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The Ferment in the French Army.

By Michael Hollay (Paris).

The whole capitalist world, and before all Europe, is ripe for explosion.

In addition to the British bourgeoisie, the French bourgeoisie stands threateningly at the powder barrel, ready to explode it against the Soviet Union, the colonial peoples and the world proletariat.

During the last few months the French bourgeoisie, as if possessed, has been feverishly arming by land, sea and air; has passed new military laws in order to reorganise the army and to mobilise the whole nation in the event of war. A class army for the defence of the bourgeois State is to be created. A mercenary army, consisting of 106,000 officers and non-commissioned officers, 45,000 Republican guards, 80,000 professional soldiers and 180,000 coloured troops. That is to say, a permanent mercenary army of 411,000 men to guard the capitalist sources of profit and to serve as cadres for the annual contingent of 240,000 workers and peasant in soldiers' tunics. French imperialism will therefore have in future an army of 650,000 men under arms, ready to be launched against the workers of France, the colonial peoples and the Soviet Union.

But that is not all! "The complicated and constantly changing technics of weapons of murder demand", so writes General Nudant in the "Temps", "good technicians". It is sought to meet this necessity in the first place by the powerful professional

army, and secondly by the reintroduction of the 25 days military training for reservists. For the first time since the end of the war the French bourgeoisie has deemed it meet to reintroduce the periods of military training. The 1920 class are to be called up first. 20,000 men are to be called up. A timid attempt! But already a fiasco for the French bourgeoisie, and an encouraging sign for all those who are really fighting against the danger of new imperialist mass slaughter!

It was perfectly obvious that the war prospects, the role which will be allotted to the uniformed workers and peasants through the reorganisation of the army; namely in peace time to be watched over in the workshops and factories by the professional soldiers, and in the event of war to be driven by them as cannon fodder into the first line trenches, to be torn away from their families and their work, could hardly bring pleasure to these men of from 25 to 30 years of age.

If the trials of Mainz and Trier of the French soldiers for fraternising with the German workers in the Ruhr and Rheinland, the trials in Toulon of the sailors who, as a protest against the Morocco war, had mutinied on about a dozen warships, the 1500 soldiers from Algiers, still pining in prison, who allied themselves with the Riff Cabyles, and the hoisting of the red flag over the barracks of Nancy on the 1st of May all speak in eloquent language of the spirit of the active army,

the behaviour of the 20,000 reservists who have been called up is even more plain and emphatic.

Particularly gratifying is the fact that these demonstrations, which are not individual acts but real mass demonstrations, class-conscious actions carried out with splendid solidarity, are becoming more frequent and more imposing from month to month. Hundreds, in fact in one case thousands, acted in perfect solidarity in order to enforce their demands. And of these demands there are many: The food and drink are bad (only the other day 50 sailors on the warship "Ernest Renaud" became ill after eating bad meat served out to them), the beds are filthy sacks of straw, in addition the clothing is dirty, drill is exhausting, discipline brutal etc. And then there is the scandalous orgies held by the officers at the cost of the funds granted for the maintenance of the soldiers.

It is the old Potemkin story! A fatal symptom in the bourgeois army. Some soldiers refuse to touch the food; demand clean and dry shirts after heavy and exhausting drill. They are placed under arrest. The discontent spreads to the reservists. The "International" is sung. Military service is refused. Mass demonstrations break out.

800 reservists, in May last in **Bourges**, commenced these long series of demonstrations which are now assuming ever threatening forms. In June there are 800 in **Bourg-Lastic**, where they enforce the release of a prisoner; then demonstrations in **Besancon**, again in **Bourges**, in **Hagenau** etc. In July the mutinies increase from day to day. The barracks and military camps at **Versailles**, **Quoetquidam**, **Chalons**, **Metz**, **Mailly**, **Orleans**, **Blois**, **Sissonne**, **Brest**, **Cherbourg**, **Satory**, **Douai**, **Belfort** etc. are the scenes of tremendous outbreaks of discontent. The singing of the "International" is heard everywhere.

