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**The Upheaval in Vienna.**

By Willi Schlamm (Vienna).

The Austrian proletariat has had a terrible awakening from its peaceful dream. "Red" Vienna is only a blood-red Vienna. After two days of fearful slaughter, the Vienna working class — abominably abandoned and betrayed by the leaders of the Social Democratic Party — has been crushed by the blindly raging forces of "law and order".

The immediate cause of the bloody events was a gigantic and spontaneous demonstration of the working class of Vienna against the acquittal of two fascists who, on 30th January last, murdered a worker and a working class child.

The Austrian bourgeoisie, which, with the help of the League of Nations, had managed to extricate itself from a state of economic collapse, has for some years past been organising fascism in order to be able to complete the economic and political subjugation of the Austrian proletariat. In face of a working class possessing the possibilities, the power and the organisations which the working class of Austria possesses, the process of restoring bourgeois economy can only be accomplished after the political subjugation of the proletariat. The second Seipel government is the conscious expression of the policy of the Austrian bourgeoisie.

The Austrian social democracy, this show-piece of the II. International, could, with its reformist policy, appear before the masses with sham successes only so long as the bourgeoisie was compelled to pursue a policy of weakness and concessions. With the strengthening of the bourgeoisie and fascism, the flourishing period of the Austro-Marxist conjuring was past. In the course of two years, one worker after another has been vilely slaughtered by fascist provocateurs. The growing indignation of the masses and their desire to take adequate measures of self-defence, were continually damped down with

reassuring statements and promises by the social democratic leaders.

This time, however, the indignation broke out in an elemental form and with wonderful and tremendous force. In fact the Vienna working class has risen in a powerful revolt and has proved that it is to be counted among the best and most courageous battalions of the world revolution. But at the same time it has proved, at the cost of 1500 wounded, 150 killed and a severe defeat of the proletariat, the baseness and the treachery of the Austrian social democracy.

On Thursday, July 14th, late in the evening, the acquittal of the fascist murderers was made known. The Communist Party summoned the workers to protest and to a mass demonstration to be held on Friday evening.

But early on Friday morning the workers in numerous factories ceased work and proceeded to march to the centre of the city. The police proceeded systematically and attempted to break up the first groups of workers who had arrived, but the tremendous masses of workers which were arriving at every moment soon made this attempt impossible. The police still continued their provocation and at ten o'clock the first shots were fired. In the meantime the masses had completely filled the great Ringstraße, and although they were quite unarmed, defended themselves against the police and disarmed many of the latter.

One police station from which shots had been fired was cleared out and demolished. In the meantime, huge crowds had assembled before the Courts of Justice, where they were suddenly fired upon from the interior of the building. The demonstrators commence a fierce attack on the premises, which

they finally capture and set on fire. Bright flames are soon shooting up from the hated building. The working people of Vienna has stormed the Bastille of Austrian class justice! The fire-brigade is prevented by the masses from extinguishing the flames.

There now appears upon the scene the political fire-brigade: Herr Seitz, the social democratic Mayor of Vienna, and Julius Deutsch, two shining lights among the social democratic leaders, attempt to extinguish the flames. They are received with a storm of indignation and are obliged to retreat for the time being. In the meantime the police have suddenly disappeared. But this is only a stratagem! After a short time the police are to be seen advancing simultaneously from various directions in closed ranks, armed with carbines and military rifles. They now commence firing volley after volley into the crowd. But the workers do not draw back. There is only one cry raised: Weapons! Barricades are erected. And for an hour and a half the unarmed crowds withstand the concentrated fire of the police troops.

The workers continue the fight with passionate enthusiasm, while an unending line of automobiles removes the innumerable dead and wounded. It is some hours before the murderous fire disperses the compact masses. Early in the afternoon troops of the Republican army with machine guns, march against the workers. (According to the law such a measure requires the express sanction of the Mayor, in this case the social democrat Herr Seitz.) In the afternoon the armed forces gain control of the inner city. Now they cannot and will not withdraw. Punitive expeditions now proceed against the working class districts. During the evening and till late in the night they drive furiously through the working class quarters, shooting wildly in every direction. This night takes toll of dozens of dead.

And now it is early Saturday morning. No newspapers have appeared. Only a news-sheet of the social democratic party and the "Rote Fahne" (organ of the Communist Party). It has not allowed itself to be suppressed either by the police or the measures of force of the socialist party leaders. The socialist party executive calls upon the workers to obey in every way the decrees of the police, to stay at home and not allow themselves to be provoked by "Communist hooligans". Not a single demand, not a single fighting slogan! Only the spontaneous general strike is recognised; but only for 24 hours. And the ridiculous farce of a railway and postal strike is proclaimed to be the decisive fighting means of the working class.

The Communist Party calls for the arming of the workers, for an indefinite general strike, and summons the workers to come into the streets. Its slogans are:

Down with the government! Fight for the workers' and peasants' government! Disarming of all fascist organisation! Setting up of armed self-defence organisation in place of the Schutzbund, which has proved an absolute failure! Release of the proletarian Reichswehr from the barracks and fraternisation with them! The Communist slogans are received with unexampled enthusiasm. But the C. P. is too weak in order to give an organisatory leadership. The masses are without leaders.

Saturday night. The police are firing in the working class district of Hernalis; the workers build barricades and hold them. But they have no weapons!

Early Sunday morning. The socialist party leaders, who on the previous day had distributed among the masses a leaflet fiercely attacking the Communists — not a word against the government! — succeed in getting the tramway men to return to work. In the night of Saturday and Sunday the Communist Party issues an illegal leaflet to the masses, calling on them to hold out and to carry on the fight for the well-known demands. General feeling is in favour of the Communists, but it is unorganised.

Sunday afternoon. Conference of the carefully selected social democratic functionaries, in which a new act of treachery is sanctioned. The social democratic municipal administration, in order to cut the ground from under the Communists who are demanding the arming of the working class, has set up a legal municipal constabulary. It consists of a thousand functionaries whose fidelity to the S. P. is beyond all question. It is armed with pistols and is to work together with the government police. Its task is "to restore law and order in our sense".

The Conference of functionaries reflects only to the slightest

extent the mood of the masses. A disappearing minority demands weapons and opposes the new municipal police. The S. P. leadership has the apparatus sufficiently firmly in hand again to be able to bring about the resumption of work in the factories early on Monday morning.

The C. P. calls upon the workers to continue the strike, and issues the slogan: general strike on Wednesday 20th July, the day of the funeral of the fallen. The socialist party leaders want to bury the dead without participation of the working class.

The Seipel government has seized the first opportunity in order to crush the working class by making use of the S. P. leaders and to break the strength of the proletarian organisations. In doing so the government has deliberately opposed a section of the bourgeoisie which is in favour of a policy of coalition with the socialist party. Seipel does not want any coalition and he prevents it by means of mass murder. The socialist party leaders want a coalition, and therefore left the working class without weapons and without leaders, as they wish to prove themselves to be "fit to govern".

The Communist Party placed itself at the head of the struggle, and is now persecuted with boundless hate by the government and the S. P. leaders. At the same time a campaign of incitement, inspired by England, is proceeding against Russia. The Vienna insurrection is crushed for the time being, but the C. P. is seeking to approach the masses and is beginning to organise them for successful counter-attack. It needs the help and support of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world.

## RED VIENNA

### Letter from Vienna.

(The following has already been sent to the press.)

Monday, July 18, 1927.

#### The Cause of the Bloody Events.

The immediate cause of the events of 15th and 16th July was the acquittal of the two members of the Frontkämpferbund (a fascist organisation), Tscharmann and Pinter, who, on January 30, last, in Schattendorf, fired from an ambush on a detachment of the Republican Schutzbund (a workers' defence corps under socialist leadership) which was peacefully marching past, killing a war invalid and a child and wounding a number of workers.

The Austrian bourgeoisie, after having recently concluded the shameful pact with the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, under which the latter handed over to it the rest of the weapons still in the possession of the working class, believed that it could now safely provoke the workers still further by acquitting the two fascist murderers who were brought up for trial before the Schattendorf Court.

The causes which contributed to this incident becoming the occasion for tremendous demonstrations and fights are the following:

1. The Schattendorf murders were the last of a long series of acts of murder committed by fascist against workers, and which murders have remained completely unpunished. The government, the apparatus of justice and the police openly encouraged the fascists and in every way promote all the reactionary organisations, which they are holding in reserve in order to use them when they deem the time ripe for adopting an open fascist policy against the working class.

2. The Vienna proletariat, which feels conscious of increased power since the election victory of April 24, regarded the acquittal as a direct provocation. In addition there is the fact that, in spite of the increased parliamentary representation gained by the social democracy, the workers have not seen the slightest fruits of the election victory. On the contrary, not only has the old age and invalidity insurance which was decided on by the last parliament, not come into force, but the workers, as a result of the rationalisation, are undergoing wage reductions and intensified exploitation. Added to this there is the enormous and chronic unemployment.

#### The Demonstration on Friday.

When the acquittal of the murderers of workers became known on Friday morning, tremendous excitement seized the workers in the factories and workshops. At 8 o'clock in the morning the workers on the city railway and the tramway

workers spontaneously ceased work in order, in the first place, to carry out a one hour protest strike. They were immediately followed by a number of big factories, in the first place the municipal undertakings, the workers of which are all organised in the Social Democratic Party. In the town hall also it was decided to cease work for an hour. But at nine o' clock the workers did not resume work, as the Socialist Party leaders were hoping and praying, but formed themselves into firm ranks from each workshop and factory, and marched to the Ringstrasse and the Parliament buildings in order to protest against bourgeois class justice and against the government. The demonstration gained in size and numbers as it was reinforced by a number of the staffs of other factories en route. Thus in the morning hours tens of thousands of workers proceeded to the Ring. They marched in a perfectly disciplined manner, and were quite unarmed. It was not, as the bourgeois and also the social democratic press maintains, an unorganised rabble which had been joined by all undisciplined elements, but a number of ordered, perfectly disciplined processions, marching according to factory and workplace, which streamed together from all the streets leading to the Ring. Their indignation at the acquittal found partial expression in the shouting in unison of slogans such as: "Down with the murderers of workers". "Down with class justice!" "Down with the Seipel government!"

Even before the first procession came to the Parliament buildings the police began their monstrous provocation. Mounted police charged from the Parliament buildings, and began to ride down the demonstrators who were marching calmly forwards. The police drew their sabres and struck wildly and furiously upon the workers. This shameful attack, ordered by the police officers, let loose the tremendous pent-up indignation of the workers. At the first moment the workers were driven back, but they immediately rallied together again and now forced the police back. In the meantime the demonstrators were reinforced by fresh arrivals from the side streets. In order to check the attacks of the mounted police the workers commenced to build barricades. For this purpose they seized scaffolding, planks and ladders from nearby premises where building operations were being conducted, and placed them across the street. At another place they barred the street with two big motor waggons. The mounted and foot police were compelled to withdraw in face of the hail of stones from the masses whom they had provoked. At this moment the police from an adjacent police station advanced and opened a furious fire. This led to a fierce fight for the police station. The unarmed workers now gave a proof of their extraordinary courage and energy. They conducted a regular pitched battle for the capture of the police station from which the police had fired. The result was a number of dead and wounded. The fight was continued even in the police station itself. Finally, the workers captured the police station and set it on fire, but it was extinguished later in spite of the protest of the workers.

Meanwhile the masses gathered afresh round the Courts of Justice which are situated behind the Parliament buildings. In the Courts of Justice there was quartered a strong force of police; but the masses remained in the square fronting this building. Suddenly the police began to fire volleys from the Courts of Justice. In a few moments the square was covered with killed and wounded. But the workers did not allow themselves to be intimidated, but now directed their indignation against the Courts of Justice, the symbol of their suppression and of unrestrained class justice. In spite of fearful sacrifices they stormed the premises in face of the fierce fire of the police. Step by step, the unarmed mass fought their way to the building; entered the windows forced open the gigantic door, threw the bundles of documents, pictures of the Kaiser, the golden eagles and other symbols of the old monarchy into the street. These were gathered into a heap and set on fire. The workers now forced their way from room to room and set everything on fire. Bright flames were soon ascending up from the Courts of Justice.

It was at this point that the social democratic leaders, who up to now had left the workers completely in the lurch, came into action. But solely, and against the protest of the masses, to render possible the work of extinguishing the flames. The Republican Schutzbund also now assembled round the Courts of Justice. Of course they were unarmed. The leaders of the Republican Schutzbund, however, did not intervene in order to defend the workers, but in order to help the hard-pressed police, to aid in extinguishing the fire and to restore law and order generally.

Regarding the intervention of the leaders of the Schutzbund the Social Democratic Party, in its first "news-sheet", wrote as follows:

"Only policemen were still in the Courts of Justice. They, who, by their firing on the crowd, were the real originators of the disastrous conflagration, had now hidden themselves away in the last corners in order to escape the excited crowd. The members of the Schutzbund, who courageously, and in spite of the terrible smoke and fumes which now filled the stairways and corridors, climbed to the highest stories in order to rescue the lives of the police, were now obliged to use every means in order to bring the police in safety from the burning buildings. The police delivered up their weapons, and these were all piled into a great heap in the hall of the courts of justice. These weapons were left in the burning buildings. Some of the police, however, were recognised by the crowd and the Schutzbundler, (members of the Schutzbund) did not always succeed, in view of the fury of those gathered round, in bringing them away with a whole skin. Whilst, however, the Schutzbundler, were endeavouring, at the risk of their lives, to convey the police into safety, some of the police, crazy with fear, suddenly fired from the third story on to the crowd below.

"The sight of the brightly burning courts of justice had increased the excitement of the crowd beyond all bounds. They would not allow this huge building, which seemed to them to be the stronghold of fearful class justice, to be saved from destruction. In their mad excitement they now turned against the fire brigade and prevented the barricades from being cleared away. The line of fire-engines had to go back again into the Reichsratstrasse. The Schutzbundler vainly endeavoured to clear the way for the fire engines. They advanced a few steps forward, but were again held up and forced back. Further detachments of Schutzbundler now came to their aid; but it was a vain endeavour. The crowd had not given away a step. Even when Julius Deutsch, member of the Reichstag, appeared at the head of some divisions of the Schutzbund and endeavoured to make the crowd understand that there was no sense in preventing the work of extinguishing the flames, he met with no greater success. The flames rose higher and higher; they had seized the roof and the danger for the neighbouring houses, especially the buildings of the Deutsche Volkstheater, became more and more threatening.

The Lord Mayor, Seitz now appeared. He mounted one of the big fire engines and gave the order to drive to the burning building. When however, the auto was set in motion, even the regard for the Lord Mayor of Red Vienna was overpowered by the furious indignation at the shameful justice symbolized in the burning building. Furious cries arose and the firemen had to give up the attempt."

It should be added that the Republican Schutzbund not only rescued the police, but even dressed them up in their own tunics and caps in order to bring them safely away from the Courts of Justice and to protect them from the workers on whom they had fired.

In the meantime a portion of the demonstrators had proceeded to Strozsigasse, where are situated the premises of the "Reichspost" (the organ of the governing Christian-Socialist Party, which had taken the fascist murderers under their protection, describing their acquittal as a "Clear judgement") and completely demolished the premises. The "Wiener Neueste Nachrichten", the organ of the Pan-Germans and also the "Dötz" the organ of the fascists, shared the same fate.

