made on all the delegates by the action of the Opposition.

If even under this impression the Plenum of the Executive has not yet decided on final organisational measures against people who it felt to be enemies in its own ranks, this was only because the responsible leaders of the Comintern have fully realised the seriousness of the situation and because they are aware that response to the provocation of the opposition at the present juncture would only be in the interests of those who want to weaken the proletariat in the event of war.

But struggle against the enemies in our own ranks must be carried on with the utmost energy after the Plenum.

THE WHITE TERROR

The White Terror in Spain.

By Jar (Madrid).

To celebrate the 25th anniversary of King Alfonso's coronation, Primo de Rivera has signed a decree of amnesty by which all prisoners are pardoned to a tenth of their total penalty. The decree does not make any difference between criminals and political prisoners; there is however one exception, the decree referred to grants a complete amnesty to all "Somatenistas" (members of the armed Fascist Guard) who are in prison. There has already been much talk about the case of a "Somatenista" who killed two workers and who has now been set at liberty in accordance with the decree.

In the meanwhile, Communists are being subjected to most cruel repression. Oscar Perez Solis who has been in prison in Barcelona for more than two years, has been sentenced to another three years. When we were expecting him to be liberated, when he was just about to leave the prison, a new sentence was passed which will prevent our comrade joining in active revolutionary propaganda. Comrade Perez Solis, the most beloved Communist, is also our best writer and public speaker. A Captain in the Spanish army, he gave up his commission to join the revolutionary cause in which he has always fought bravely. His long confinement in the prison at Barcelona has seriously undermined his health which has been delicate since he received an injury in 1923 in a police assault on the "Maison du Peuple" (Trade Union Hall) in Bilbao.

Joaquin Maurin, Victor Colomé, Felix Fresno, Salas and Renzi are also imprisoned in Barcelona. These comrades were recently acquitted by a Court Martial held some weeks ago; in spite of this, they are still kept in prison. In this way the police prevents our most active comrades from joining in the work of the party.

Two other Communists and a Left Socialist student were recently tried by Court Martial in Madrid. They were accused of having distributed manifestos against the military dictatorship in the University. There was no evidence to prove that these students were guilty; nevertheless they were condemned to six months imprisonment.

The repression of the Communist Party of Spain at present satisfies the fury of the police. Before the Dictatorship, Syndicalism was persecuted, but for the past three years, Communism seems to be the only enemy of the Government. The Socialist Party is the only one in which not a single comrade has been persecuted or imprisoned during the dictatorship. Republican University professors, Liberal elements, even members of Monarchist parties have been imprisoned at various times. The Socialist Party, thanks to the fact that it collaborates with the dictatorship, enjoys police protection.

The Chief of the Portuguese police has recently had various interviews with General Martinez Anido, the Spanish Minister of the Interior. As a result of these interviews, the police services of the two countries have come to an agreement with regard to the establishment of a united front with the object of putting an end to Communist activities. The reactionary

daily Press is constantly demanding that Primo de Rivera should take "energetic measures" to exterminate communism. "La Nacion", the Government organ, has also organised a campaign against our party.

Our Government is doing everything in its power to further the aims of the reactionary Press; our best fighters are thrown into prison. Since 1923, 85% of all the members of the Communist Party have been in Spanish prisons. In some districts, such as Madrid and Bilbao, there are hardly five comrades who have escaped persecution.

The favourite method of the police is what is known as "Gubernative" imprisonment; this means that the accused are not committed by a judge but are only under police control. In these circumstances, Communists may be in prison for months without even knowing the reason for their imprisonment. Comrade Hilario Arlandis has undergone three years' "Gubernative" imprisonment in Barcelona. Vincente Arroyo, the editor of our organ "La Antorcha" has been undergoing "Gubernative" imprisonment in Madrid for six months. The police accusation against comrade Arroyo is that he failed to notify the Madrid police that he was leaving the city to make a short journey.

Any comrade known by the police as being affiliated to the Communist Party, receives a daily visit from the police; a Communist comrade must have permission from the police to leave the city even for a day. The case of Comrade Arroyo is a good example of what happens to anyone who dares to infringe this regulation. A comrade who is well known to the police must not even be seen walking in the street with other workers who are not known to the police, for the names of these workers are immediately registered by the police for future persecution.