Many reservists, who have been torn away from their families, manifest their discontent at the railway station where they are entrained and during the whole journey. Arrived at the garrison town, they march through the streets singing the "International" and shouting out their demands: "Away with the 25 days training! Down with the military projects! Down with the bourgeois army!" Or there are spies who provoke the anger of the reservists. Thus in **Epinal**, where they discovered some police disguised as soldiers. A demonstration of 700 to 800 men in the barrack yard resulted in these spies making a hurry departure.

In **Quoetquidam** two discontented sailors are locked up. The next day 500 sailors demonstrate and demand and enforce their release.

In **Versailles** the reservists succeed by means of mass demonstrations in getting clean shirts. (A single shirt is provided for the 25 days!)

In **Bourg-Lastic** and **Cherbourg** they even succeed in being discharged and sent home before the end of their 25 days' training.

In the camp at **Valdahon** 4000 reservists proclaim their discontent with such unanimity, that the general who is called upon the scene finds it necessary to address them with soft words and says: "Very well, my children, do what you like, make yourselves comfortable!" and gives instructions not to be sparing in the matter of food, so that the reservists will not have cause to complain regarding their rations.

On the 14th of July, a national festival, the red flag is hoisted in **Blois**, the "International" is sung in chorus and the "Caserne" (a communist-anti-militarist soldiers' newspaper) is read out and distributed in the barracks.

In **Cherbourg** some hundred naval reservists are landed. The police await their arrival and try to bring them to the barracks surreptitiously. The reservists refuse to follow them and march in closed ranks through the streets. The "International" is sung without ceasing, alternating with the cries: "Down with the 28 days!" (The sailors have 3 days longer training) "Bread for our women-folk!"

In **Brest**, hundreds of naval reservists raise cheers for the fraternisation of the French Black Sea fleet with the Russian workers' revolution and the Red Army. They storm a police station and release a sailor who had been arrested by a policeman.

In **Versailles** last week a reservist requested 3 days leave in order to settle important family matters. Although he was only granted 24 hours leave he remained away for 3 days. As punishment he received 8 days imprisonment. Out of solidarity with their comrade all reservists refuse service. The

officers, furiously enraged, seize 11 reservists and throw them into prison. These immediately enter on a hunger strike. The whole garrison is in a fearfully excited state.

At the end of last week fresh powerful demonstrations took place in **Sissonne**, **Satory**, **Toulon**, **Cherbourg**, **Quoetquidam**, **Fours** and **Chalons**. We will give one example:

In **Quoetquidam** a non-commissioned officer receives 15 days arrest. He had reported 4 absent reservists as being present. Spontaneous demonstrations break out. For a whole hour several hundred reservists march through the barrack yard behind the red flag, singing the "International". The next morning 20 officers, revolvers in hand, force their way into the soldiers' quarters, where the reservists still have the red flag. Twelve are arrested, of whom five wear chevrons. Five are to be brought before a court martial. As an answer to this brutal action a single reservist collects in a few hours 232 signatures against the new military law.

Quite characteristic of the present mood is the revolt in the naval prison of **Toulon**. On 15th, 16th and 17th July revolts continually broke out because three sailors were locked in their cells for having protested against the food provided them. For some hours the prisoners were masters of the situation. The warders had fled. It was only after a two hours fight with drawn swords that 50 police succeeded in driving the sailors back into their cells. Up to the present it has not been possible to obtain any news as to the number of wounded, and perhaps also killed.

Up to the present the above is the only case where such brutal measures have been adopted. If in other places it has not come to open fighting, this is certainly not the fault of the bourgeoisie. In **Bourg-Lastic**, for example, the military authorities wanted to send the active troops with fixed bayonets against the reservists. But as soon as the young soldiers learned for what purpose they were being employed they calmly returned their bayonets into the sheaths and turned back.