The police took a fearful revenge. During the whole of Friday afternoon and Sunday morning they fired on quite harmless people who were standing in groups and discussing events. Such shootings took place at the corner of Bellaria, the Opera, the Parliament, the Museum and in the Gumpendorferstrasse. The police even fired into the Rathaus, which had been converted into a First-Aid station, killing several people. 50 killed were officially reported on the first day. Over 100 killed and over 1000 wounded are the results of this planned attack of the Reaction on the Austrian working class.

In their blind rage the police slaughtered groups of workers and even passers by. The unheard of brutal action and sole responsibility of the police is even admitted in bourgeois circles. The Courts of Justice are for the greater part burnt down. The Socialist Party of Austria, however, is already com-

forcing itself and others with the announcement that it will be possible to build it up again just as it was before.

During the course of the day, as fast as the news of the happenings in the city became known, the working class everywhere at once downed tools. At midday the street cars and city railways had ceased running. The shops were closed. On Friday afternoon, a general strike prevailed, without the leaders of the S. P. and the trade union Council having issued any order. Towards evening the postal and telegraph employees ceased work.

#### The further Course of the Events of 16th and 17th July.

On Saturday, July 16, the general strike in Vienna was complete. The railway and transport strike extended to the whole of Austria. Many factories outside of Vienna also joined in the strike. The Social Democratic Party had issued the order that the workers should carry out the general strike as a one-day protest strike, and should abstain from any further demonstrations and meetings as being "undignified". In spite of this, big gatherings were held on Saturday in the working class quarters, while it came to demonstrations and bloody fights in the open streets. The police, who on the previous day had not ventured to enter the working class quarters surrounding the inner city, sent special troops into these proletarian districts. At the same time the inner districts were barred to the workers by the police, who had been reinforced from the provinces, and by military troops.

In the working class quarters the police drove in patrol waggons through the streets, firing blindly on passers-by. This again resulted in many killed and wounded. In the working class district of **Hernals**, a police station from which the police had fired was seized by the workers. Similar events took place in the working class districts of **Ottakring** and **Favoriten**. In these two districts barricades were set up against the police.

During the whole of Friday and Saturday the entire population was in the streets excitedly discussing the situation, and had demanded the immediate resignation of the government and of the President of the Police, in spite of directions to the contrary by the social democratic party leaders. At the same time very many social democratic workers were filled with rage against the shameful tactics of the S. P. leaders and against the **Schutzbündler**. It came to fierce collisions between social democratic workers (not, as the social democrat News Sheet of July 17, reports, "communists and rowdies") and **Schutzbündler**, because the latter had not acted as defence troops of the working class, but as enemies of the working class.

On Sunday, general calm prevailed in Vienna. Acting in accordance with the instructions of the Trade Union Committee, the tramway men had resumed work. But in the suburbs, as well as in the city, people were still excitedly discussing events. Little groups gathered in front of the proclamations of the Chancellor which had been posted up. The announcement of the Chancellor has aroused great indignation among the workers; for the government distorts in a shameful manner its own actions and those of the police.

The government is determined to continue its course. It feels itself to be master of the situation in view of the attitude of the Socialist Party leaders. It refuses even to convene Parliament until the transport and railway strike has been ended, let alone to remove the President of the Police.

Today, 18th of July, the workers have returned to the factories in accordance with the instructions of the Trade Union Committee and the Conference of the social democratic Party functionaries of Vienna which was held on Sunday. In many factories there is great indignation at the unconditional calling off of the general strike.

All the Vienna newspapers have appeared again today. They are of course full of stupid calumnies against the workers, the Communist Party and Soviet Russia, for which they were given the cue by the Socialist Party in the news sheets it published during the strike.

Official reports give the number of dead at 82, including 4 policemen, that of the wounded at over 1000. But these figures are far too low. Up to the present 500 people have been arrested. (Comrade **Fiala** the secretary of the C. P. of Austria, has not been arrested, but some one else of the same name). The S. P. of Austria has not taken any steps in order to bring about the release of those arrested; its official press does not even mention the fact of these arrests.

#### The Attitude of the Social Democratic Party of Austria During the Fight.

The S. P. of Austria was taken completely by surprise by the spontaneous demonstrations and fights. Although its leaders, **Otto Bauer**, **Seitz**, **Deutsch**, **Glöckl** etc. were present in Parliament when the struggle commenced, they did nothing in order to convert the fight into a systematic political struggle up to the overthrow of the government. When they did not succeed in inducing the police to withdraw, in pacifying the crowd, and especially in extinguishing the burning Courts of Justice, they left things to take their own course. In fact they came forward openly to support the police who were threatened by the crowd. Thus, for example, town councillor **Speiser** protected a motor car filled with police from the fury of the crowd.

The tactics of the S. P. of Austria were directed solely towards diverting the struggle into "peaceful" channels. This is clearly to be seen from the four News Sheets issued during the time from 16th to 18th July. They could not but recognise the general strike which has been spontaneously carried out by the workers. But they twisted it into a one day's protest strike; and this on a Saturday, which is not a full working day. They called upon the workers to keep perfectly quiet, not to hold any demonstrations but to conduct "a quiet and dignified protest strike". They did not submit any demands to the government, but their "cunning tactics" aimed at obtaining satisfaction from the government. They are only demanding the immediate summoning of Parliament.

Already on Saturday morning the Social Democratic Party, in its appeal, explained to the workers that "hundreds of undisciplined elements have joined the great crowd of demonstrators, to the great misfortune of the latter. These few hundred youths have committed acts which do not count among fighting methods worthy of the working class". And in another part of the paper it was stated that, these undisciplined elements are Communists. This incitement against the Communists was continued in the following numbers, and the bourgeoisie were thereby given the hint to suppress the revolutionary working class: in the first place the Communists but also the revolutionary workers organised in the S. P.

In view of the fearful blood-bath carried out by the police, the S. P. was finally compelled to offer something to the workers, but which at the same time should serve to secure "law and order". It has therefore set up a **Municipal Police Force** (**Gemeindefschutzwache**). It will arm 1000 **Schutzbündler**, who, as is openly stated in the News-Sheet No. 3, will collaborate with the police of **Herr Schober**. (Republican Police President.) And what is meant by this collaboration is to be clearly seen from the third appeal of the Social Democratic Party: "Whoever (in this case only the "undisciplined workers" are meant) violently resists this proletarian defence force is to be treated as a violator of discipline and an enemy of the working class". It is clear, therefore, that this new body is only a new edition of the ordinary police, and will proceed against the revolutionary workers.

In order to obtain some sort of sanction from the working class for their bankrupt policy, there was held on Sunday afternoon a Conference of the Vienna functionaries of the Social Democratic Party. At this gathering **Otto Bauer** repeated the statements given in the News Sheets, and did not fail to attack the Communists. He sharply opposed the slogan of arming the workers, a slogan which, as he himself said, was received enthusiastically by the workers. He warned his hearers of civil war. What is most important however, he put forward no demands, but will wait until order is first restored and the government gives satisfaction.

During the debate there was a strong opposition to the municipal police force, because this body is intended to act together with the ordinary police against the working class. Discontent also showed itself at the tactics of the S. P. and the obvious failure of the leaders. The resolution submitted by **Otto Bauer** was, however, finally adopted. This resolution did not raise any demands, but only called for the punishment of the responsible heads of the police and a guarantee against the repetition of such behaviour. The **Municipal Police Force** is promised support.

Friedrich Adler, the secretary of the II. International, also took part in the debate. He had come to Vienna by aeroplane in order to take part in preventing the struggle developing into a political struggle for power and a civil war. During the discussion he declared that there "exists in Europe no possibility of bringing about the real power of the proletariat; therefore, peace and reconciliation are necessary". He stood only for the municipalising of the police.

Thus the action of the Social Democratic Party of Austria is a systematic throttling of the great and powerful movement of the Vienna working class. It would have been possible in this movement, as the workers enjoyed the sympathy of the soldiers who were confined in their barracks, to overthrow the government and to set up a workers and peasants government. The S. P. of Austria, however, has again consolidated the power of the bourgeoisie.

The funeral of the victims of the fighting is fixed for Wednesday the 20th July, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. According to the social democratic decision, only deputations are to be allowed to attend the funeral ceremonies, while the working class are to remain in the factories and carry out a quarter of an hour's protest strike.

#### The Attitude of the C. P. of Austria.

The C. P. of Austria, right from the commencement of the demonstration, has, by means of leaflets, a special number of the "Rote Fahne" (the Party organ), and by agitation among the masses, propagated the following slogans:

Disarming and disbanding of all fascist organisations.

Municipalisation of the police and its purging of all reactionary elements.

Arming of the proletariat.

Away with the Seipel government.

Fight for a workers and peasants' government.

The Communist Party declared that the general strike must be continued as being the most important fighting means for realising the demands of the proletariat.

The bourgeois press, which has again appeared today, is already crying with one voice: "Check the C. P.! Stop Moscow! A persecution of the Communists has already commenced. The premises of the C. P. have been searched by the police.

Tuesday, 19th. July 1927.

In accordance with a decision of the Social Democratic Party and the Trade Union Committee, the whole railway, postal and telegraphic service has been resumed this morning; but the government has already announced that Parliament will not meet before the beginning of next week. Meanwhile, the police persecutions and brutalities are being continued. Any worker admitting that he was present at Friday's demonstration is immediately placed under arrest.

### The "Pravda" on "Red Vienna".

Moscow, 18th July 1927.

An article in the "Pravda" entitled "Red Vienna" states:

"The social democrats have long made use of this term for reformist election purposes and as an advertisement for their municipal policy. Now it has become true, but quite in another sense than that desired by the social democrats. Vienna is being shaken by revolutionary struggles such as this town has never experienced since the year 1848. The Vienna proletariat has arisen; the tremendous struggle which is now shaking Austria, bears the typical characters of an elementary spontaneous mass movement just as all former revolutionary mass struggles in Austria.

But two circumstances give the present movement its special character and are converting it from a temporary explosion to the introduction of a period of mass struggles. These are the economic and international situation of Austria and the commencement of disintegration within Austrian social democracy, which is proceeding hand in hand with the growing influence of the slogans and the activity of our Communist Party. The catchword for the inner situation in Austria in the past few years has been "economic restoration". At the last elections the votes of the social democrats, which showed such a big increase, were cast by the workers in the first place as a fight

against reaction and fascist policy which finds its embodiment in Seipel. But this fight was no longer the same as formerly. Since the beginning of the present year new tones have been heard in the political music: the call for disarming the fascists and arming the working class.

And this is where the role of our Party must be emphasised. Hitherto it had been the custom to look upon the Communist Party of Austria as being without any importance, or even worse. In one day the system of Austrian social democracy, which had been built up with so many years of labour, collapsed like a house of cards. The masses swept over the barriers of the skilful "Left" reformist policy of Austro-Marxism and acted in a revolutionary manner. Up to the present moment the S. P. of Austria has not been very successful in damming and throttling the revolutionary mass movement. In spite of the intervention of the S. P. and of the trade unions the movement is maintaining its revolutionary character, extending to the whole of Austria and even rising to a higher stage. The bloody struggles are continuing; in the working class districts there is fighting with the police, workers' sentries guard the frontiers and control with motor boats the traffic on the Danube, workers occupy the Radio station and hold up military transports. These are magnificent actions of a revolutionary plan.

The S. P. has suffered a great defeat. For what is of importance is not that the Socialist Party and the trade unions, in view of their powerful organisations and their great influence, succeeded after a time in getting the movement for the greater part into their hands, but that it has come to this powerful mass insurrection, and that this movement in spite of the endeavours of the S. P., is retaining its revolutionary forms. The masses are faced with the question of struggle for the elementary vital demands; they are rejecting the social democratic path and are following the revolutionary path. And the stronger the organisational bonds of the S. P. which held them hitherto were, the more furious and stormy now is the revolutionary outbreak of the proletariat.

And in this revolutionary moment the "revolutionary" Socialist Party of Austria show themselves to be no better than their German, Italian and other colleagues. Crushing of the workers, creation of a new police force, blood-shed, persecution of Communists, shameful betrayal of the powerful revolutionary movement to the bourgeoisie. No matter what the outcome of the present movement may be, the consequences for the S. P. of Austria and the II. International will be epoch-making. In the insurrection of the Austrian workers the foundation is being laid for a mass Communist Party.

### Appeal for Help by the Austrian Red Aid.

Vienna, 18th July 1927.

The Austrian Red Aid has addressed to the proletarians of all countries the following appeal for urgently needed support:

The Austrian Red Aid needs immediate and extensive support. The Viennese workers have to mourn the loss of almost 100 killed. In addition to this a much greater number of seriously wounded are still lying in the hospitals, many of whom are dying, while others will be for a long time or even permanently incapable of work. Apart from this several hundred workers have been thrown into prison and are awaiting trial. Before all the Austrian Red Relief has the difficult task of supporting the families of the killed and severely wounded, the families who are besieging the offices of the Red Aid and are faced with starvation.

Help is urgently needed. The means of the Austrian Red Aid are not in the least sufficient to meet the tremendous claims which have suddenly been placed upon it.

A special task which has fallen to the Austrian Red Aid is the furnishing of information regarding the wounded and arrested. As the officials refuse to give any information and adopt the most brutal attitude to the anxious inquirers, members of all parties are compelled to apply to the Austrian Red Aid for news of friends and relatives.

Before all however, material aid is urgently necessary. Prompt and generous aid is the need of the hour.



# CHINA

## Revolution and Counter-Revolution in China.

By M. N. Roy.

Comrade Roy has sent the following article to the *Inprecorr.* from **Wuhan**. It was written at the **beginning of June**, and shows in broad outline the forces of revolution and counter-revolution which are at work in China. Ed.

"A sufficiently spectacular extirpation of communism and the would-be communists in Hunan and Hupeh can be relied upon" — Thus gloated a Shanghai imperialist journal over the recent reactionary upheavals inside the nationalist territories. This hearty welcome given by imperialism exposes the real nature of **Hsia Tao-Yin's** insurrection and of the **Changsha** coup d'état. The reactionary militarist elements in the national revolutionary army have undertaken a mission, the accomplishment of which will please imperialism; and imperialism relies upon the success of their mission. Obviously some tie binds the insurgent militarists of Hunan with imperialism. How could the latter be so confident of success of the rebels unless some way has been formed to aid them in their counter-revolutionary venture? It is as clear as daylight who stand behind and inspire these revolts. **Yang-Sin**, **Hsia Tao-Yin**, **Hsiu** and their known and unknown fellows are all pulled by a string from **Shanghai** passing through **Nanking**. This string, which is meant to strangle China, extends beyond **Shanghai** overseas to the **Chancelleries** and **bankouses** of imperialist capitals.

**Hsia Tao-Yin**, **Hsiu** and **Cie** do not massacre the poor peasants and hungry workers to defend the sacred right of private property, as they pretend. They are engaged in this murderous deed as **agents of imperialism**. Therefore, their mission is not "a sufficiently spectacular extirpation of communism and the would-be communists". It is to fight the national revolution which challenges imperialist domination and, by its very nature, is a standing menace to feudalism and its violent (peculiarly Chinese) expression, militarism.

The imperialist patrons of the renegades, in an unguarded moment, give the secret away. The crusade of these diminutive militarists is not directed only against communism. The "would-be communists" are also included in the list. This is clear.