There is at present a very acute crisis among the workers. Although official unemployment figures are not recorded, the number of unemployed at the present moment may be estimated at about 300,000. It is easy to understand that the first to be hit by this crisis were our Communist comrades. Large numbers of Communists are unemployed at Madrid, Bilbao, Asturias, Barcelona and Valencia. Most of our comrades in those cities have been obliged to emigrate to other countries.

Through this cruel police repression, we have gained a large amount of experience with regard to the illegal organisation of the Communist Party. Until 1925, the police was very frequently able to find out of whom the Central Committee was composed and could consequently send its members to prison. In 1925, all the members of three Central Committees were imprisoned, one after the other. Since that time, the Central Committee has worked secretly and the police has not been able to discover who are its members, so that the Central Committee is now in a position to work undisturbed. Our secret organisation is so perfect that members of the Central Committee can work, organise propaganda and even travel all over Spain in defiance of police persecution.

FASCISM

Signor Modigliani and Fascism.

How he puts the Cart before the Horse.

By A. K.

It is an old manoeuvre of the social democratic leaders to try to make the communists responsible for the counter-revolutionary terrorist regimes. The rise of fascism in Italy, the forest of gallows in Bulgaria etc., — all this was a "natural reaction to the work of the communists".

This old and rather worn out story was retailed once again a few days ago by the Italian reformist Modigliani in a speech delivered to the Berlin social democratic workers. This "poor traveller", who, along with his bosom friends, received the kick-out from Mussolini after having done the latter's work, declared:

"Thus was fascism born! In the middle of 1919 the last efforts were made. The factories were occupied by the workers. Who was the instigator of this action? Mussolini! And what were its consequences? The workers were driven from the factories and the peasants from the large estates. And the worst was that the bourgeoisie was in-

directly supported by the communists. Moscow despatched ridiculous orders which had no sense for Italy. They made a united resistance impossible and assisted in the victory of fascism."

This contention simply turns the whole story upside-down. It is generally known to-day that fascism became powerful in the State and finally became the State itself, not on account of any revolutionary action of the proletariat, but because, thanks to Modigliani and his friends, such revolutionary action did not materialise.

Even Karl Kautsky who certainly cannot be suspected of being a direct actionist, has to admit that. He writes in his foreword to the second volume of his popular edition of Marx's "Capital":

"How little the proletariat has won when it has only gained control of production, was shown in 1920 in Italy when the revolutionary workers occupied the great works without meeting with any resistance. They managed to maintain production for a while, but they were not able to maintain circulation: the supply of raw material and supplementary materials, the disposal of the finished commodities. Very quickly, the process of production itself began to come to a halt, the workers exhausted their supplies, and there remained nothing for them to do but to bow their shoulders once again under the yoke which must have seemed to them to be their salvation.

With this the working class had suffered the most serious of all defeats. Not a defeat met with in the struggle, such a defeat can have a morally uplifting effect, but a defeat without struggle, caused by the collapse of their own measures on account of their complete insufficiency."

If we ignore the confusion which is inevitable in Kautsky's present works, then we see that the above quotation declares that fascism only became victorious because the revolutionary action of the proletariat was not carried far enough.

This observation of Kautsky is also in accordance with everything that we know about the chief cause of the victory of fascism. The victory of fascism was the punishment for the lack of courage to act in a revolutionary manner, or rather to pursue the revolutionary action to its logical end. This fact is also to be seen from a letter written by Modigliani himself to the Berlin "Vorwaerts". At the time of the occupation of the factories, writes Modigliani, Mussolini was still undecided. Mussolini was not the instigator of the occupation of the factories, but declared himself ready to support the metal workers of Milan. (Modigliani corrects the false report of the "Vorwaerts"):

"Two months later Mussolini had gone over to the bands of the agrarians who had plundered and burned the houses of the unions etc. in the Po Valley. This was the alliance from which fascism in its final form grew."

"Vorwaerts" 2nd June 1927.

That is not only a historical succession of events, but, as we have already shown above, a logical train and consequence, and the responsibility for it rests solely with the reformists, the friends of Signor Modigliani who sabotaged, throttled and betrayed all the mass movements of the proletariat after the war, who paved the way for fascism by their complete passivity, who have offered to "Co-operate in a technical fashion" with Mussolini and who deliberately let the elementary indignation of all the toiling masses of the population at the murder of Matteotti in 1924, run to waste.