The situation was much more dangerous in **Mailly** and **Quoetquidam**, where the reservists were threatened with Senegalese troops. Incited by the officers, a Senegalese boasted in front of the reservists that he would "stick the French soldiers through" and tread them underfoot. He came in for a somewhat rough handling.

Should the bourgeoisie continue this provocation of inciting coloured soldiers against the Whites, it will soon find that it is burning its own fingers. In the face of these provocations, which throw sufficient light on the bestiality of capitalism and its "nationalism", the soldiers are adopting a proletarian, international standpoint: fraternisation with the coloured soldiers and attempts to draw them into the fight against the imperialist army.

These revolts of the reservists against the 25 days military training, against the bourgeois army and against the new military laws, is an outbreak of hatred against the bourgeois apparatus of suppression, against the alarming increase in war preparations and the danger of war: a hatred which is spreading to ever larger masses of the workers and peasants. That these revolts are to-day assuming the character of mass actions carried out with all solidarity is due to the anti-militarist propaganda of the Young Communist League and of the Communist Party of France, who are endeavouring to lead this discontent into organised channels.

The "Caserne" and "Jean le Gouin" (communist papers for soldiers and sailors), which have circulated for years in the army and navy, have set up for the reservists the following demands: Abolition of the period of training; payment back of lost wages; obligation of the employers to re-engage reservists after the expiry of their period of training; reservists to do their training in barracks in the neighbourhood of their own town or village; payment of fares immediately on arrival in the army; 24 hours leave a week and payment of fares when making visits; better food, sleeping quarters and clothing. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets have been distributed.

The reservists know their true friends and champions. Every day they write long reports to "Humanité" and keep it informed regarding what is happening in the barracks.

This anti-militarist work, the only means of creating real and effective peace, involves many sacrifices, including courts-martial and imprisonment. But the French workers and peasants

are not intimidated, for they realise how necessary it is to shatter the bourgeois war apparatus. They are courageous because they have leaders who do not betray them. They are quite aware that if to-day there are so many leading comrades of the Communist Party of France and of the Young Communist League in prison, it is because of their fight against war, against murderous militarism.

RED VIENNA

The July Insurrection in Vienna, its Purport and its Lessons.

By Karl Schreiber (Vienna).

We now stand at the fearfully long row of graves in which there have just been interred a portion of the 150 blood witnesses of the 15th and 16th July. Infinite grief weighs upon the working class of Austria; but there is awakening in it the clear, and therefore in the last resort, victorious consciousness that from the course of, and the issue of the Vienna July insurrection, lessons are to be drawn in order that the bloody sacrifices borne by the Vienna proletariat shall be atoned for by the victorious Austrian revolution.

We do not hesitate to say with perfect clearness that the Vienna working class has suffered a defeat. Yes, this time we have been beaten. Today the Austrian bourgeoisie is holding its triumph, and is now proceeding with cynical deliberation to gather in the rich fruits of its victory.

But why the defeat? The Austrian proletariat was defeated this time because it had no revolutionary leadership. The young and small Communist Party of Austria has borne itself like a good battalion of the Communist International. It has stood the test, but it was not and is not yet a mass Party which could have led the proletariat organised for victory. The Communist Party of Austria was not yet the leader of the proletariat. The Austrian Social Democracy was still the leader of the Austrian working masses. Hence the defeat. For in the moment of the immediate and open collision of the classes the Austrian proletariat was, under such circumstances, without a fighting leadership.