Who are the "would-be" communists? These are people in China who cannot possibly be damned as communists, who are, nevertheless, hated by imperialism and their native allies. Communism is advocated by one revolutionary class — the proletariat. There is, however, more than one revolutionary class in the contemporary structure of Chinese society. These do not fight for communism, but fight for political and economic conditions which cannot be created unless foreign imperialism is cleared out of the country and feudalism with all its ramifications is completely eradicated. These non-proletarian revolutionary classes constitute the overwhelming majority of the Chinese population. They are the peasantry and the middle classes. These are called the "would-be communists" and **Hsia Tao-Yin**, **Hsiu** and **Co's** holy mission includes their "extirpation" also.

These revolutionary classes are united with the proletariat in the historic struggle for the overthrow of imperialism and the liquidation of feudalism under the flag of the Kuomintang. The emblem of the anti-imperialist fight and struggle of the Chinese people is the Nationalist government of **Wuhan**. Consequently, those who, under the inspiration and to the great satisfaction of imperialism, revolt to extirpate "communism and the would-be communists", are enemies of the national revolution, traitors to the Kuomintang and insurgents against the Nationalist Government. In one word they are counter-revolutionaries.

Development of the revolution always forces the crystallization of counter-revolution. Reactionary social elements, whose power and privilege are threatened by the revolution, naturally put up a resistance. The first task of the revolution is to break down this resistance. The Reaction, expressed through the militarism of **Sun Chuang-Fang**, **Chang Tsung-Chang** and **Wu Pei-Fu**, was given staggering blows by the victorious advance of

the nationalist revolutionary armies. The military forces of the reaction were rolled back; but the social basis of reaction, namely feudalism, still remained alive in the nationalist territories.

The next stage in the process of revolutionary development is to carry the victory over reaction further ahead — to attack the social basis of reaction. Class-differentiation was inevitable. The nationalist bourgeoisie had participated in the struggle against imperialism and militarism, both of which factors are detrimental to their broad economic interests. But as soon as the anti-imperialist and anti-militarist movement entered a period of revolutionary struggle, the nationalist bourgeoisie sought to betray it. The more revolutionary classes captured the leadership of the movement and pushed it further.

The nationalist revolutionary movement, based upon the oppressed middle classes, peasantry and the proletariat, attacks feudalism, which attack is a sign of its development. The Chinese revolution has entered the stage in which national revolution essentially becomes an agrarian revolution. In this period a new set of counter-revolutionary forces raise their ugly heads. Until now the revolution was felt mostly in the urban areas. The revolutionary activities of the proletariat and military operations were the main features of the revolution.

Now the social significance of the revolution is becoming evident. The revolution spreads to the villages and attacks the old social order based upon feudal economic relations. Therefore classes deriving benefit from the old social order, living and thriving upon unearned income from land, possessing absolute right to exploit the semi-serf peasant masses, resist the revolution. Their resistance is organically connected with that of the other counter-revolutionary forces, namely imperialism and the renegade national bourgeoisie. An unholy alliance of all the reactionary forces is thus formed to resist the revolution.

The unmistakable sign of the organic unity of all the diverse and territorially dispersed forces of reaction is that they all march under the self-same colour of anti-communism, varying only in shade. **Chang Tso-Lin** and his allies behead communists and massacre workers and peasants; **Chiang Kai-Shek** kills communists and destroys the labour movement; the little militarist of **Kwangtuung**, **Li Tsai-Shin**, murders communists and attempts to stamp out labour and peasant organisations; **Yang Sen** began his crusade against **Wuhan** by slaughtering the communists; imperialism repeatedly indicates its willingness to accommodate a nationalist government provided it will be free from communist influence; and, lastly, **Hsia Tao-Yin** and **Hsing Ho** undertake the holy mission of defending the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government from "excesses" committed by the peasant movement led by the communists.

In all these cases communism is only a bogey. The attack is actually against the national revolution. No one would believe that either imperialism or **Chang Tso-Lin** could be any more friendly to the national revolution than to the Communists. It cannot be otherwise with others who sail under similar colours. When one attacks the classes that are the social basis of the national revolution, the organs of the national revolution, namely the Kuomintang and the nationalist government are attacked.

Anti-imperialist struggle is not a thing in itself. It is not an abstract conception. The Chinese people fights against imperialism because it impedes the economic progress of the country. Feudalism is a backward economic stage. Anti-imperialist struggle, therefore, cannot be separated from the struggle for the destruction of feudalism. Imperialism and feudalism help each other to keep the Chinese people in political, economic and cultural backwardness. The fight against imperialism cannot be carried further without at the same time intensifying the struggle for the overthrow of feudal relations in the village. The party that will lead the anti-imperialist struggle must also support the fight for the liquidation of feudalism.

This being the case, the anti-peasant uprisings of the feudal-militarist elements are directed against the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government. The scare-crow of communism and the pretext of the so-called "excesses" cannot confuse the issue. Just as **Hsia Tao-Yin's** revolt, the coup d'état of **Changsha** is an open counter-revolutionary act. Its object is to destroy the anti-feudal movement in the village, and thereby shake the revolutionary democratic base of the Kuomintang and the Nationalist Government.

## The New Situation in China after the Treachery of the Generals to the Revolution.

By Tang Shin She.

The Chinese generals, who gained new accession of strength through the revolutionary movement and were therefore able to prolong their life for a certain time, have now thrown aside their masks and are showing themselves for what they really are. Chiang Kai Shek was the first to desert the masses and to show his brutality; he was followed by Feng Yu Hsiang and Tang Sen Dji. All three generals, who, even in the revolutionary camps, had carried on rivalry against each other, have joined forces in order to annihilate the Wuhan government. The reactionary generals as Chang Tso Lin and Co. have changed their colours somewhat and are likewise endeavouring to act along with the three first-named generals. Behind the generals there stand the various reactionary political organisations as Lien Du Chi (Association for the Study of the Constitution), Djou Tong Chi (Union of Traffic) etc.

Apart from the mutual rivalry there no longer exists any difference between the activity of the old reactionary generals and those who have deserted the revolution. Chang Tso Lin says: "I am a nationalist and stand for the abolition of the unequal treaties; I acknowledge the teachings of Sun-Yat-Sen". Feng Yu Hsiang, Tang Sen Dji and Chiang Kai Shek declare: "We are against the Reds and must annihilate the Communists". Never since the setting up of the Republic has there prevailed such agreement between all the generals of China as prevails today.

Chang Tso Lin, at the end of June appointed himself Generalissimo of the whole of the Chinese military forces. In spite of this he claims to be striving to collaborate with all the other generals in China. Is it possible for the generals to combine and create a united China? By no means. For each one considers before everything else his own personal power. In addition to this, the generals subordinate to the chief generals, Chiang Kai Shek, Feng Yu Hsiang, Tang Sen Dji, Chang Tso Lin etc., are split up into various camps. Before very long every petty general will be setting up his own government in China. The uniting of China, which had made great progress since the Autumn of last year under the flag of the Kuomintang, is today more remote than ever.

Apart from the common threatening of the Wuhan government, very little seems to have resulted from the collaboration against the North and South agreed upon by Feng Yu Hsiang and Chiang Kai Shek at the Hsuschau Conference. On the contrary, the Berlin Lokalanzeiger again reports a breach between these two. Feng Yu Hsiang even attempted to win over to his side one of Chiang Kai Shek's generals on the Shantung front. The model governor of Shansi, General Yen Shi Sen, after the Hsuschau conference, has not only not continued his march against Peking, but, at the request of Chang Tso Lin, has even accepted the role of mediator between the latter and Chiang Kai Shek and Feng Yu Hsiang. He is clever enough and does not, like the other generals, cherish plans of conquest beyond his powers, but only wants to consolidate his present position still further. Nobody therefore can say with certainty whom Yen Shi Sen will support or whom he will oppose.

How does the matter stand with the division of the territories under the command of the generals? The Chang Tso Lin clique possesses Manchuria and the provinces of Chili and Shantung. Feng Yu Hsiang has occupied Shensi, Kansu and Honan. Chiang Kai Shek and his followers claim possession of Kiangsu, Anhwei, Chekiang, Fukien, Kwantung and Kwangsi. As regards Tang Sen Dji, it is assumed that he will appropriate Hunan and Hupeh. Yen Shi Sen rules Shansi and Suiyuan. The generals of other provinces, as in Yunnan, Szechuan, Kuichow etc., who claim to be followers of the Kuomintang or the Nanking government, are practically pursuing only their own ends. It is also possible that Wu Pei Fu who, it is said, has fled from Honan to Szechwan, will establish a basis in the last named province.

The disunity in the Chang Tso Lin clique is well known. With Chiang Kai Shek it is still worse. Under him there is a Chekiang, a Fukien, a Kwantung, a Kwangsi and a Kuichow group. Between the Chekiang, the Fukien and the Kwantung group there is already an open struggle. The Kwantung group

wishes to form along with the Kwangsi group an independent government in Canton against Chiang Kai Shek. The Fukien group wishes to expel the Chekiang group from Fukien. Feng Yu Hsiang is now being openly opposed by the second army in Shensi, and he is now trying to remove Commander Yu. Things are still worse in South Honan. The troops there who have gone over from Wu Pei Fu to the Wuhan government do not wish to remain under Feng Yu Hsiang's regime. Matters are not much better with Tang Sen Dji.

The Wuhan government, owing to the desertion of almost all the generals and the turning aside of a great portion of the Left leaders from the agrarian revolution and the working class, is faced with liquidation. These Left leaders are only demanding the simultaneous dissolution of the Nanking and Wuhan government and the formation of a new joint government. The firm Left leaders and the Communists recently wished to conclude a compromise with the deviating Left leaders regarding the further existence of the Wuhan government. In the meantime the fighting spirit among the workers and peasants against the traitor Chiang Kai Shek is becoming continually stronger. In Wuhan nobody would be allowed to suggest negotiations with Nanking. The masses have even compelled the Wuhan government to send a punitive expedition against Chiang Kai Shek. In addition to the iron fourth army corps, the Wuhan government possesses a division led by Ye Tchin and a division composed of peasants and cadets. The fate of the Wuhan government depends upon whether it will abandon its policy of self-liquidation and arm the workers and peasants. If it continues to refuse to carry out the agrarian revolution, then its fate is sealed.

The liquidation of the Wuhan government of course does not mean the liquidation of the Chinese revolution. In spite of the fact that the revolutionary movement in Shanghai, Ningpo, Canton, Fukien etc. is most ruthlessly suppressed, the workers are continuing the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. In spite of the most fearful white terror, many districts in the provinces of Hunan, Kiangsi and Kwantung are still dominated by armed peasants. The millions of suppressed peasants, once awakened and driven along the path of revolution, will determinedly pursue their aim further and not allow themselves to be lulled to sleep again.

The Chinese revolution has entered on a new stage. During the past period the broad masses were awakened and enlightened under co-operation with the bourgeoisie and the generals. They have now taken leave of the generals and the bourgeoisie. The broad masses, the workers and the city poor will themselves take up the armed fight against the foreign imperialists and the native feudalists.

## An Abrupt Turn in the Chinese Revolution.

By N. Bukharin.

### II.

The new stage of the Chinese revolution confronts the Party of the proletariat with tasks of the greatest complexity and difficulty.

The fronts of the class struggle are now very sharply defined:

The feudal oppressors with Marshal and "dictator" Chang Tso Lin at the head.

The liberal-bourgeois bloc of the "progressive" generals with Chiang Kai-shek at the head.

The radical bourgeois and petty bourgeois group of Wuhan, which feels itself to be drawn to the bourgeoisie and up to the present is suspended in mid-air.

The struggling workers, peasants and city poor.

If one wished to make use of the "Russian" analogy one could say that there stand before us: 1. Monarchists; 2. Cadets; 3. social revolutionaries; 4. Bolshevik camp. Yet if the Chinese groupings, according to their class significance, correspond to the "Russian", nevertheless all these historical analogies are at bottom incorrect, for the relations of the same classes in China, owing to inner as well as outer causes, are different.

The fight against imperialism on the part of the bourgeoisie is still being carried on, although the "fighters" shoot workers

and peasants. The radical social revolutionary clique has almost, but not quite, united with the liberal bourgeoisie. At the same time, in the fight against the workers, in the fight against the peasants, the three social groupings are acting parallel, while they are gradually approaching each other on the basis of common political "methodology" towards the Communists. The fire is directed against the Communists from all sides. It is not particularly agreeable, under such conditions, to criticise sharply the leadership of a brother Party which is under the fire of the enemy who is prepared to annihilate it. But we must not forget that the real Communist fighters are perishing, and that the whole of the cadres of the Party can be crushed if the policy of confidence in the heads of the Kuomintang is conducted at a time when the basis for this confidence has already disappeared. Complete clarity is necessary from every point of view.

There is not the least doubt that the central force which holds power, namely the bourgeoisie, which is still anti-imperialist but towards the Chinese people is already counter-revolutionary, will direct its fire against the Party of the proletariat. The proletariat must reply to this by rallying the masses together and with the slogan of the dictatorship of the workers, the peasants and the city poor and all other slogans arising therefrom.

One of the questions which has been but little discussed is the question of the economic programme of the revolution in the towns. If one examines the matter more closely one sees that the radical government of Wuhan, even in its best times, did not have any solid economic basis. So long as it tolerated and permitted the labour movement and was in a bloc with the Communist Party the working and peasant masses marched forward. The big bourgeoisie fled. The factories and works were closed, likewise the banks. The sabotage on the part of the capitalists was in full swing. The "key positions" were deserted. The radicals of Wuhan did not venture to take possession of them. But upon these "key positions" there depends to a not inconsiderable extent the whole economy in general. The result was that we had the following "paradoxical" situation: Wuhan had a number of the greatest disadvantages of "war communism" without thinking of any Communism, and also without having a single one of its advantages. In other words, the contradictory character of the position led to a loss of almost every economic basis.

The same problem now stands before the dictatorship of the workers and peasants. At the VII. Enlarged Executive the question was solved in the sense of the nationalisation of these key positions, should their owners sabotage production. This solution is the only correct solution. On the one hand this provides the possibility of a very strong position in the labour question. On the other hand the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry obtains far greater economic possibilities. There will not exist that radical contradiction which existed under the regime of the Wuhan government.

The bloc of the lower strata of the people, before all the bloc of the workers and peasants, that is the slogan of the Communist Party standing on the agenda.

Does there exist a perspective in regard to the further development of the revolution? Does there exist a prospect of the realisation of this bloc? What is the explanation for the fact that the armies of the enemy are so little disintegrated, that they are fairly strong on all fronts?

Here one must again remember that all armies, without distinction, are mercenary armies of professional soldiers, who, for the greater part, have long been ousted from the process of production. Soldiering is for them a profession. They receive pay, from what source (before all from the peasants) is very clear to them. They frequently have no strong connections either with the city poor or with the village. They serve those who pay them. Of course, one must not by any means understand all this in the simple and absolute sense of the word. But when one grasps the whole limitedness of these relations, one must arrive at the conclusion that here there exist great difficulties for the revolution.