If the communists had had the power that Modigliani and his friends possessed, then it would never have come as far as fascism. The communist movement is, however, gradually growing, and to-day it is the only hope of all those who want a speedy end of fascism. Signor Modigliani is compelled to admit that himself, even if involuntarily. He writes in his letter already quoted from:

"There... it has happened that despite the fascist law to enslave the unions, strikes have occurred here and there. And one must never forget that every striker is threatened with imprisonment. Still there are movements of protest in the shops and anonymous leaflets are circulating there."

"Still there are movements of protest in the shops and anonymous leaflets are circulating there"! That is true, but it is not thanks to the reformist deserters, but the outward signs of the work of the despised communists who have remained at their posts, who have built up the Italian trade union federation after the flight of the reformists, who are untiringly organising the Italian working class, mobilising all forces, increasing the resistance and preparing the great attack to sweep away fascism.

OUR MARTYRS

Vladimir Sakharovitch Turov.

On June 10th, at 6.45 p. m. Comrade Vladimir Sakharovitch Turov (Ginsburg) lost his life in a tragic manner by the hand of a murderer near the Station of Bitza on the Moscow-Kursk Railway. The investigation authorities are still engaged in determining the circumstances of the murder.

The Party has lost in the person of Comrade Turov one of its steadiest and most devoted revolutionary fighters who joined his fate to that of the working class in his early years.

Having joined the Party in 1913, Comrade Turov was, until the Revolution, a teacher in the Governmental District of Kaluga and after the February Revolution, he was immediately elected Secretary of the Shisdrin District Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (Bolshevik) and later on became Chairman of the Shisdrin Soviet of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

At the beginning of 1918, he was a member of the Staff of the Moscow District Bureau of the Bolsheviks and, under instructions from the Party, he took part in the organisation of the Moscow District Council of National Economy and of the Approvisionnement Office.

In 1919 Comrade Turov was elected Chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy of Lithuania and White Russia. Later on he was Plenipotentiary of the Council of National Economy of the R. S. F. S. R. in Siberia and Chairman of the Industrial Bureau for the South East.

In 1921 Comrade Turov was sent to Berlin as a functionary of the Trade Delegation of the Soviet Union, and in 1923 he was nominated Deputy Manager of the Trade Delegation in Berlin. Later, from 1925 to 1926, he was a member of the College of the People's Commissariat for Trade in the Soviet Union.

At the end of 1926 he joined the Communist Academy as a scientific collaborator.

Comrade Turov had attained the age of only 31 years.

The Career of Comrade Peter Lasarevitch Voykov.

Comrade Voykov was born in 1888 in the town of Kertchi. In his early youth as a student he was politically active and joined a social democratic circle for which he performed various Party tasks. On account of illegal political work he was expelled from the Sixth form of the College in Kertchi.

In 1903 he was in the Crimea and joined the "United Russian Social Democratic Workers Party". In the early years of his Party membership, Comrade Voykov held many and various Party posts. He assisted in the production of illegal literature and finally became a member of the Party Committee.

In 1905 he took part in the conference of the southern organisations in Melitopol. In Yalta he was compelled to disappear into illegality. At this time the Czarist police were on the look out for him as a participator in the attempt upon Dumbadse. The affair was handed over to the military court, and, as a death sentence was threatened, Comrade Voykov decided at the end of 1907 to flee to Switzerland. He had no

opportunity of returning to Russia and remained in Switzerland up to the time of the February revolution. Whilst abroad, Comrade Voykov studied scientific subjects. He acquired an education in mathematics and physics: Physics, Anatomy, Natural Science and Mathematics. Comrade Voykov applied himself to scientific investigation with great perseverance.

In May 1917, he travelled together with other comrades through Germany in a sealed waggon to Russia. From August 1917 he belonged to the Bolshevik Party. In October 1917, Comrade Voykov worked as secretary of the District Bureau of the Trade Unions. Later he was elected by the Duma in Ekaterinburg in which the bolsheviks had the majority, to the post of chairman.

After the October revolution Comrade Voykov worked as chairman of the factory councils for the Urals and was later elected by the Soviet Congress to the post of Minister of Food Supplies for the Ural district. This post he maintained until the invasion of Koltchak.

In 1919 he was elected to be representative of the Council of People's Commissars in the leadership of the "Centrosoyus" (Central Co-operative Union of the U. S. S. R.) and after the congress of the Centrosoyus he was made vice-chairman of the executive of the Centrosoyus. Here Comrade Voykov did great work for the re-organisation and consolidation of the Central Committee of the Co-operatives.