The bourgeoisie and its government have a firm grip of the whip-handle. On the 15th July Seipel made use of the situation in order to cut through at one stroke the celebrated "balance of class forces". The government is master of the situation. It is possible that the fascist bourgeoisie in the provinces will go still further in their attacks than did the government. But it is quite certain that the Austrian bourgeoisie has already today become strong enough in order to end even that policy of sham concessions and parliamentary bargaining. It is quite certain that the Austrian bourgeoisie will now pocket the profits, will carry out without much ado the customs robbery which it has long planned, will finally abolish the Rent Restrictions Act and attempt brutally to reduce the standard of living of the working masses of Austria. There exists the great danger that the Austrian proletariat will pay for the defeated July revolt not only with blood, but also with unbearable hunger.

Yes, on the 15th of July the Austrian proletariat was plainly confronted with the choice: either courageous continuation of the fight up to the armed revolt, or defeat. The Communist Party of Austria was for continuation of the fight. The social democratic leaders desired defeat and made it inevitable.

In the unbounded campaign which in the historical July days had been directed by the social democratic leaders exclusively against the "small" and "weak" Communist Party of Austria, the social democratic leaders twisted and distorted even this question. They declared in a hundred thousand leaflets that the Communists want a general strike and arming of the workers, which would mean civil war. And civil war would mean increased bloodshed, famine, the handing over of the workers in the provinces to the fascists, foreign military intervention.

In his truly despicable graveside speech, Friedrich Adler formulated this idea in the words "tragic contradiction between revolutionary motives and revolutionary possibilities".

The Communist Party of Austria was clearly aware of its tasks and of the tremendous consequences of revolutionary continuation of the fight. On Monday the 18th of July the defeat was an accomplished fact, and the Central Committee of the C. P. of Austria adapted itself to this fact. But up to that day the Communist Party increased its forces up to the last limits of possibility in order to lead the Austrian proletariat to revolutionary victory.

Civil war would have meant more bloodshed? Shameless hypocrisy! The civil war was there; only the workers had no weapons and were compelled to reply to the civil war conducted against it by a bestial State apparatus with wooden palings! The Austrian Communists wanted not more but less bloodshed. The gigantic outbreak of force on the 15th of July proves that the 600,000 workers of Vienna could have easily settled with their own bourgeoisie and the 6000 Vienna police — 80 per cent. of whom are organised in the social democratic Party!

The arming of the proletariat would have meant famine? If the workers of Vienna had fought victoriously, then they would have succeeded in concluding a revolutionary alliance with the masses of the peasants and drawing them into the powerful front against the common exploiter.

The victory of the Vienna proletariat would have delivered the workers in the provinces over to fascism? No, the defeat of the Vienna workers has left their brothers in the provincial towns exposed to the attacks of the rural bourgeoisie which has become insolent and domineering beyond all bounds.

The victory of the Vienna workers would have meant military intervention by foreign States? Chicken-hearted "Statesmen", who with this "European" argument force the Austrian working class to defeat! This sort of leaders understand by "foreign States" the capitalist cliques, and in the best case the Stivins, Noskes, Renaudels and Vanderveldes! But they do not know the tremendous force of the foreign working masses who would have come to the aid of the Austrian workers in a gigantic solidarity fight, which, in fact had already begun to break out in an elemental form!

The European situation is certainly not as Bauer and Adler like to represent it to the Austrian workers. An occupation, a dividing up of Austria? By whom? Can Hungary attempt an extension of its sphere of power without coming into the most serious conflict with the Little Entente? Can Italy, before all, undertake an attack on the North without coming into irreconcilable conflict with France which is fighting for its European hegemony, and with Yugoslavia which is seriously threatened by Italy? No, the occupation and dividing up of Austria would have proved less simple than it was to allow the Austrian proletariat to be defeated by its own bourgeoisie!

The Communist Party of Austria was too weak to lead the spontaneous outbreak of the masses to a conscious, purposeful fight. The Austrian working class found itself leaderless, and therefore it was defeated.