One must not, however, forget the most important thing, the tremendous sweep of the movement of the lower strata of the people in the town and in the country. In spite of the furious terror in Shanghai all reports state that the workers have not sat with folded arms but are preparing with admirable endurance and heroism for fresh struggles. In Canton, all "me-

thods" of influence have been employed, from bribery with money up to execution and torture; and notwithstanding Communists are remaining in the most important organisations of the working class. In the villages the leaders of the peasants are spied out and hanged. And still the movement does not come to a standstill. The bourgeois press brings terrifying reports of this movement. Thus, for example, the London "Times" of June 23, informed its readers regarding the state of affairs in Feng's area as follows:

"The movement of the Red Spears is assuming dangerous proportions. The number of those armed is estimated at a quarter of a million. The League (Red Spears N. B.) is growing tremendously, and is permeated by Communist organisations which perfect the organisation, propagate Communism and convert the originally successfully (!) thought out self-defence organisation into a Communist movement which destroys property and offers resistance to all authority. The "Red Spears", if they are not drastically dealt with, can soon become a national danger."

Of course the honest "Times" intentionally frightens its Chinese partners in order to promote the work of bloody suppression. The "Times", of course, exaggerates the danger and intentionally writes nonsense regarding the "Communist" (!! ) damaging of property". But if the peasantry had been crushed, the "honest" enemies would speak differently and give different information.

That is the subjective-class aspect of the matter.

What is its objective aspect? The objective aspect consists in the fact that the liberal bourgeoisie will scarcely be able to solve the social crisis on their own account. The so-called "objective tasks of the revolution" consist in creating a market for the Chinese industry, which, however, is impossible with the existing poverty of the peasantry. This market can be created by means of a redistribution of the land on the one hand, and by means of the consistent removal of the parasitical pressure of imperialism on the other. But the mechanism of social relations is such that the first task — the task of the agrarian revolution — cannot be solved by the bourgeoisie. Neither can they solve the second task; for to fight imperialism right up to the end while fighting against the workers and peasants in their own country is likewise impossible. Therein consists the objective basis for the further development of the revolution, no matter how severe those defeats and those trials may be which it is now undergoing.

This does not at all mean that the victory of the workers and peasants is a foregone conclusion.

This only means that great prospects exist for the victory of the second revolution, the plebian outcome of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

As a matter of fact the question will be decided by fighting and only by fighting. It is for this aim, for the victory of the workers and peasants that the Communist Party of China must now work.

Let us look back a little.

This is what the leaders of our Opposition write on the events in Wuhan:

"The policy of staking the cards on the Wuhan government as the organising revolutionary centre has suffered a collapse which is disastrous for the Chinese revolution . . .

The circle is complete. The tactic employed by our Party leadership in China is a classic example of the carrying out of a menshevik tactic in a bourgeois-democratic revolution" (Declaration of July 7).

We take up another document of our heroes, namely the draft resolution proposed at the April Plenum of the C. C. and then introduced by Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch at the last Plenum of the E. C. C. I. (end of May last). In the section entitled: "Our most important tasks" we read:

"It is necessary to lend Wuhan the most active and all-round support, for which reason the defence against the Cavaignacs must be organised. In the immediate future all efforts must be concentrated on giving all-round help to Wuhan in order to organise and consolidate it."

Of course the speech goes on to deal with removing the unreliable elements" etc. But this was also contained in the directions of the Comintern. That is not the question. The



question is whether the honourable critics in the Opposition have or have not staked the cards on Wuhan. Did they or did they not consider it as the organising centre? Did they or did they not propose all-round support for Wuhan?

One only needs to put this question in order to see how worm-eaten and politically dishonest is the criticism on the part of the Opposition. For if the support of Wuhan was menshevism, how then have these people the audacity to forget so quickly their own proposals.

Let us proceed further. In the said "declaration" the Opposition arrived at the following conclusion in connection with the events in Wuhan:

"It is not a question of the fate of the Chinese revolution only, but also of the fate of the Soviet Union, for there exists not the least doubt that the dangers of war are approaching and becoming exceedingly acute in connection with the events in Hankow."

That is magnificent. If, however, formerly the government in Hankow was hardly distinguished in any way from Nanking and such like, how then does the alteration of its policy bring nearer to an extraordinary extent the war dangers?

And finally, if it was formerly impossible "to stake the cards" etc., why then did they not propose at the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. that the Communists withdraw from the government? And why then was the "menshevist" tactic of entering the government, which was adopted at the Enlarged Plenum of the E. C. C. I., not combated?

It suffices only to "touch upon" this question in order to see how helplessly the "saviours" of the Party flounder about in the main and fundamental questions of our tactics in China.

It would be necessary to give a survey of what the leaders of our Opposition have spoken and written regarding China in order to prove what a tremendous muddle of contradictory assertions, "lines", "tactics", "strategies", slogans and the like exist in the "stock of ideas" of our Opposition. For Radek, feudalism does not exist in China, with Zinoviev it is in full bloom. According to Trotsky, the bourgeoisie has hardly ever played a revolutionary role in China; according to Radek, it was a "friend of the workers". According to Zinoviev, it was necessary to support Wuhan with all means; according to Trotsky (at the very same time!), Wuhan did not exist at all, we should organise against Wuhan a centre of dual power. According to Radek it was necessary to leave the Kuomintang precisely at that time when he (Radek) recommended that our Party participate in the Kuomintang government. Alski furiously attacks the Party line on account of its one-time support of the Kuomintang, and at the same time he devotes a book to the Kuomintang, and so forth.

It is not surprising that with such a rich selection one can at all times pick out a "proof" for every possible case; that we "were right". A miserable, eclectic, unprincipled (pardon the word) "line"!

The oppositional "critics" have seized upon my last article in order to "prove" how much in the right they were and how greatly the C. C. and the E. C. C. I. "betray" Leninism, the proletariat etc.

The authors of the unending "pamphlet", "A New stage of the Chinese revolution", with Trotsky at the head, after quoting my words that the liberal bourgeoisie at present possesses both the military and the political preponderance, "ironically" say:

"But who helped the liberal counter-revolutionaries to secure their military preponderance? Who has created confidence in Chiang Kai shek? Who demanded of the Communists actual subordination to Chiang Kai shek? Who supported Feng Yu Hsiang and boosted him?" etc.  
And further:

"Who armed the Liberals with this traditions? (The tradition of the national struggle for emancipation. N. B.) Who built up expressly for them the abstract theory of the national revolution which will be completed with the help of the bloc of four classes? And so on and so forth. Bukharin must look at himself in the mirror again and not whine because a horn is crooked."

Not enough of these magnificent pearls from the splendid pen of Trotsky. "Arkadi" speaks very "beautifully", but it is not difficult to perceive that the game is always played with faked cards.

Let us begin with the "bloc of the four classes". Here the opposition attacks Martynov, declares him to be the godfather of this theory, and then fiercely assails the menshevism of the C. C.

But what do the facts say?

Comrade Radek declared on the 15th March 1927, when describing the general state of affairs in China:

"The Canton government has taken advantage of this situation, which carries disintegration into the camp of the militarists. It decides on the campaign against the North which subjects this bloc of the antiimperialist bourgeoisie, the peasants, the town petty bourgeoisie and the workers to a test in the great arena of the decisive capitalist area of China." (Isvestia of March 15. K. Radek: "The Second Anniversary of the death of Sun Yat Sen". Emphasis by Radek.)

It is true, the word "four" is not mentioned here. But (and I hope the Opposition will understand this) this does not alter the matter, for one can count the classes of Radek's bloc on one's fingers and they will be found to be exactly four. But still there is one difference between Martynov and Radek in this question, for Martynov said that the leading force of this bloc is the bourgeoisie. What, however, did Radek say?

Radek defined the nature of the Canton government as follows:

"The events of Shanghai (here we are speaking of the events of May 30, 1925, on the occasion of the anniversary of which Comrade Radek was writing. N. B.) have strengthened the first Workers' and Peasants' Government of China, namely, the Canton government." (Mif: "The Lessons of the Events of Shanghai". Comrade Radek's preface, pag. 4.)

Thus for Radek there exists the "Bloc of four Classes". While Martynov speaks of a **bourgeois government**, Radek has already set up this bloc beforehand under the hegemony of the **proletariat**. And these people have the audacity to come forward afterward in the role of judges!!!

Perhaps it would be of interest to learn who supported Feng Yu Hsiang and who boosted him? Perhaps here also you would like to look into the "mirror"?

This is what Comrade Radek, the leader of the opposition in the Chinese question, wrote concerning the events of the year 1923:

"At that time the National Movement acquired two state centres around which it commenced to crystallize. The first of these was the **revolutionary Canton government** with Sun Yat Sen at the head, the second was the army of Marshal Feng Yu Hsiang in the North." (Radek: "A New Stage in the Chinese Revolution". "Novy Mir", No. 3, page 249.)

Thus Radek classed Feng alongside of Sun, whose revolutionary services is not denied by anyone.

Did the C. C., perchance, propose not to frighten the bourgeoisie, and did it make the bourgeoisie the main buttress of its entire tactics?

In the same work of Radek we read on page 159:

"The Canton policy must, as far as possible, **avoid repelling the bourgeois strata by taking premature steps**. At the same time the Canton government cannot avoid perceiving that the greatest danger threatening them is an indifferent, not to say hostile attitude towards them on the part of the masses of the people, the workers and peasants." And this was written in February 1927!

These are examples. Let us now consider the question from its wider aspect. Wherein consist the most important differences of opinion on the Chinese question?

Firstly, in the fact that the opposition dishonestly denies its own actions. Nobody at the time was against supporting Canton, Feng and the like. Now, however, the opposition acts as if it had stood on one side.

Secondly, in the fact that while the C. C. and the leadership of the E. C. C. I. considered it tactically expedient, at certain stages, to form a bloc with those forces conducting a fight against imperialism, even if, as a class, they are hostile to the proletariat, the theoreticians of the opposition have more than once ventured to praise the bourgeoisie (See, for example, how

Radek places the bourgeoisie on the same level with the proletariat).

Thirdly. Let us put aside this "game" of the opposition. Let us act as if it had never existed. We then have before us the following picture: The opposition now sees the original sin in the tactics of the C. C. in the fact that the C. C., at certain stages, considered permissible a bloc with the bourgeoisie, whilst according to Lenin this can never be permitted at all. Trotsky (a well-known teacher of Leninism), as well as Zinoviev and the rest put forward the assertion that these tactics are contrary to the teachings of Lenin concerning our tasks in the bourgeois democratic revolution. At the same time they produce quotations which relate to the attitude of the Bolsheviks towards the Cadets. It is known that the Mensheviks were for a bloc with the Cadets, while the Bolsheviks were against it.

This argument would be convincing if China were Russia. The "critics" do not avoid confusing an imperialist country, a subject of imperialist policy, with a colonial country, an object of this policy.

The following, however, is what Lenin wrote on the East:

"The Communist International must enter into temporary agreements, even into alliances with the bourgeois democracy of the colonies and the backward countries. It must not, however, become fused with them, but must in any event preserve the independence of the proletarian movement even in its embryonic form." (Lenin: Vol. XIX, page 27.)

Formerly, the permissibility of a bloc with the bourgeois forces which are actually fighting against imperialism was not disputed by anybody. Now it is being disputed.

Lenin has sketched in a splendid manner the conditions under which such bloc formations and alliances are permissible:

"... we as communists must and shall support bourgeois movements for emancipation in colonial countries only when the movements are really revolutionary, when their representatives do not prevent us from educating the broad masses of the exploited in the revolutionary spirit. When these conditions do not exist the communists in these countries must fight against the reformist bourgeoisie, who also belong to the heroes of the II. International." (Lenin: Vol. XVII, pages 275/276.)

That is just how the Comintern has acted. So long as the "bourgeois movements for emancipation" fulfilled these conditions we supported it. When it ceased to fill these conditions we began to fight energetically against it. This was the case first with the right Kuomintang, now it is the case with the heads of the left Kuomintang.

What do we gain in the end?

We gain by the welding together of the forces of the masses, this last "argument" of the revolution.

It is true that Comrade Trotsky now denies even obvious facts. Thus, for instance, he characterises the events of the campaign against the North in the following manner:

"The attack on the North had as a result that the bourgeoisie became stronger and the workers weaker."

But here again everybody will prefer to believe the "Chinese Expert" of the opposition, Comrade Radek, who writes as follows:

"The organising of the peasants for the fight against the big landowners and against their armed divisions, the Mintuans, against the Gentry who represent the interests of the big landowners in the village, the organising of the peasants' unions, the peasant committees, the armed peasant detachments — these are the most important results of the campaign against the North." (Radek: "The Second Anniversary etc.")

The most "convincing" argument of the opposition is the argument that we "run at the tail" of events, that we belatedly follow the directions of the opposition clique.

But this argument is ridiculous, for it is a "Trotskyist" argument.

That is what Comrade Trotsky thought of Lenin, when he represented the matter as if Lenin, in 1917, "changed his views", whilst he, Trotsky, had "foreseen" everything in the world. The whole Party knows the value of this "convincing" argument of the present-day, loud-mouthing, oppositional Pythia.

## The International Workers' Delegation in Hunan.

By Sydor Stoler (Secretary of the International Workers' Delegation).

### II.

What is the actual condition of the peasants in Hunan?

Due to the oppression of the peasantry by the militarists, and to the inhuman exploitation by the landlords the mass of the peasants were reduced to an utter state of poverty and pauperism. The visible results of this oppression were:

a) An increase in idle lands, especially in the Western part of the province;

b) an alarming increase of the number of poor peasants;

c) a noticeable decrease in the size of the farms;

d) simultaneously with the impoverishment of the bulk of the peasantry — an increase in landlordism;

e) decline of harvests, because the peasants working the land were too poor to buy fertilizers;

f) growth of banditry (particularly in southern Hunan); unbearable conditions drove many thousands of peasant to resort to banditry. The result was that the peasants were robbed and much land given over to waste.

g) exorbitant land rents: 60 and 70% of the harvest is very commonly handed over by the tenant to the landlord as rent;

h) usurious rates of interest on loans contracted by the peasants. 5—6% per month is a very common rate of interest; as high as 10% per month is not an infrequent occurrence.

It is quite obvious that with such conditions existing, the peasantry is in a state of rebellion against their oppressors. This feverish state of revolt of the peasantry makes it easy to understand the rapid advance of the national revolutionary forces against an enemy that was numerically much superior. No military power can for long dominate any considerable territory with the peasants against them.

But the peasant movement does not stop with the driving out of the militarists. On the contrary, it only begins its real struggle after the militarists have been driven out. While the militarists have gone, the old feudal system with its medieval rule of the landlords, corrupt gentry and magistrates remains. The mass of the peasantry live in utter misery. 70% of the peasants are either poor tenants who are robbed of the major part of the crops by their landlords, or they are small peasants who, although they have a piece of land, have not enough to feed themselves and their families.

There are at present no less than 5,130,000 peasants organised in the Peasants' Unions of the Hunan Province. In one district alone (Han-Yan District) there are 600,000 organised peasants. Four other districts (San-Tan) have about 300,000 organised peasants each. In 53 of the 75 districts in this province there are Peasant Unions, while in many other districts, peasants unions are in the process of formation. Compared with the peasant's movement and the peasants' unions in other provinces under the Nationalist Government, that of Hunan is far ahead (in Kwangtung the Peasants' Union comprises 1,000,000 members; in Kiangsi — about 500,000; in Hupeh — about 1,000,000).

We were told by the representative of the Hunan Provincial Kuomintang that some time ago the Kuomintang adopted a resolution to have the rents for farmlands lowered. However it was found that this measure could not be carried out effectively because of the resistance of the landlords and of the reactionaries in general. The efforts to fix maximum rates of interest on loans at 20% also failed. Therefore the most recent decision adopted by the Kuomintang is to nationalize the land and to give it to the peasants at a low rentage. A representative has been sent to the Nationalist Government, we were told, to present the case.