From 1920 onwards he was a member of the College of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. In 1921, he became Chairman of the Soviet Delegation in the Russo-Polish Commission which was elected to put into effect the Riga Treaty. At the same time, he was a member of the Trust Management of "Severoles" ("Northern Wood"). At a later date, Comrade Voykov became Chairman of the Delegation for concluding the Commercial Treaty with Poland.

In 1924, Comrade Voykov went to Poland as Ambassador of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Voykov's Funeral.

Moscow, 12th June 1927.

To-day comrade Voykov was buried in the Red Square by the Kremlin Wall. The corpse was met at the station by representatives of the Government and the Communist Party and by delegations from the factories and workshops. The body was escorted from the station by a military guard of honour. In the Red Square the coffin was placed on a bier before the Lenin Mausoleum, and a memorial meeting was held. Comrade Rykov spoke in the name of the Soviet Government, Comrade Bucharin in the name of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U., Comrade Engdahl in the name of the E. C. C. I., Comrade Litvinov for the Foreign Office, Comrade Melnichansky for the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions and representatives of the Moscow Soviet.

Comrade Rykov declared that the Soviet Government had indications in its hands that the British Government financed and encouraged white guardist organisations, particularly in Poland. Despite all provocations, the Soviet Government would pursue the policy of peace and protect the building up of socialism.

Comrade Bucharin pointed out that recent events were the beginning of a new epoch of active struggle against the Soviet Union and that Voykov was the first victim. Despite the events in Peking, Shanghai, London and Warsaw, the will of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union for peace remained unchanged. The question of peace or war, however, was not dependent upon the Soviet Union alone, but also upon the wishes of the bourgeois governments. The workers of the Soviet Union would not budge from the achievements of the revolution by so much as a hair's breadth.

The representative of the Communist International stressed in particular the role of British imperialism in the assassination of Comrade Voykov and in connection with the counter-revolutionary activity inside the Soviet Union itself.

Comrade Litvinov pointed out that the representatives of the Soviet Union abroad were making the greatest efforts to

create friendly relations with Western Europe. The activity of Voykov in this direction was developing very favourably when he was struck down.

After the speeches were concluded, the coffin was carried to the grave by Rykov, Bucharin and other comrades. As the coffin was lowered into the grave, the last volley was fired. Many thousands of workers from all the districts of Moscow defiled past the grave with dipped banners.

TEN YEARS AGO

Opening of the Conference of the Works' Committees of Petrograd.

St. Petersburg, June 12th, 1917. The Conference of the Works' Committee of Petrograd was opened to-day. It was attended by 480 representatives of works' committees, the representatives of the Trade Union Bureau of the trade unions of metal workers, printers, tobacco workers, electricity workers etc.

The Conference passed the following agenda:

1. Condition of industry, control of production and regulation of work in the town of St. Petersburg.
2. The tasks of the Works' Committees.
3. The relation to the Labour Exchange and to the co-operatives.
4. The function of the Works' Committees in the trade union movement.
5. Unemployment and reduction in industry.
6. Creation of a uniform centre for industry in the central trade union bureau.

Manifesto of the Kronstadt Soviet to the Whole of Revolutionary and Democratic Russia.

St. Petersburg, June 9th, 1917. The Kronstadt Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies has passed a manifesto in which, addressing itself to revolutionary and democratic Russia, it protests against the counter-revolutionary calumnies. The counter-revolutionary newspapers are spreading news to the effect that the Kronstadt Soviet is inciting the population to revolt and anarchy, wishes to detach itself from the rest of Russia, is torturing the partisans of Czarism who have been arrested etc.

The declaration concludes with the words:

"We, citizens of Kronstadt, remain at our post, in the Left wing of the great revolution. We hope, we believe, we are convinced that the eyes of the most backward strata of the Russian population are being opened wider and wider every day and that the time is not far distant, when, by means of the united forces of the working masses, the whole power of the State will pass into the hands of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. To you, brothers and comrades in Petrograd and to the whole of Russia, we extend our hand, we, sailors, soldiers and workers of Kronstadt. Our alliance is indissoluble. Down with those who calumniate the revolutionary people and lead it astray! Long life the Russian revolution!"

The Moscow Soviet discusses the Question of taking part in the Stockholm Conference.