Whereas formerly the peasants did not even put up the rent question clearly, they now clamour unmistakably for the land... In many places the peasants refused to cultivate the land as long as the land remains undistributed. Only in a very few places could the rent be lowered — and very inconsiderably at that (Han-Yan and Han-Shan districts). The peasants are no longer satisfied with the demand for lowering

rents. They are demanding nationalisation and the distribution of the land.

It should be pointed out here that the peasant revolution has actually begun in Hunan. The cases are constantly increasing in number where counter-revolutionary landlords have been compelled to flee and to abandon their land. There are also numerous cases where the landlords come to the Peasants' Union and hand over their title deeds with the request to take the land over. A very common occurrence in Hunan is the so-called political or judicial confiscation of land, i. e., the confiscation of the land of the corrupt gentry and of reactionary landlords who are in league with the militarists and counter-revolutionists.

The question of local self-government for the peasantry is another burning issue that occupies the agrarian population of the Hunan Province. For decades and centuries the peasants have suffered from the oppression of the corrupt magistrates who together with the gentry developed their system of exploitation and oppression to perfection. The militarists based their power in the villages on just this cream of feudalism: the magistrates and corrupt gentry who were in league with the landlords. But while the militarists have been defeated and driven out of the territory now under the Nationalist Government, the magistrates and gentry, like the landlords, remained. We saw them everywhere on our way from Canton to Hankow. They still exercise their feudal dictatorship over the population, and the worst sufferers are the peasants.

In Hunan the process of supplanting the old feudal and patriarchal magistrate system has also proceeded further than in any of the other provinces we passed through. The actual reorganisation of the system of local government has already set in. Special commissions are being set up in the various districts of the Province to take over the administration of local affairs. These commissions are composed of representatives of the Kuomintang and the Trade unions and Peasant Unions. They have the highest powers to conduct the struggle against reaction. While the old magistrates are still officiating in the villages, they are gradually being pushed out and supplanted by so-called "Citizens' Councils", which are directly elected by the population.

In many places the Peasants' Union is the highest authority for all kinds of questions. This is the case wherever there is a strong and well-organised peasants' union...

Not only in Hunan, but everywhere along our route, wherever there were peasants and peasants' organisations, we heard the cry: "Arms for the peasants! We have no guns and no ammunition! The Peasants must be armed!" We heard it at Shiu Chow (Kwangtung), we heard it at Nanan, at Kanchow, at Linkiang, at Nanchang, etc. etc. In Hunan the need for arming the peasantry is very strongly felt.

The question of arming the peasantry is of course closely related to the land question and to that of the reorganisation of the village government. And as regards the stamping out of reaction, the arming of the peasants is an absolute prerequisite. In many places the reactionary landlords and gentry still maintain their armed militia which is used as a weapon against the peasants and Peasants' Unions. If there is to be real self-government in the villages, the disarming of the reactionary landlords' militia and the arming of the peasants is an urgent necessity.

We learned that wherever the peasants cannot get hold of rifles, they organise self-defence corps with picks and plows. But the insufficiency of such weapons in the struggle against reaction is self-evident. We were told of many plans and projects for obtaining arms and ammunition for the peasants. Cases were cited where the peasants had captured thousands of rifles from the Northern troops; but invariably these arms were handed over to the Nationalist Government or army...

Educational and cultural work is progressing very rapidly in the villages. We were told by the peasants representatives that new text books are being issued in the village schools. Special peasant committees examine the books to see that the old feudal ideology does not creep in. The peasants are very critical also about the banners and slogans which are used in their schools.

The peasant women are also arising from century-long bondage, and they are demanding their due share in the revolutionary movement. They participate in demonstrations and

are voicing their demands for active participation in the Women's Unions and in special women's meetings.

The peasants are also carrying on a determined struggle against gambling and opium-smoking, which are the two evils inherent in a system of feudal oppression and exploitation...

Our visit to Hunan made us feel the throb of the pulse of the Chinese Revolution. It has strengthened the conviction we already had, that the two classes which constitute the mainstays of the Chinese Revolution, are the workers and peasants. It demonstrated to us very convincingly the leading and decisive role played in the Revolution by the working class and the Trade Unions. It revealed in full, glaring light the fundamental importance of the peasant and land questions.

From what we have seen and heard in the four provinces we visited, but particularly in Hunan, it would seem that certain measures to relieve the condition of the peasants are absolutely and immediately necessary to guarantee the revolutionary alliance of the peasantry. Such measures are: a radical reduction of rents; the confiscation of lands owned by reactionary gentry and counter-revolutionary landlords; the abolition of the system of multiple taxation and of collecting taxes in advance (in some places in Hunan, for example, the peasants have paid up taxes for the next ten years); the prohibition of usurious rates of interest on loans; the disarmament of the reactionary landlord militia and the systematising arming of the peasantry through the peasants' unions; the development of co-operatives and of mutual aid. In the question of local self-government for the peasants, it is necessary to break up completely the corrupt and oppressive magistrate system and to inaugurate a really democratic system of self-government through peasants' councils with the aid of the peasants' unions.

Thus the revolutionary alliance of the tens of millions of peasants will be assured.

Simultaneously, the growth and development of the revolutionary trade unions and the leading role played by the working class in the liberation movement of China will ensure a steady, unvacillating direction and thoroughness to the Chinese Revolution. The arming of the workers and trade union pickets is another task that calls for solution as the best guaranty against reaction.

With these measures carried out, the Chinese Revolution will be invincible, and its final victory assured.

## Appeal of the Women in the Kuomintang.

The Central Committee of the Women's Section of the Kuomintang together with the First Revolutionary women's conference of Hupeh greet the International Women's Secretariat, the leader of the exploited women of the world in their struggle for emancipation against capitalism. Chinese women appeared on the arena of the political struggle by taking part in the general workers and peasants movement for their emancipation. We are proud to be one of the battalions under the leadership of the I. W. S. and in the future will carry on the struggle against imperialism and oppression until freedom is achieved and a democratic system established in China.

The Central Committee of the Women's Section of the Kuomintang appeals to the working women of the world for assistance to the Chinese people in their struggle for emancipation. The civil war during the last few years is taken advantage of by the militarists and imperialists for the further enslavement of China. Since the massacre of 1925 in Shanghai the spontaneous revolutionary movement commenced and is still continuing. The revolutionary army together with the workers and peasants is fighting the reactionaries for the benefit of the people.

British imperialism is assisting the counter-revolutionary forces, for they understand that with the emancipation of the people, exploitation ends. The revolutionary forces are extending their territory, but the British imperialists begin to fight us with the hope of crushing the revolution. British imperialism

has become particularly aggressive during the last few months and is continually sending troops and warships to China. Workers and students of Shanghai were executed and workers' organisations demolished by the British police. British imperialism through their allies, the Chinese militarists, are executing the leaders of the revolutionary movement.

The working women of the world must protest against the sending of armed forces from Great Britain and other imperialist countries for the purpose of crushing the revolution. The imperialists will not succeed, for having commenced the struggle for freedom, the Chinese people will not be enslaved, but will fight the British and other imperialists to the end.

The working women of the world must understand that the sending of armed forces to China will result in **bloody warfare** in which their brothers will perish in the interests of the capitalists. The Chinese women are fighting side by side with the working class for the nationalist revolution.

They call upon you:

**Demand the prevention of sending armed forces to China!**  
**Protest against the intervention against China and the crushing of the revolution by the British and other imperialists.**  
**Long live the revolution!**  
**Long live the emancipation of all oppressed nations!**  
**Long live the union of working women of all nations!**  
**Down with imperialism!**

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### The "Week of Defence" — a First Tremendous Effort.

By A. Rykov.

The breaking off of relations with the Soviet Union by Great Britain, which took place at the instigation of the Diehard Conservatives, and a whole number of events in connection therewith, are a serious threat to the peaceful labour and creative activity on the front of economic and cultural socialist construction.

The sole answer worthy of the October Revolution to this danger can only be a powerful effort of the broadest masses of the people to secure the defence of the Soviet Union.

The "week of defence" — a week of mobilising the enormous forces of our country for the aid of the Red Army and the Red Fleet — is a week of organising and rallying the country behind the Red Army.

The "Week of defence" is a week of review as to the preparedness of all the forces of the Soviet Union for the defence of the greatest achievement of the working class in the world — the October Revolution, the Soviet Republic.

In these days the voluntary society "Oso-Aviachim" must test the methods of its work and must test itself as the most important public organisation for co-operating in the defence of the Soviet Union and in the development of its air-fleets and the chemical industry.

In these days the "Oso-Aviachim" must double its ranks.

Those who are not in the ranks of the Red Army should enter the ranks of the "Oso-Aviachim" and be ever ready to defend the Soviet Union.

The "week of defence" must be only a beginning, a first gigantic effort at that work which the working class and the whole country must carry out from day to day with the greatest energy for safeguarding and defending the Soviet Union, for protecting socialist construction.

Every worker in the land of the Soviets must know how to handle a rifle, must know how to protect himself against poison gas, must know what he has to do in order to strengthen the military power of his State, both in the preparatory period and in the period of defence of the Soviet State. In this work every nuclei of the "Oso-Aviachim" must assemble all forces which can be organised for the defence of the Soviet State.

## Bolshevism and the War of 1914—1918,

(Important quotations from Lenin's Works.)

By N. L...r (Moscow).

### 2. Militant Anti-War Slogans.

What should be the tactics of a workers party? Workers parties cannot support an imperialist war, vote war credits, participate in various organisations in support of the imperialist governments, without historically betraying the interests of the working class. The Bolsheviks for instance conducted a big campaign against participation in the War Industrial Committees, and thanks to their agitation the workers of Petersburg and other towns rejected the Menshevik proposals to send representatives to the War Industrial Committees.

But the substance of Bolshevik criticism was directed not so much against Socialist jingoism as against the centre. Bolshevism submitted the **peace slogan** to severe criticism. The peace slogan taken isolated from concrete condition, without concrete definition and "absolutely", was in Lenin's opinion another form of Social patriotism. To advocate the slogan of peace means

"to deceive the people by allowing the idea to prevail that peace without annexations, without national oppression, without plunder, without generating new wars between the present governments and ruling classes, is possible without a revolutionary movement. Such a deception of the people would play into the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent states and of their counter-revolutionary plans. Anyone who wants a permanent and democratic peace must be in favour of civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie." (Vol. XIII, p. 108, Russian Edition.)

Here is the Bolshevik "Peace Programme":

"Our 'Peace Programme', must finally, elucidate the fact that the imperialist powers and the imperialist bourgeoisie cannot bring about a democratic peace. This must be sought and attained, but not back in revolutionary utopias, not through imperialist capitalism or an alliance of equal nations under capitalism, but in future, in the Socialist revolution of the proletariat. No radical democratic demand can be realised more or less broadly and firmly in the advanced imperialist States except through a revolutionary struggle under the Socialist banner.

Anyone who speaks to the nations about a 'democratic peace' without advocating simultaneously the social revolution, opposing a struggle on its behalf in wartime, deceives the proletariat." (Vol. XIII, p. 239, Russian Edition.)

Secondly, Bolshevism also sharply criticised the pacifist slogan (which was partly also adopted by some "Lefts") advocated by the centrists, — the slogan of disarmament. Bolshevism was against that slogan because it was utopian as a demand directed to the imperialists. The disarmament slogan is identical with

"the complete rejection of the point of view of the class struggle and repudiation of every thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: Arm the proletariat in order to defeat, expropriate, and disarm the bourgeoisie. This is the only possible tactic of a revolutionary class, a tactic which follows from the entire objective development of capitalist militarism and is dictated by this development. Only after the proletariat will have disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world historical mission, to throw on the junk heap all arms, and the proletariat will undoubtedly do that but only then and on no account before then." (Vol. XIII, p. 451, Russian Edition.)

"The disarmament slogan is a Kautskyian slogan and the Kautskyian sermon of 'disarmament' directed to the contemporary governments and imperialist great powers is the vilest opportunism, bourgeois pacifism, actually serving — regardless of the 'good intentions' of the sweet Kautskyians — to detract the workers from the revolutionary struggle." (Vol. XIII, p. 450, Russian Edition.)

This slogan is a rejection of revolutionary Marxism:

"He who expects the realisation of Socialism without the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a Socialist. Dictatorship is State power directly based on violence. Violence in the epoch of the 20th century, as in general in the epoch of civilisation, is not a fist and not a knout, but an army. To speak in the programme of 'disarmament' is tantamount to saying in general: We are against the employment of arms. In this also there is not an atom of Marxism, just as if we would say: we are against the use of violence." (Vol. XIII., p. 450, Russian Edition.)

Thirdly, Bolshevism also sharply criticised the slogan: "Neither victory nor defeat". This pacifist slogan meant the rejection of the revolutionary struggle and was nothing but a paraphrasing of the "national defence" slogan.

"This is precisely dealing with the question from the government's (which according to the slogan must remain in their old positions, 'preserve their positions') point of view and not from the point of view of struggle of the oppressed classes against their governments. This is a justification of the jingoism of all imperialist nations in which the bourgeoisie is always ready to say — and they do say to the people — that they are 'only fighting against defeat'. 'Our vote on August 4th was not for war but against defeat' — says the opportunist leader, E. David in his book on the German Social Democracy. The 'Okists\*'), Buvoyed and Trotsky are in full agreement with David if they advance the slogan 'neither victory nor defeat'."

(To be continued.)

## IN THE COLONIES

### The Indian Nationalist Press and the Anglo-Soviet Rupture.

By Lu h a n i.

The raid on Arcos was given great publicity in the Indian newspapers. Though the Indian press receives its European news through the British Official Agency, Reuter, the majority of the Nationalist newspapers gave greater prominence to the Soviet point of view — as put forward in the statements of Rosengoltz — than to the British official versions.

The entire Nationalist press condemned the rupture as not being justified and as leading to a deliberate disturbance, on the part of Great Britain, of the peace of the world. The Right Nationalist papers, however, made their comments in a subdued tone, restricting themselves to an appreciation of the consequences of the Anglo-Soviet rupture in the domestic affairs of England and in the European arena. The official press of the Indian National Congress, more particularly the press representing the Congress Left wing, condemned the rupture in energetic language and sought to bring out the Asiatic implications of Anglo-Soviet political relations before and after the rupture.

"Forward", the official organ of the Indian National Congress, writes:

"The real quarrel between the British Government and the Soviet Republic lies in the serious conflict of their respective political, economic and social ideals. Britain is a capitalist State while the Soviet stands for Communism. . . . The Soviet Government have destroyed the ramifications of the feudal lords and capitalists (in Russia) thus rousing the bitter hatred of the leading capitalist State in the world. This does not exhaust the *casus belli*. What seems to have frightened the British foreign office all the more is the Asiatic policy of the Soviet Government. The proximity of the Russian territory to the Indian frontier makes the Bolshevik Republic particularly hateful to the British imperialists."

\* The "Okists" were followers of the Menshevik Org. Committee.

Concluding the article, "Forward" says:

"The systematic propaganda that has been going on for some time past to make Russia appear as a serious menace to the British Empire in India will easily lead the public to believe that Indian men and money will be utilised for teaching a lesson to Bolshevik Russia for her atrocious crime of initiating some of the coloured races of Asia into the secrets of self-determination. . . . How very annoying' this must be to our rulers?"

After the actual rupture had taken place, "Forward" says:

"The expected has come to pass. The two antagonistic forces, created by clash of ideals of the British Empire and the Union of Soviet Republics, have become into severe collision, leading to the derangement of the political equilibrium of Europe and Asia. . . . Whether common hatred of Bolshevik Russia or the 'diabolical suspicion' of each other (among the Locarno Powers) which has always led to the reshuffling of political groups in Europe will assert itself, it is difficult to predict. Indications, however, are not wanting to show that the Soviet Republic is not to be despised with impunity and the British imperialists may regret the day when the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Union of Soviet Republics was officially announced"

Discussing the motives of the Conservative Government, "Forward" says:

"Their decision was possibly influenced more by consideration of the geographic position of Soviet Union than by the merits of the Communist doctrine. Obviously Russia is believed to be a serious factor to be reckoned with in the new orientation of British policy in the near and far East. . . . Russia rubs shoulders almost with India. Can the British imperialists contemplate the situation with equanimity?"

The following conclusion of the present article of "Forward" is a more or less approximate interpretation of opinion in the Congress rank and file:

"The proximity of the Soviet Republic to India and the possibility of extension of Russian influence over Persia and Afghanistan in the Near East as well as over China in the Far East, are believed to be a far greater menace to British interests than the immediate loss of Russian markets for British capitalists. It is doubtful, however, if the rupture of diplomatic relations will materially minimize the danger. It may give a greater impetus to the new orientation of the Asiatic policy of the Soviet Government. If Russia succeeds in extricating China from the tentacles of foreign domination, they will possibly join hands and will become a tremendous force against imperialist exploitation and aggression. The oppressed nations are out for liberty, a new world is fermenting underneath. Russia has given a new note to that music."

"The Indian National Herald" (Congress Left Wing), while not referring to the strictly Asiatic aspect of the Anglo-Russian rupture discussed the rupture in its relation to diplomatic usage and the internal political situation in England. It concludes by saying:

"There is only one word to describe Mr. Baldwin's laboured justification of an extreme step of an absolutely novel character in the diplomatic relationships of civilised powers and that is bunkum. The crux of the matter is the help that the Russian workers unstintingly give to their British comrades who were fighting last year in a righteous cause. . . . The Trade Union Bill and the break with Russia are complementary of each other, calculated to produce the same results, namely to cripple the British workers by depriving them of the active sympathy and support of the only emancipated body of workers in the world. It is a dishonest manoeuvre on the face of it and the wanton outrage on the Soviet Embassy carried out by the British government both in London and Peking is aggravated by the blackest intentions that have impelled the Baldwin Government to embark on a ruthless policy of repression at home and gratuitous provocation abroad."



Writing on 28. 5. 27 the "Indian National Herald" maintained that the rupture was meant to lead to war. It said:

"The next phase must be a deadly duel between imperialism and bolshevism and another world war.... Britain's break with Russia is not an isolated event; it is a link in the formidable chain which is being forged by imperialist powers — Britain, France, Italy, America and Japan — for the political, economic and moral enslavement of the world. Bolshevism is the menace to the ascendancy of imperialism over the wide world. So Bolshevism must be crushed.... the attitude of the Imperialist Government of England brings out one thing in particular, and that is the burning desire for a decisive encounter with Bolshevism which should decide whether Imperialism or Socialism shall rule the world of the future."

Thus the conspiracy of the British government against the Soviet Union has met with a response in India which is causing great anxiety to the imperialist government in London. Moreover, the attitude of Indian troops in China is by no means calculated to reassure British imperialism regarding the future development in India itself. In fact the British government was compelled to withdraw an Indian battalion from Shanghai in order to preserve it from revolutionary "contamination".

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The American Needle Trades Struggle.

By A. G. Bosse.

The present struggle in the American Needle Trades Unions is the culmination of ten years of conflict between the reactionary machine led by the yellow Socialists and the rank and file led by the Communists and the Left Wing. It is a battle ground upon which the issues between the Right and Left Wings in the entire American labour movement are being fought out. In the miners, machinists, building trades and all other unions, the basic issues are similar, and a victory for the Communist-led Left Wing in the needle trades will have a great influence upon the struggles throughout the country.

The Needle Trades Unions of 200,000 organised workers, have been brought to the verge of impotency by the bankrupt policies of the reactionary Socialists leadership. The re-appearance of the old evils of the sweat-shop system, increase in jobbing and sub-contracting and therefore in the number of small shops, the policy of submitting vital union issues to arbitration by capitalist politicians, and the penetration of the unions by graft and gangsterism have undermined the conditions of the workers and caused a mass revolt. The treachery of the bureaucracy resulted in unorganised rebellions as far back as 1911. But the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and the consequent revolutionary wave throughout Europe, had a profound effect upon the Needle Trades workers, most of whom had participated in the revolutionary movement of Russia.

Various shop council movements started, which, upon the organisation of the Trade Union Educational League (T. U. E. L.) in 1922, were merged into its Needle Trades Section, with a definite political, industrial and inner-union programme. The rapid growth in the influence of this organised Left Wing led to the expulsion of the T. U. E. L. members from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (I. L. G. W. U.) and the Furriers Union in 1923 — the beginning of the policy of expulsion in the American labour movement. Despite the expulsions of militant workers, the reorganisation of locals on the eve of strikes, the exclusion of Left Wing delegates from conventions, and the changing of the constitutions as the "machine" desired, the Communist-led Left Wing grew and won control of the Furriers Joint Board of New York (in 1925). Shortly afterward the most important New York Locals of the I. L. G. W. U. came under the control of the Left Wing.

The same year the Right Wing bureaucracy of the I. L. G. W. U. expelled three of the largest locals (Locals 2, 9 and 22) representing some 70% of the New York membership,

because a Communist had addressed their May 1st Celebration. After a four months' struggle in which the rank and file battled against a united front of Right Wing leaders, the employers and the police, the bureaucracy capitulated, and the left wing won control of the New York Joint Board, the Chicago Joint Board, and locals in many other cities. In all elections the Left Wing came out victorious.

These victories, however, far-reaching as they were, did not change the colour of the national administrations of the Furriers and I. L. G. W. U. The conventions which followed, and where the Left Wing represented 70% of the membership, remained under the control of the Right Wing bureaucracy, due to the arbitrary system of representation, by which small locals of a few hundred members had as many delegates as large locals with many thousands.

Within a short time after the Left Wing took over control of the Furriers Union, conditions were completely transformed. The union was cleared of graft, corruption and gangsterism. The Greek and retail shop furriers were organised for the first time and the membership of the Union, which in 1924 had been 8000 in the U. S. and Canada, grew to 12,000 in New York alone in 1926. Working conditions improved greatly as did the morale of the members.

In the I. L. G. W. U. conditions had been even more deplorable when the Left Wing came into power in 1925. Union control in the shops was at its lowest point, working standards were completely broken down, the number of open shops had greatly increased, and the attitude of the employers had become extremely arrogant. The Left Wing began to rebuild the Union with the aid of the mobilised rank and file. Professional gangsterism was eliminated and the organisation put into the hands of the membership. Despite the sabotage of the Right Wing, who still controlled in some locals, despite the interference of the ousted officials, who became the confidential advisers of the bosses, before long the latter began to feel the power of the union. In the Dressmakers Local 22 alone, the membership increased from 7000 to 11,000 in a few months, and the number of union shops increased proportionately.

The success of the Left Wing leadership in the Needle Trades had completely smashed the hopes of the old machine to recapture the unions by legal means. The bureaucrats therefore formed new conspiracies against the workers. Their opportunity came with the expiration of the agreement between the N. Y. Furriers Joint Board and the manufacturers. When negotiations with the employers began, the workers had put forth a number of demands vital to the needs of the workers, such as the 40-hour week, equal division of work, abolition of sub-contracting, etc. Negotiations were about to be concluded when the International Officials of the Furriers Union secretly began to manoeuvre with the employers urging them to hold out, and promising them that after a brief strike the Right Wing would get back into power, and would sign an agreement more favourable to the employers than the Left Wing would give them.

The 17 weeks furriers strike, which began in February 1926, was one of the most brilliant struggles in the Needle Trades, and roused the admiration of the workers throughout the country by its militancy and spirit of self-sacrifice. In the ninth week of the strike, when the employers were completely defeated, the International officials, under the leadership of the A. F. of L., attempted to betray the workers by an agreement behind the backs of the Strike Committee. The workers rejected this and for the next eight weeks had to fight not only the bosses, but also the A. F. of L. officialdom, its provocations to the police, and the hired gangsters of the International officials.

Similar were the activities of the Socialist and A. F. of L. bureaucracy in the 25 weeks strike of the cloakmakers (I. L. G. W. U.), which was called July 1, 1926, involving 35,000 workers. For two years the Commission appointed by the Governor of N. Y. State, had without the consent of the workers, investigated the demands of the cloakmakers, and when the report was finally made public, the most vital demands of the workers were rejected. The Commission also recommended that the bosses be given the right to reorganise their shops and discharge 10% of the workers yearly. This question of discharge had been the center of the most important strikes in the industry and called forth bitter resentment from the workers, but the International officials of the I. L. G.

W. U. favoured accepting the report, and reluctantly consented to a strike only after the membership unanimously voted for one. The International officials secretly sabotaged the strike, encouraged the employers to resist, sided with them at the conference table, encouraged scabbing and withheld financial support, but despite this defeatism the workers won important gains.

The furriers gained the 40-hour week, wage increases, elimination of sub-contracting, and other improvements in conditions. The cloakmakers, after 19 weeks on strike, concluded an agreement with the Industrial Council, one of the most important groups of employers, gaining the 40-hour week, substantial wage increases, modification of the discharge clause, the smashing of the policy of Governor's commissions, etc.

With this agreement 20,000 members returned to work under the new conditions, and agreements with the other associations of employers were about to be concluded, when the A. F. of L. reactionaries stepped in and took charge of the Right Wing forces. Sigman, the International President of the I. L. G. W. U., deposed the Left Wing Joint Board and the General Strike Committee and settled with the employers. The employers declared a lock-out in order that Sigman might be able to say that there was an emergency and take over the Joint Board. The Left Wing administration, realising that the workers were exhausted after a six months struggle, ordered them back to work and to continue the fight in the shops against the Right Wing. The settlement conceded most of the demands which the workers had struck for, but attempted to give the Right Wing credit for victory by settling with them. Soon after the settlement the Right Wing reorganised the New York Locals and the Joint Board and began to register the workers in the new locals, although receiving no dues from them.

The men's clothing workers in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, led by Hillman, were, a few years ago among the most militant in the U. S., but recently their Right Wing Socialist administration has become the backbone of reaction in the Needle Trades. They denounced the furriers and the cloakmakers strikes, refused financial support (except a miserly sum which the Left Wing forced them to contribute), and concluded an agreement with their manufacturers for the 44-hour week, while the furriers were engaged in a struggle for the 40-hour week. The S. P. bureaucracy, especially through their Jewish daily organ, "Forward", is playing a leading role in the war against the Left Wing, appearing as state witnesses against strikers, sanctioning employers' injunctions against the workers, urging their members in the Right Wing administration of the various needle trades unions themselves to take out injunctions against the Left Wing locals, into the fight against the Left Wing, etc.

The A. F. of L. bureaucracy have made open alliances with the Needle Trades employers, with the New York police department and the local Government, and with the Wall Street and Roman Catholic reactions through the National Civil Federation and the Knights of Columbus, Mathew Woll, leader of this reactionary alliance and the Vice-President of the A. F. of L., has organised a committee of "representatives from the Church, the legal profession, educators, employers and labour men" to inquire into Communist activities in the unions and to "co-operate with civil authorities and civil (business men's A. G. B.) organisations" to eradicate Communism throughout the country, and particularly in the Needle Trades and other unions. A reign of terror has been instituted throughout the country against all Left Wing and progressive elements. When taken in conjunction with the patriotic utterances of the S. P. and the A. F. of L. in connection with the imperialist campaigns against Mexico, China and the Soviet Union, the capitalist class realises full well that it has nothing to fear from the "official" labour and Socialist movements in its attempts to provoke a new world war.

As a result of the protracted struggle the unions have been weakened, and the employers have taken full advantage of this to break down working conditions in the shops. The Right Wing has been circulating sanitary union labels and registration on cards in scab shops, piece-work has increased, earnings reduced, a trial period introduced which means irregular employment, the 44-hour week re-introduced through the abolition of over-time pay, and the way paved for the open-shop and intensified exploitation and insecurity. This has

been the result of the Right Wing betrayal in dressmakers local 22, and to a great extent in locals of other needle trades unions. The cloakmakers (I. L. G. W. U.) season ending in April, was a very poor, one, and a 3 to 4 months period of complete idleness faces them. The furriers have just gone through a dull period of over five months and will not begin working in earnest until the beginning of summer. The two joint Boards are hard pressed financially (as are also the Right Wing administrations) but the mass of the workers throughout the country have supported the Left Wing splendidly, both financially and morally.

The policy of the Left Wing in all the needle trades struggles during the past few years has been to keep within the union and to avoid any steps that would lead towards the formation of a dual union. The idea of a dual union in the needle trades cannot be seriously entertained, for it is not a question of partial control of an industry by two conflicting unions, but of each shop divided between the Right and Left Wing unions. Either a union controls a shop completely or not at all. The Left Wing maintains that the expulsions and reorganisations were illegal and contrary to the constitutions of the International Unions and of the A. F. of L. The Right Wing has not been able to make the question of dual unionism an issue.

After the expulsion of the Furriers Joint Board in March, and the organisation of Right Wing locals and Joint Board in April, the Left Wing organised a Unity Committee of the Furriers and Cloakmakers Unions as the first step in the amalgamation of the needle trades unions, and to conduct the activities of the two unions and the defense of the dozens of workers jailed. The mass of the workers directly participate in all its activities, through shop councils and shop chairmen. The slogans of the Left Wing have been and are today: "Unity of the organisation. Amalgamation. A referendum vote on the expulsions. General election of officers and special convention in both unions."

One of the most vital issues effecting the future of the American labour movement is at stake in this needle trades struggle. The needle trades workers were able to defeat the expulsions of 1923 and 1925. If they win the struggle this year they will be able to deal a death-blow to the expulsion policy in the needle trades and pave the way for the growth of the Left Wing movement in the U. S., which today offers the only solution against the open-shop menace and the destruction threatening American labour movement.

## THE PARIS CONGRESS OF THE AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL

### The Amsterdam Trade Union International.

By Fritz Heckert.

Early in August the Fourth Congress of the I.F.T.U. (International Federation of Trade Unions) will take place in Paris. The publication, a few days back, of the written report of this session enables us even now to form some idea of the significance of the coming event and of the entire constitution of the Amsterdam International. To put it plainly, the report is an appalling document of the hopeless situation into which the I.F.T.U. has got thanks to the mentality of its leaders. Very naturally, the God-sent leaders of the "West-European trade-union movement" will not concur in our opinion. For in almost every line the report reflects the pride and satisfaction of Oedegeest and his clique in the wonderful achievements of the working class under their leadership.

The membership movement, both in the individual countries and as a whole, speaks in very different accents, which however, give food for thought to any sober observer. In the years under review the membership receded from 16,530,000 to 13,500,000, although the accession of four new sections had allegedly caused an increase of 163,000. There was thus a net loss of 3,200,000 members.