St. Petersburg, June 8th, 1917. Yesterday, the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies dealt with the question of taking part in the Stockholm Conference.

Two papers were heard, one by Isuv, who developed the Menshevik standpoint and who regarded the Stockholm Conference which has been called by the Berne Committee, as though it were a third Zimmerwald Conference. He spoke in favour of sending representatives of all fractions to the Conference.

The second paper was that of Comrade Bucharin who expounded the ideas of the Bolsheviks. He said that the socialism

of to-day has split into two parts, into real socialism and the Right wing which is fighting against socialism. This Right wing is the imperialist one, it is helping the capitalist governments. The relation between the two schools of thought is already so hostile that, if the Soviet were to allow all the schools of thought to be represented at the Stockholm Congress, the international minority movement of the proletariat would be disorganised which would have a bad influence on the Left socialist groups. If the majority was to give up its former point of view, union with it would be possible, but there is no idea of this, at present peace within the precincts prevails in Germany, France and England. Bucharin made the proposal that the Soviet should send delegates to the first Conference (with the Zimmerwald group) but should not take part in the second Conference with the official socialists.

The Conference of the Works' Committees on the Control of Production by the Workers.

St. Petersburg, June 16th. The Conference of the Works' Committees passed a resolution by 297 votes to 21, 44 refraining from voting, with regard to the fight against economic decline. The resolution states that the country be saved from catastrophe on bureaucratic lines. It is necessary that the workers should control production; this however can only be put into effect through the power of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets. A resolution was passed unanimously with regard to creating a central committee of the Works' Committees.

Banishment of Grimm.

St. Petersburg, June 15th. Hoffmann, the Swiss Foreign Minister, authorised the Swiss Ambassador in St. Petersburg to inform Grimm, the President of the Zimmerwald International Socialist Commission, that Germany was prepared to conclude a separate peace with Russia.

This document fell into the hands of the Provisional Government, which held Grimm responsible. Although he denied everything, the Government resolved to banish him from Russia.

Opening of the Soviet Congress.

St. Petersburg, June 16th. The All-Russian Soviet Congress was opened this evening. After the election of the president and other officers and even before proceeding to the first point on the agenda, the case of Grimm, the President of the Zimmerwald Socialist Commission, was dealt with. Martov spoke in defence of Grimm, Zeretelli, Skobeliev and Kerensky on the other hand were in favour of his banishment. Zinoviev, in a long speech, explained the standpoint of the Bolsheviks, and demanded that the affair be dealt with by the Soviet and the parties. The resolution of the Provisional Government was approved by an overwhelming majority.

The "Pravda" on the Grimm Affair.

R. Grimm has been expelled from Russia. The Russian Government has intercepted a telegram in which it is said that Hoffmann, the Swiss Minister, is endeavouring to make use of Grimm as an agent of the German imperialists (this is acknowledged by Grimm himself). Grimm was asked for an explanation. Had he been a consistent internationalist, he would have declared clearly and directly (as has often been declared by all the international Socialists of every country) that he regarded Hoffmann as an imperialist provocative agent, just as much as he did the Ministers of all capitalist Governments without exception. As he did not do this, as he did not assert that he was neither directly nor indirectly in alliance with his own Government, by which the telegram was inspired, he had to submit to being expelled by the imperialist Government of the Russian capitalists.

What shall we say however about the ugly part played by the "Socialist" Ministers, who did not even call a conference of their own parties (the S. R. and the Mensheviks) and who undertook a function of this kind in the service of the Russian imperialists!

The Effect of the Russian Revolution Abroad.

The Party Conference of Swiss Social Democracy opposed to Social Imperialism.

Zurich, June 9th. (Wolff telegram). The Party Conference of Swiss Social Democracy was held in Berne yesterday and to-day. A telegram was despatched to the St. Petersburg Labour Party, congratulating it on the brilliant success of the revolution. A resolution was passed identifying the Conference with the criticism and condemnation passed by the Kienthal Conference on the attitude of the International Socialist Bureau. The policy of the "Social Imperialists" and "Social Patriots" was decidedly condemned by a resolution, stress being laid on the principles of the class war.

The chief subject discussed at the Party Conference was the attitude towards militarism. After a long discussion, a resolution was passed, which proclaimed the intention to fight on principle against militarism, chauvinism and nationalism and against the bourgeois methods of educating the young. The party and its representatives in the authorities should reject all demands, credits and law which serve to maintain and strengthen militarism or which might conjure up complications likely to lead to war. This motion was vigorously combated, among others by deputies Greulich (Zurich) and Gustav Müller (Berne), the well-known parliamentary leaders of Swiss Social Democracy, who insisted that it was a duty to defend one's country against attack and advocated the point of view that resolutions with regard to military questions could only be decided upon at an international congress.

The International Trade Union Conference in Stockholm.

Stockholm, June 3th. The International Conference of the Trade Union National Organisations met to-day in the committee room of the Trade Union National Centre of Sweden. Representatives of the Trade Union Leagues of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland took part in the conference. The matters to be dealt with the Conference were: The report of the I. F. T. U. for 1915/16; the resolutions passed by the Conference of the Trade Unions of England, France and Italy, held in Leeds in August 1916, which were formulated by the Paris Bureau and transmitted to the national centres by Jouhaux; and the draft of the I. F. T. U., both of them concerning the international trade union demands to be presented for inclusion in the peace treaty.

After a short debate, the Conference resolved, on the basis of a motion put by Legien, to call another conference in Switzerland on September 17th, 1917, which would concern itself exclusively with ensuring the rights of workers, the protection of workers and the insurance of workers as one of the most important terms of the peace treaty.

The Conference sent a telegram of greeting to the St. Petersburg Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet, in which it expressed the hope that the trade unions of Russia would send representatives to the next International Trade Union Conference.

The Execution of Roumanian Revolutionaries.

Bukharest, beginning of June. Thirty-two Roumanian Socialists, including Comrade Wechsler, who, together with Comrade Rakovski had been let out prison by workers and soldiers on May 1st 1917, were brought before a court martial, sentenced to death and shot. This happened during the first days of June.

This news caused great excitement in the Petrograd Soviet. A considerable number of the members of the Workers' Soviet protested vehemently.

The Roumanian Governments is trying in every way to prevent Roumania being "infected" by the Russian revolution. Large numbers of revolutionaries have been imprisoned. Apart from the thirty-two Left Socialists murdered by the Roumanian Government, a number of other revolutionaries who sympathise with the Zimmerwald Left and with the Russian Bolsheviks, were executed in secret.

Friedrich Adler's Fate.

Vienna, June 16th, 1917. As is well known, the St. Petersburg Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet has addressed an appeal to the Socialists of the Central Powers, in which they are called upon to organise a movement to prevent Friedrich Adler being executed. According to telegraphic reports, the death sentence passed on Friedrich Adler will not be carried out.

The Decline and the Campaign of the Proletariat Against it.

By N. Lenin.

(Published in the "Pravda" of June 17th 1917.)

In to-day's number (of the "Pravda" of June 17th 1917. — Editor) we publish the resolution passed by the Conference of the Work's Committee with regard to the question of the economic measures to be taken for combating the decline.

The fundamental idea of this resolution is the question of how the conditions for genuine control of the capitalists and of production can be opposed to the phrase of the bourgeoisie and of the petty bourgeois officials with regard to control. The bourgeois are lying when they describe as "control", the systematic measures taken by the State for ensuring threefold or even tenfold profits to the capitalists. The petty bourgeois, partly from naïveté, partly from egotism, place their faith in the capitalists and the capitalist State, in that they are content with the emptiest bureaucratic planning where control is concerned.

The resolution passed by the workers places in the foreground the following points as being the most important: 1. How are we to set about it in order that the profits of the capitalists may in reality "not be protected"? 2. How are commercial secrets to be exposed? 3. How are we to set about ensuring that the workers have the majority in the organisations for control? 4. What must be done in order that the organisation (of control and administration), an organisation "of national standard", should be managed by the Soviets of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies, and not by the capitalists?

Unless these measures are taken, all talk about control and regulation is merely empty words or is even practising fraud on the people.

The leaders of our petty bourgeoisie, the Narodniki and the Mensheviks ("Isvestiya", "Labour Gazette") are opposing this truth, which must be clear to every class-conscious and thinking worker without further explanation. Unfortunately, the writers of the "Novaya Shisn", who frequently vacillate between us and them, have this time descended to their level.

Comrades Avilov and Basarov have covered their "fall" into the slough of petty bourgeois blind confidence, love of compromise and bureaucratic scheming by arguments with a ring of Marxism in them.

Let us examine these arguments.