Nor is the state of affairs any better in regard to the financial resources of the I.F.T.U. The report says nothing

of the fact that there have in this connection already been very serious differences of opinion within the Amsterdam management, the English in particular being dissatisfied with Oudegeest's administration of the funds. But why should this matter, which has already raised much dust in public and does not reflect to the credit of Oudegeest and Sassenbach, be dished up again in the report? In 1924 the business year started with a balance of 30,000 guilders on the Credit side, but in 1925 this amount had shrunk to barely 1000 guilders, while the financial report of 1926 shows a deficit of 71,000 guilders. While in 1924, 168,000 guilders were collected in subscriptions and in 1925, 164,000, the subscription revenue in 1926 figured at only 126,000 guilders against an expenditure of 200,000. **The great deficit, however, is by no means to be attributed to expenditure in connection with strikes, but is merely a deficit of administrative expenditure.** Added to this, the report still tells us two remarkable facts, the one being that prior to 1924 the staff numbered 48, not including the three secretaries, while at the close of 1926 it only numbered 20, and the other that certain countries are desirous of paying smaller subscriptions in future.

Of the 126,000 guilders subscribed in 1926, Germany alone paid 54,677, Great Britain 37,418, and France 2028, the balance being divided among the 20 other States which are affiliated to the I. F. T. U. Thus, as any one can see, the I. F. T. U. is practically nothing but a combination of German and British trade unions.

Interest, however, also attaches to that part of the report which speaks of the **cultural propaganda** and **information activity** of the I. F. T. U. We here learn that it is practically only in Germany that the publications of the I. F. T. U. find a market, though even there not very many copies can be disposed of. This greater German demand may be explained by the party orders of the trade-union leaders to account of the union funds and the subsequent gratuitous distribution among the subordinate organs. The English have but little interest in the printed matter distributed by Oudegeest, and the French have none at all. Thus of Sassenbach's "celebrated" work on "25 Years of the International Trade Union Movement", 2000 copies were sold in Germany out of a total of 3000 offered for sale, whereas in England the sales effected only figured at 90 out of 2000 and in France at 40 out of 2000.

A similar state of affairs to that in the I. F. T. U. is that in the international professional secretariats, among which that of the **transport workers**, numbering 2,146,000 members is possibly the best off. Other secretariats with more than one million members each are those of the **metal workers** (1,728,000 members) and the **miners** (1,688,000 members). It is with some satisfaction that the report in various places makes mention of the fact that the session of the advisory council of October 1925 succeeded in re-appointing **Frank Hodges** in place of **Cook** as leader of the miners' secretariate. This is a somewhat painful passage in the fair report, seeing that Hodges has now so openly become a yellow leader.

In studying that part of the report which treats of the "relations with the non-affiliated organisations", we shall have no difficulty in observing that for the Amsterdam leaders the criterion in regard to the various organisations is not the question whether the organisation in question is or is not based on class-warfare against capitalism. If the organisation is in favour of a working community with the capitalists it will be welcome, if, on the other hand, it favours the proletarian revolution it must be opposed.

For people like the ultra-conservative and actively counter-revolutionary **Green**, the leader of the American Federation of Labour, there are no limits. No concession would be too great if only Green would join. As yet, this hero is dissatisfied with the I. F. T. U., for (1stly) it affords no strict autonomy to all the affiliated countries, (2ndly) it still embodies a resolution in favour of socialisation, and (3rdly) the subscription fees are too high. Nevertheless, Amsterdam has much gratification in welcoming the resolutions of the American Labour Union Congress, makes further offers, and declares Green's attitude to be the outcome of a misunderstanding. The report expresses surprise that Green should "yet consider the affiliation of the A. F. O. L. to the I. F. T. U. impossible."

If the tone adopted by the servile Amsterdam spokesmen in their dealings with the **Yankees** is abject, they wax brave

and gallant as regards — **China**. During the Shanghai strike of 1925, Amsterdam received a request from Shanghai for the initiation of a relief action, while at the same time the English suggested that a delegation be sent to China to study the labour conditions there. The outcome was that

"The Executive of the I. F. T. U. has come to the conclusion that there can be no question of sending a delegation. At the same time it is considered fruitless to institute an inquiry of the kind at a time of continuous civil war."

So much for the question of a delegation. In regard to the relief action, meanwhile, it was decreed that:

"Whereas no reliable information could be gathered as to the cause and extent of the conflict and as to the organisations affected, their membership, etc., the International Federation of Trade Unions was not authorised to initiate a relief action" (p. 36 of the report).

Many pages of the report are devoted to **Moscow**, the **R. I. L. U.**, and the **Russian trade unions**. The entire correspondence between the I. F. T. U. and the all-Russian Federation of Trade Unions, and part of that with the Anglo-Russian committee was copied for the purpose of proving that Moscow is the worst of all evils and Amsterdam the brave knight fighting for the unity of the international trade union movement. Many words and much hypocrisy. We need but read the reports of the sessions of the professional internationals, and we shall find that the resolutions in regard to the relations with Moscow contain not only one contradiction after another, but also the shameless manoeuvres of Amsterdam against trade union unity. A glance at Page 57 will show why the West-European workers must oppose a uniting of their trade unions with those of Russia.

"The policy pursued by the Russian Federation of Trade Unions in this period and particularly in 1926, has once more convinced the I. F. T. U. that its own tactics (of having nothing to do with the Russians) have been altogether right. The attitude adopted towards the leadership of the the British Trades Union Congress both during and after the coal-miners' strike is obvious proof of the fact that the **Russian Trade Union Federation denies the right of self-determination in the trade union movement of the individual countries.** It has never been more patent than during the mining dispute that the Russian Trade Union Federation interprets the word "unity" only in the sense of "subjection to Moscow's doctrines".

The self-sacrificing fight put up by the Russian trade unions for the victory of the British miners is therefore taken as confirmation of the accuracy of the Amsterdam policy of — preventing unity with the Russians. A precious admission on the part of the famous labour leaders of Amsterdam. This fully suffices for any worker to recognise the said leaders, and he cannot fail to know their meaning when they attempt to make their alibi in the following terms:

"Their (the Russians') great membership and the consequent influence exercised on the resolutions, afford the Russian trade union movement the guarantee that their wishes would enjoy consideration, in so far as they are in keeping with the principles and policy of the International Federation of Trade Unions."

Fully a dozen pages are devoted to the **British miners' strike**. The preceding paragraph shows plainly in what spirit this subject, too, is treated. The question is never raised as to whether the Amsterdam tactics, the attitude of the British trade union leaders, or the attitude of the foreign miners' sections were not also partly responsible for the defeat of the miners. There were only two disagreeable things during the conflict, the "inciting" and "trade-union undermining" attitude of the Russians, and the renitent conduct of the strike under the leadership of Cook. The report even has the effrontery to say some words in praise of the shameful business of the five per cent. loan granted the British trade unions through the "co-operation" of Oudegeest and Sassenbach. At the same time it does not forget to express its decided disapproval of the fact that the English also turned for help to trade unions not affiliated to the I. F. T. U.

True, without the help of the Russian trade unions, the **British miners' fight** would have broken down a few months

earlier, which would yet have enhanced the fame of the strike-breaking international. The list showing the aid received by the miners from the individual countries is highly interesting. Per trade union member, Holland gave 118 cents, Denmark 68, Switzerland 39, Sweden 18, Germany 15, France 0.6. The Germans "excused" themselves for the paucity of their active help by referring to "the Reparations coal supplies encumbent upon them", the French by reference to the inflation.

The questions of reconstruction and rationalisation occupy 10 pages. We are here told that as early as 1919 Messrs. Oudegeest and Jouhau had the proper recipe for the salvation of the world's economy in their pockets. It only lasted rather long before the capitalists would consent to make use of it.

To what extent the policy of Amsterdam brought about an improvement in the questions of reconstruction and rationalisation (for this is surely the main point, if the query is not impertinent), is a matter on which no words are lost. Nor would it be easy to prove. The loss of the eight-hour day all along the line, the defeat of the British miners, and other like occurrences can surely not be looked upon as "proper steps for the purpose of bringing about better conditions" for the working classes.

In the realm of social politics the achievements of Amsterdam are equally great. Not even so important a man as Oudegeest can deny that no progress has been made in the matter of the eight-hour day. At any rate, the I. F. T. U. had called upon the workers

"to meet the offensive of the employers on the eight-hour day in favour of the right of co-operation and co-decision."

That this must not be effected by inciting a ruthless class-war is obvious in view of the general attitude of Amsterdam in questions of reconstruction.

Let us still see what the report has to say on the subject of Amsterdam's **fight against war, reaction, and Fascism**. Proud reference is made to the fine decisions of Rome and the Hague in 1922. That no action was taken on the very next occasion, that of the French and Belgian occupation of the Ruhr in 1923, is put down to the fact that the competent factors were "still too weak".

"In 1924 the Pan-American Federation of Labour appealed to the I. F. T. U. to prevent the rebels opposing President Obregon in Mexico from being supplied with ammunition from Europe."

To cover up the fact that Amsterdam does practically nothing against the danger of war and has obviously no serious intention of ever doing anything in future against it, the report approaches the League of Nations with a suggestion in nine articles, worked out by Oudegeest, Jouhau, and Thorberg, "for the control of the international traffic in arms by means of a mixed committee". Surely nothing more ridiculous could be imagined than a mixed committee of the war-mongers for the control of the traffic in arms.

While shamefully ignoring the fact that the rogues formerly leading the **Italian Trade Union Confederation** went over into the Fascist camp with **D'Arragona** at their head, the report boastfully states that

"no occasion is neglected of protesting in the press reports of the I. F. T. U. (which are read by nobody) against the misdeeds of the Fascists".

As a matter of secondary importance it is stated that there is no possibility of helping the Italian trade unions at present, in the first place for lack of funds and secondly in view of the futility of opposing the Fascists.

The report then goes on to speak of a series of questions of lesser interest. We may, however, content ourselves with an extract in regard to the most important problems of the international trade union movement. Any trade union member who is not utterly blind as a result of the silly reformist twaddle about the alleged crimes of Moscow and the Communists against the labour movement, must ask himself of what use such a body as the I. F. T. U. can possibly be to the working class. **To no question of the labour movement does Amsterdam give a definite answer, nay, what is worse, the international problems are not even brought upon the tapis.** In their complete incapacity to see what is happening in the labour world, the reformist gods of Amsterdam sit on the throne of their bogus international and talk twaddle about the

stupidity of the working masses and the Communist opposition, which makes it so hard for Messrs. Jouhau, Oudegeest, and Sassenbach to lead the workers into the promised land of a reconstructed capitalism in which they shall be allowed to collaborate in increasing the capitalist profits indefinitely. It is not to be expected that at the Paris congress the trumpets will sound and shake down the walls of Amsterdam with their clarion peal. On the contrary, the few members of the opposition will hardly be allowed to say a word, and if they do so their remarks will be drowned in the general tumult. On the other hand, the well-sifted society of augurs will tell each other that all is well, and the chosen leaders will remain the chosen leaders. In secret, meanwhile, they will call each other names, seeing that all know that, once the imperialists start to attack one another again, each of them will once more stand by his national exploiter under the parole of "Gott strafe England" or whatever else it may be.

It is only by the liquidation of the Amsterdam spirit in the labour movement and by the destruction of that reactionary clique of leaders which calls itself the I. F. T. U., that the trade union movement can rise again, regain its strength, and become a militant international proletarian unit. That is the unmistakable teaching of the report of the Paris Congress of the I. F. T. U.

## RESCUE SACCO AND VANZETTI

### Sacco and Vanzetti in the Condemned Cell.

#### Greatest Danger Menacing.

Sacco and Vanzetti are in the condemned cell of the State prison of Charlestown. Their execution on the electric chair has been fixed for the 10th of August. **There exists the danger of their being executed even before the 10th August.** For, as a general rule, the condemned are placed in the condemned cell only 10 day before the execution.

The American bourgeoisie wishes to execute its vengeful sentence on the two innocent men. Millions and millions of people from all parts of the world have in the course of the last two months sent protests to Governor Fuller. A number of bourgeois professors, intellectuals, editors, doctors etc. have declared that the sentence, which was pronounced by judge Thayer, is a shameful sentence. Although it was perfectly clear that Sacco and Vanzetti had nothing whatever to do with the robbery and murder of two bank messengers in April 1920, they were condemned to death on July 14th, 1921. The only reason for this sentence was that the two men were radical socialists who had carried on a courageous agitation against the American capitalists. Meanwhile, as a result of confessions by people who actually had a hand in the murder, particularly as a result of the statement of **Madeiros**, a Portuguese, it has become irrefutably clear that other people are the murderers.

And in spite of this clear proof of innocence the sentence is to be carried out. The tremendous protest action in America and in all other countries have not up to now succeeded in bringing about a reversal of the sentence and liberating Sacco and Vanzetti from prison. Only recently enormous demonstrations and protest actions took place in **New-York** and in numerous towns of the United States. In **Mexico** and in **Central America** the workers have taken action and proclaim their solidarity with Sacco and Vanzetti.

Governor Fuller, under the pressure of countless millions, has only been induced to "investigate" the case of Sacco and Vanzetti again. If university professors, eminent bourgeois editors point to the baseness of the sentence of bourgeois class justice, the government must at least pretend to do something. While governor Fuller is "investigating" Sacco and Vanzetti are conveyed to the condemned cell. Whilst various people submit their expert report, preparations are made for the execution. The prison guards have been considerably reinforced. It is clear, that it is intended to pacify and deceive the broad masses in order then to confront them with the accomplished fact.

The greatest danger is threatening! The action of the workers and all those who still possess the least sense of honour must be increased to such an extent in the next few days that the American bourgeoisie will be compelled, even though grinding their teeth, to set their victims free.

Rescue Saccon and Vanzetti from the condemned cell!  
Release Sacco and Vanzetti from prison!

## TEN YEARS AGO

### The Beginning of the Collapse of the Russian Offensive.

Berlin, July 17. (German Army Report). Rhenish regiments have occupied the forest-land south of the Dniestr and north Kalusc. As German forces were approaching from the West too the Russians evacuated the town and hastily retired to the southern bank of the river Lomnica.

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Vienna, July 17. (Austrian Report). Yielding to the pressure of German and Austro-Hungarian troops the Russians yesterday evacuated Kalusz and the Western border of the Lomnica; the allied troops followed them. In certain places South of Kalusz it come to greater fights. Near Ldziany six Russian relief offensives were driven back by Croat battalions. At Landesstreu and Novica we gained ground.

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#### Kerensky Disarms the Revolutionary Soldiers.

Petrograd, July 17. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency). The Executive Committees of the Workers and Soldiers Soviets and of the Peasants Congress have issued the following appeal to all workers and soldiers in Petrograd:

"Unknown persons call upon you, in contradiction to the general and unanimous will, including that of the socialist parties, to go into the streets with weapons in hand and thus protest against the disbanding of those regiments who have dishonoured themselves at the front by criminal violation of their obligation towards the revolution. We, the representatives of revolutionary democracy of the whole of Russia declare to you that the disbanding of the regiments has taken place at the behest of the soldiers councils and on the order of the War Minister Kerensky, whom you have elected. Every action in favour of the disbanded regiments is therefore directed against our brothers who are shedding their blood at the front. We remind you that no military unit is allowed to come forward with weapons in hand without the special permission of the Chief Commander, who is in agreement with us. We declare all those who act contrary to this order to be traitors and enemies of the revolution, and we shall use every means at our disposal to carry through this order".