We, "Pravda" people, are said to be deviating from Marxism towards syndicalism in defending the resolution of the Organisation Bureau (which was accepted by the Conference). Shame on you, comrades Avilov and Basarov! — a lack of attention (or card-sharpening) of this kind is only compatible with the reputation of the "Rjetch" and the "Yedinstvo". With us there is not the slightest trace of anything resembling that humorous handing over of the railways to the railwaymen, of the leather factories to the leather workers; with us, the point is a control of the workers which takes the form of the entire regulation of production and distribution by the workers in a "national organisation" (which makes "extensive use of the urban and rural co-operatives") for the exchange of grain for manufactured products; the point is the demand that "the whole power of the State should pass into the hands of the Soviets of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies".

Only such persons as have not read the resolutions to the end, or who do not understand how to read, could, with a good conscience, discover any syndicalism in them.

Only pedants whose "conception" of Marxism is that of Struve and all Liberal bureaucrats, are capable of such reflections as: "To pass over State capitalism — is Utopia", "the

type of regulation itself must preserve the character of State capitalism, even in our country".

If we take the sugar syndicate or the State railways in Russia or the naphtha magnates etc., what is that but State capitalism? Is it possible with a "wave of a wand" to do away with what already exists?

The point is just that there are people who have made out of Marxism a rigid bourgeois doctrine and who withdraw themselves from the concrete tasks of throbbing life — and it is life which has practically united the syndicates in industry with the farming of the small peasants in the villages — by observations which they call erudite, but which are in reality extremely banal, about a "permanent revolution", about the "introduction of socialism" and other nonsense.

To business! To business! Less excuses, let us apply ourselves to practice! Are the profits of the war purveyors, profits of 500% and so on to remain untouched? Yes or no? Are the workers to be given the possibility of controlling affairs? Yes or no?

To all these matter of fact questions, Comrades Avilov and Basarov give no answer; they slide down to the level of helpmates to the bourgeoisie, without noticing it themselves, by means of "Struvian" reflections, which sound "almost Marxist". There is nothing the bourgeois desires more than to be able to answer the people's questions with regard to the scandalous profits of the war purveyors and with regard to the decline in our national economy with "erudite" reflections about the "Utopian character" of socialism.

These reflections are stupid to the degree of absurdity, for it is small farming which makes socialism objectively impossible; and it is not small farming we wish to expropriate, we do not even wish to regulate or control it.

The "State regulation" of which the Mensheviks, the Narodniki and all bureaucrats (who have dragged Comrades Avilov and Basarov along with them) speak in order to extricate themselves by fine excuses, representing it as a great project in order to protect the profits of the capitalists to which they refer as something wonderful in order to preserve "commercial secrecy" — it is this State regulation which we want to introduce without any deception. This is the pith of the question, dear "almost Marxists", not however the "introduction" of socialism!

It is not a question of the regulation and control of the workers by the capitalist class, but vice versa. Not confidence in the State, worthy of a Louis Blanc, but a demand for a State under the control of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat — that is the form the fight against decline should take. Any other resolution is empty words and delusion.

The Conference of the Works' Committees.

Article from the "Pravda" of June 13th.

The Conference of the representatives of all the Works' committees in St. Petersburg was opened yesterday.

This conference could not have been held at a more appropriate time. It sprang from the requirements of life, it arose from "below", the workers themselves thought it out and organised it. This Conference is faced by a very serious task.

Our capitalists, who are thirsting for profits and guided by their own interests alone, are — even according to the newspapers which protect the present Government — offering "passive resistance", interfering with production, carrying out "masked lockouts" and driving the country to starvation and ruin. In the factories and works, the workers see these attacks of the capitalists with their own eyes, they sense the policy of these mushroom "republicans" on their own bodies.

The situation is becoming more acute from day to day. The capitalists have brought things so far that we were already on the verge of a great railway strike — a strike, the beginning of which the Executive Committee only succeeded in postponing by taking special measures. We all know what incalculable results a strike of the railwaymen in the railway centres of St. Pe-

tersburg and Moscow might bring with it at the present moment.

The economic collapse is becoming more and more serious. There is no way of salvation unless the actual control of production passes into the hands of the workers.

Our country can only be saved if a number of decisive revolutionary measures are taken which do not stop short at the "legal" profits of the capitalists and landowners. It is a matter of course that the worthy capitalists and their ten Ministers who have seats in the Provisional Government and who rule Russia, will fight to the death against such measures. Arresting the collapse of our economics means getting rid of the capitalists; getting rid of the capitalists means taking the power into our own hands — into the hands of the workers and of the poorest strata of the population.