#### In the Streets of Petrograd.

Petrograd, July 17. ("Pravda"). On the 16th July, after the resignation of the Cadet Ministers had been made known, great excitement prevailed in many factories and among the soldiers. The question was discussed whether they should not march into the streets with weapons in hand in order to demand the resignation of all the capitalist Ministers and the taking over of power by the Soviets.

At 9 o'clock in the evening some automobiles with machine guns appeared at the Bolshoi-Prospect. They carried no flags and no posters. The guards in these automobiles held their rifles ready to fire:

At 11 o'clock at night in many streets, armed military detachments were seen and fairly big crowds of people who discussed events. Many asserted that the Bolsheviki are to blame for everything. The proletarian elements asked in return: "Who called the street demonstration?" This question could not be answered exactly by anybody. After a little while everybody was clear as to the spontaneous character of the movement. Many insisted on the need for calm and to wait for the instructions of the organisations, others pointed to the necessity of leading the spontaneous movement into organised channels

and to carry out the overthrow of the government as well as the taking over of power by the Soviets. The Petrograd side of the Bolshoi-Prospect was crossed by the procession of the workers of the factory "Vulkan". The demonstrators marched in serried ranks with the slogans, "Down with all capitalist Ministers!", "All power to the workers, soldiers' and peasants' Soviets!" At the Troitsky Bridge the demonstrators were received and welcomed by the armed machine gun detachments on the automobiles. On the other side of the bridge the demonstrators met a man in civil clothing, who was driving past in an automobile and who declared that at the Nevski-Prospect the workers were being disarmed and that the machine guns were taken away from the revolutionary soldiers. To the question, who was carrying through this disarmament, the provocateur replied: "The bourgeoisie".

The procession now went to the Nevski-Prospect which was crowded with workers and soldiers. At midnight fire was opened from somewhere.

The soldiers of all regiments who were present at the Nevski-Prospect, threw themselves on the ground but the crowd got into a panic, began to flee and to strike the side streets. There were several killed and wounded.

The firing soon ceased and the panic subsided. The workers from the Putilov works approached carrying arms, and by their organised and firm bearing dispelled the anxiety of the public. The Putilov workers were joined by the army, and the crowd and the procession marched to the Tauric Palace with the intention of demanding there from the Soviets the taking over of power and the resignation of the capitalist Ministers.

On July 17th troops arrived in Petrograd from Kronstadt. They marched fully armed in a gigantic column through the town. They were followed by enormous masses of workers. Before and behind the demonstrating workers are armed workers' defence units. Armoured cars drive at the side. On the numerous flags there are only two slogans: "Down with the capitalist Ministers!" and "All power to the workers, soldiers and peasants' Councils!"

In many streets of the town shots were fired, which created a panic among the petty bourgeoisie. Many of them fled from Petrograd. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the demonstration of the Vasiliostrov district marched through the Nevsky-Prospect to the Tauric Palace. As the band of the Kronstadt sailors marched past, shots were fired from a corner house at the demonstrators. For a moment confusion arose, but the sailors quickly restored order and the crowd continued to march to the strains of the "Marseillaise". The provocative shooting is repeated. The ranks of the sailors however remain perfectly firm. They only demand by shouts the cessation of the shooting.

#### The Bolsheviki Place themselves at the Head of the Spontaneous Mass Movement.

Petrograd, July 17. ("Pravda"). In the night of 16th to 17th the Bolsheviki decided to call for a peaceful demonstration on the 17th July. From the early morning leaflets were distributed with the following contents:

"Comrades, workers and soldiers of Petrograd!

Now that the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie has openly come forward against the revolution, the All-Russian Soviet of workers, soldiers and peasant deputies may now take over the whole power.

That is the will of the revolutionary population of Petrograd, which has the right, by means of a peaceful and organised demonstration, to bring this will to the notice of the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviets which is now sitting.

Long live the will of the revolutionary workers and revolutionary soldiers!

Long live the Soviet power!

The coalition government has broken down. It has collapsed as it was not capable of solving those tasks, to solve which it was set up. The revolution is faced with severe tasks. We need a new power which, in union with the revolutionary proletariat, the revolutionary army and the revolutionary pea-



santry, would take over the task of consolidating and extending the gains of the people. Such a power can only be the power of the workers, soldiers and peasants' council.

Yesterday the revolutionary garrison of Petrograd and the Petrograd workers came into action in order to proclaim the slogan: "All power to the Soviets!" We demand that this movement which has arisen in the regiments and in the factories be converted into a peaceful, organised demonstration of the will of all the workers, soldiers and peasants of Petrograd.

The C. C. of the Petrograd Committee of the R. S. D. L. P.  
(Bolsheviks.)

## The July Days.

By I. Stalin.

It was the 3rd of July at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The Petrograd City Conference of our Party was just sitting in the Kschessinsky Palace. The municipal question was being discussed. Suddenly two delegates of the machine-gun regiment rushed in and declared: "They want to disband our regiment, they are deriding us, we cannot wait any longer and have resolved to take action. With this in view we have already sent our delegates into the factories and regiments". Thereupon Wolodarsky\*) as representative of the City Conference, stated that the Party had decided not to take any action. The C. C. saw clearly that the bourgeoisie and the black-hundred people would have been glad if we had allowed ourselves to be provoked into taking action at that moment. It would have given them a good opportunity to shift the responsibility for the failure of the offensive adventure on to our shoulders. We had resolved to wait for the offensive at the front, in order finally to compromise them in the eyes of the masses, not to let ourselves be provoked and in no circumstance to take action as long as the offensive lasted but to wait until the Provisional Government was exhausted. Comrade Wolodarsky told the delegates that the Party had resolved not to take any action and that it was the duty of the Party members in their regiment to submit to this resolution. The representatives of the regiment thereupon left the meeting under protest.

The meeting of the C. C. was held at the Tauric Palace at 4 p. m. It was decided to take no action. By order of the C. C. I informed the bureau meeting of the Central Executive Committee that our Party had resolved to refrain from any kind of action. I communicated all the facts to the bureau, reporting that the delegates of the machine-gun regiment had sent their people into the factories and proposed that all measures be taken to prevent action; this was entered on the minutes at our request. The worthy Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks forget this when they now accuse us of preparing for action. The City Conference of the Party passed the resolution not to take action at 5 p. m. All the members of the conference dispersed into the districts and the factories in order to restrain the masses from action. At 7 p. m., two regiments with flags bearing the slogans; "All power to the Soviets!" approached the Kschessinsky Palace. Two comrades, Lashevitch and Kurejev, came forward. Both of them tried to persuade the soldiers to refrain from action and to return to their barracks. They were greeted with cries of "We won't hear of it", a thing which had never happened before. Then a demonstration of workers appeared with the slogan: "All power to the Soviets!" It became clear to everyone that it was impossible to arrest the action. A private council of the members of the Petrograd Committee then pronounced in favour of intervening in the demonstration, proposing to the workers to proceed in an organised way, to march quietly to the Tauric Palace and there to elect delegates who should deliver to the Government the demands of the workers and soldiers. This suggestion was received by the soldiers with acclamation and the singing of the Marseillaise. Towards 10 o'clock the representatives of the C. C. and of the City Conference as well as of the regiments and the factories met in the Kschessinsky Palace. It was agreed

that it was necessary to rescind the resolution and to intervene in the action by taking the lead in the movement that had already begun. It would have been criminal of the Party to wash its hands in innocence at such a moment. Having come to this decision the C. C. went to the Tauric Palace whither the workers and soldiers were already streaming. The meeting of the workers' section of the Soviet was just taking place. Zinoviev spoke on the movement which had already begun. Under the pressure of facts, the workers' section resolved to intervene in the action and to give it an organised character, as there was danger that, without leaders, the masses would easily succumb to provocation. The section was divided on this point. The minority — about a third of the section — left the meeting. The majority — two thirds — remained, chose a provisional committee of 15 members, and gave them power to act. About 11 p. m. the agitators and delegates returned from the districts. The question was considered of fixing the demonstration for July 4th. The proposal not to organise a demonstration at all was rejected by an overwhelming majority as an obvious Utopia. It was clear to everyone that the action would take place in any case, and the C. C. together with the Petrograd Committee decided on a peaceful demonstration for July 4th. The notice of the resolve not to take action, which had already been sent to the "Pravda" was deleted, and as it proved impossible to put in any other notice the "Pravda" appeared on July 4th with a white patch on the front page. A pamphlet was issued, the contents of which are doubtless known to all. Everything shows that there was no intention of seizing the power or of dissolving the Soviets. It would be nonsensical and illogical to accuse us, who wanted to hand over the power to the Soviets, of having intended to turn against the Soviets and to seize the power for ourselves by force of arms. It is characteristic that the representatives of so-called Revolutionary Democracy themselves admit that our Party had no intention of organising the insurrection. Voitinsky, the official representative of the Executive Committee has declared so openly. (Reads an extract from the "Iswestija", the paper of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of July 4th.) The same thing is said by the appeal of the All-Russian Congress to the workers and soldiers. Among other things it says of Lenin: "He was away; he had left Petrograd on June 29th and did not return until July 4th, after the resolution to intervene in the movement had been passed." Lenin approved of our resolution. No less than 500,000 persons took part in the demonstration. The rumours that the demonstrators wanted to arrest the Ministers, ill-treated them etc, are wide of the fact. Apart from a few excesses on the part of hooligans and criminals there was not a single attempt even to occupy any offices. On July 4th fire was opened on the peaceful demonstrators at the corner of Nevsky Prospect and Sadovaja Street. A large number of delegations declared that there was no issue from this situation but that of the power being taken over by the Soviets. The Central Executive Committee rejected this proposal, whereupon some of the soldiers regarded their task as finished and went away. Others however stayed.

A turning-point in the situation was created by the publication of the documents about "Lenin's treachery". It turned out, this "material" had long been in the possession of headquarters, so that it was clear that the object of publishing it was to fan the soldiers into rage against the Bolsheviks. The Government had obviously calculated on the psychology of the soldiers, on whom it was thought the news that Lenin was a German spy would have a special effect. Minister Zeretelli called up the newspapers and requested them not to publish any announcements that had not been controlled. Nevertheless these "documents" were published in the "Shiwoje Slovo\*\*).

The second fact was the rumour that our front had been broken through. This rumour was only known to the leaders of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. It made a crushing impression on them and caused a sudden change in the attitude of the Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks towards us. Persons who had just been speaking to us as comrades suddenly brought up the military to protect the Tauric Palace, accused us of having roused the armed revolt and called us traitors to the revolution. In spite of our resolve to break off the demonstration on the next day, because we were of the

\*) One of the most prominent agitators of the Party who was murdered by the Social Revolutionaries in June 1918.

\*\*) "The Living Word", a bourgeois boulevard pamphlet.

opinion that the demonstrators had had enough opportunity of giving expression to their demands, there was a rapid change of front.

On July 6th there were no demonstrations. Fresh troops brought back from the front, defiled through the streets. The Junkers had been brought together from the environment of Petrograd. The streets swarmed with agents of the Counter-Espionage Department who examined passports and made arrests just as it pleased them. In the night of July 5th — 6th, the Mensheviki and Social Revolutionaries resolved to proclaim the dictatorship and to disarm the soldiers and workers. These proceedings were, as it now transpires, inspired by Zeretelli\*). He had demanded that they be taken as early as on June 10th, but at that time his proposal was rejected on the motion of Martov who declared that any fool could govern with arms. On July 6th, our comrades, Kamenev and Zinoviev, carried on negotiations with Liber\*\*) with regard to the protection of our Party members and Party organisations from attacks of hooligans, and to the re-establishment of the editorial office of the "Pravda". The negotiations ended with an agreement to the effect that the armoured cars should be removed from the Kschessinsky Palace, that the bridges should be lowered, that the sailors who had remained behind should return to Kronstadt, that the divisions of troops who had remained in the fortress of Peter and Paul might leave it undisturbed and that a guard should be placed at the Kschessinsky Palace. This agreement however, was not observed; for, behind the back of the Central Executive Committee which had proclaimed the dictatorship, the military clique began to act. Kusmin, the Commander of the Petrograd military district, called upon us to evacuate the Kschessinsky Palace without delay. I went to the Central Executive Committee with the proposal to settle the affair without bloodshed. In reply to my question: "What do you want? Do you mean to fire on us? We are not resisting the Soviets in any way", Bogdanov answered that they wanted to prevent bloodshed. We went to the Staff. The military authorities received us very coldly and told us that the order had already been given. I received the impression that those gentlemen intended to have some blood-letting in any case.

This is an account of how our Party acted in those days.

The Party had no desire to take action, it wanted to wait until the policy of the offensive was sufficiently discredited. Nevertheless, spontaneous action took place, thanks to the economic disintegration of the country, Kerensky's orders, and the despatch of divisions of troops to the front. The Party did not wish to remain a spectator but regarded it as its duty to intervene in the movement. What kind of a Party of the masses would it indeed have been if it had ignored the movement of the masses? Our Party has always gone with the masses. Zeretelli and others who reproach us with having interfered in the movement wrote their own death-sentence in doing so. They talk of bloodshed, but the bloodshed would have been far more terrible and more dangerous if the Party had not intervened; for it acted as a regulator. This is all I have to say about the political activity of the C. C.

\*) The 2nd chairman of the Executive Committee, one of the leaders of the Mensheviki.

\*\*) One of the leaders of the Jewish "League" and the Mensheviki.

Our Party was the only one which stuck to the masses in the struggle of the masses against the counter-revolution; and we did everything possible so that we might issue honourably from the situation that had arisen. (Applause).

## Chronicle of Events.

July 16.

(The course of the great demonstrations of July 16 and 17, is described above in the preceding articles. Ed.)

At the meeting of the Central Executive Committee the delegate of the Putilov-Werke declared: All the Putilov workers are standing before the Tauric Palace. They declare that they will not go away until the ten capitalist Ministers are arrested and the Soviet has taken over the power.

July 17.

The Bolsheviki resolve to place themselves at the head of the movement which has arisen spontaneously.

The Provisional government forbids all street demonstrations.

At the session of the Executive Committee there appear 90 delegates representing 54 factories and demand the taking over of power by the Soviets. 4 delegates are granted the floor in order to make declarations. The first delegate said: "It is very strange that in the appeal of the Executive Committee the workers are called counter-revolutionaries". The second delegate demanded the resignation of the ten capitalist Ministers. "We have confidence in the Soviet, but not in those in whom the Soviet has confidence. Our comrades, the socialist Ministers, are coming to terms with the capitalists; but these capitalists are our deadly enemies. We demand the immediate confiscation of the land, and fight against starvation." The third and fourth delegates demanded the immediate transference of the land to the peasants and immediate taking over of the power by the Soviets.

Zeretelli declared, in the "Petrograd atmosphere" it is impossible to adopt any decisions. The government must be recognised.

Martov demanded the taking over of power by the Soviets.

Dan opposes Martov. The war is inevitable. The Soviet cannot take over the power. "If the bayonets which are surrounding us create the conviction that the time has come for the Soviets to take over the power, then we, the responsible representatives, cannot take over this power. We refuse the responsibility. May those people take over the power, who formerly insisted upon it: the Bolsheviki.

The speech of Dan is interrupted by the report, that Cossacks are firing on the people at the Marsfield.

Anarchists are occupying the printing premises of "Novaya Vremya".