Our comrades who are delegates to the Conference must, above all, form a clear idea as to the connection between "economics" and "policy". All the important questions of life in our country fuse into one, into the question of questions: Who shall possess the power in our country? Unless we solve this question, we cannot advance a single important step along the path of arresting economic ruin.

We heartily welcome the Conference. We hope that the experiences of the last few have shown the majority of the St. Petersburg workers what is the great solution: All the power to the Soviets of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies!

The Soviets and the Power of the of the State.

From Lenin's speech at the First All-Russian Soviet Congress.

The Soviets are an institution which does not exist in any bourgeois parliamentary State of the usual kind and which cannot exist side by side with a bourgeois government. This is that type of democratic State which, in our Party resolutions, we have described as a peasants' and proletarians' democratic republic, and in which the whole power is in the hands of the Soviets, the Soviets of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

It is in vain to believe that this is a theoretical question, it is futile to try to circumvent it, it is useless to object that some institution or other can coexist with the Soviets. Yes, they do coexist, but it is just this coexistence which leads to friction and to innumerable misunderstandings and conflicts. It is just this which is responsible for the transition from the first boom of the Russian revolution, from its first advance, to the standstill and the retrogression which we see to-day in our Coalition Government, in its whole home and foreign policy, in connection with the imperialist offensive for which it is preparing.

One or the other. Either a perfectly ordinary bourgeois government — then there is no need for Soviets of Deputies of Workers, Soldiers Peasants etc., for they will be dispersed by the counter-revolutionary generals who, in spite of all Minister Kerensky's fine words, have control of the army, or they will die an inglorious death. These institutions have no other alternative; they cannot stand still, they cannot move backwards, they can only exist if they advance with tempestuous impetus. This is a type of State which was not invented by the Russians, it is not a mere flight of fancy but it has been created by the revolution; for the revolution could not be victorious in any other way.

Chronicle of Events.

June 11th.

Shingarev, the Minister of Finance, informs the Press representatives that the financial position of the country is very serious.

The French Minister A. Thomas, a socialist, declares that the French socialists will do everything possible to dissuade their Government from the imperialist aims of the war, but that they, on their part, expect the Russians to conclude a separate peace and to preserve the actual forces of their army.

The Party Conference of the S.R. deals with the question of the Coalition Government and of the International.

June 12th.

The Provisional Government confirms the appointment, made by the Kronstadt Soviet, of Partchevsky as Commissary of the town of Kronstadt.

Demonstration in favour of the eight hours' day by the industrial and commercial employees in Moscow.

Opening of the Conference of the Works' Committees in St. Petersburg.

June 13th.

The "Pravda" publishes an appeal of the St. Petersburg Metal Workers' Union calling upon all metal workers to join the St. Petersburg Union.

The St. Petersburg Conference of the Works' Committees passes the resolution moved by the Organisation Bureau of the Conference, with regard to the situation of industry and its control by the workers.

G. W. Plekhanov is chosen as the representative of the railway employees in the St. Petersburg Soviet.

June 14th.

Meeting of the All-Russian Conference of large industrialists and bankers. Press representatives were not admitted. Only one resolution dealing with the formation of a central "Trade and Industrial Organ" was briefly communicated.

June 15th.

The Provisional Government refuses to recognise the independence of the Ukraine until the Constituent Assembly meets.

The Conference of the Works' Committees deals with the following points on the agenda: the question of the Labour Exchange and the question as to the function of the Works' Committees in the trade union movement.

The Conference of the large industrialists and bankers appeals to the Government, reminding it that it is its duty to promote industry and to protect order and private property.

The Commission appointed by the Provisional Government to investigate into the arrests which have taken place in Kronstadt has started work.

The St. Petersburg Soviet elects eight delegates to the All-Russian Soviet Congress.

Opening of the extraordinary Party Conference of Finnish Social Democracy.

June 16th.

Opening of the All-Russian Soviet Congress. The first point on the agenda is the relation of the Soviets to the Provisional Government.

Final Session of the Conference of the Works' Committee.

The "Isvestiya" publishes the results of the municipal elections in St. Petersburg. The socialist parties, which support the policy of the Soviet Executive, receive 357,109 votes, the Cadets 152,000 and the Bolsheviki 117,755.