We Austrian Communists stood and still stand in the midst of the fighting working class. We have learned from Marx and Lenin that the working masses, when they fight against their class enemy, are always in the right. What pitiable juggling to impute to the Communists of Austria "lack of all responsibility" as the guiding line of their action. Who is responsible for the defeat? We, who endeavoured to lead the Austrian working class to victory, or the social democratic leaders who, in the November days of 1918, placed power into the hands of Schober who today vies with Gallifet for the first place as mass murderer? Who has been responsible? We Communists who, in our Open Letter before the elections and a year ago, placed in the forefront the disarming of fascism and the arming of the proletariat, or those social democratic leaders who, on May 17th 1927, delivered over to Seipel and Schober the weapons from the Vienna arsenal? The very same rifles with which on the 15th and 16th of July the workers of Vienna were mowed down by the forces of law and order!

The Vienna July insurrection has been crushed. But its force and its importance for the working class of the world are tremendously great. Austro-Marxism has been broken and shattered into its miserable elements: reformist betrayal of the workers, disbelief in the power of the proletariat, empty phrases, "statesman-like" cowardice, and unconditional re-

nouncement in all circumstances of the revolutionary application of force. The Austrian proletariat and the proletariat of the whole world have learnt that only those can be victorious who are determined on victory, who do not hesitate and who are prepared to fight with Lenin's courageous belief in the enormous power of the revolutionary masses.

At the graves of the murdered victims, the Communists of Austria have sworn to exert all their forces to organise the Austrian revolution. It is their task now to make of the Communist Party of Austria the strong, the revolutionary leader of the Austrian working masses. In these July days the Austrian Communists, and with them the Austrian working class, have been able to feel the inspiring enthusiasm of international fighting solidarity.

The Austrian bourgeoisie has gone over to the attack. We must use all means in order to break this offensive. **In this fight we will, in a united fighting front with the social democratic workers, contest every inch of ground.** We will not tolerate that the social democratic leaders, seized with panic, abandon the positions of the proletariat without a fight. In this fight we shall remain firmly at our post. It is here that we must win the first victories which must be the starting point for further victories.

The world revolution lives, you Seipels and Schobers! and you too, you Bauers and Adlers! Its eternal fires will flare up again in this or that country. We do not know in which country it will first appear; but we are preparing **everywhere** in order to be ready when the revolution calls. The Austrian working class will also prepare. After its defeat will come its glorious victory. And this victory will be organised by the Communist Party of Austria!

The Vienna Barricades — Precursors of New Revolutionary Storms.

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow, 19th July 1927.

To the Working Class of All Countries!

To the Workers of Austria!

Events of the greatest importance are taking place in the very heart of Europe. The workers of Vienna have risen in revolt. For four days the workers of Vienna and of the whole of Austria have been fighting heroically. General Strike, Insurrection, revolutionary mass struggle in Vienna and in Austria, in the centre of Europe! It sounds like a trumpet blast in the ears of the workers of the whole world and fills them with enthusiasm and admiration for their Austrian comrades. They know that the Austrian working class which has had more to suffer from the consequences of the war and the capitalist attempts at stabilisation than the workers of other countries, is fighting against the general economic and political offensive of Austrian capital allied with the imperialist robber powers. Spurred on by the imperialists, the Austrian bourgeoisie intends to abolish the eight hour day, social labour legislation, worsen the situation of the workers, destroy their organisations and set up a naked reactionary-fascist government.

Still greater misery, still greater humiliation, an existence of political slavery and fascism is threatening the Austrian working class. That is the reason for the revolutionary elan of the Austrian workers. That is what they are fighting against. The sudden outbreak of great revolutionary struggles in Austria is however, at the same time a symptom of the vacillation and uncertainty of capitalist "stabilisation" in the whole of Europe. It shows that at any moment great revolutionary struggles can develop, and it shows how the workers must carry on the struggle against the offensive of capital.

The Austrian workers must not stop half way in their struggle with fascism. The time has come for action, and for courageous and revolutionary action. Vacillation, half-measures and any avoidance of the struggle would be suicide. In 1920 the Italian proletariat was defeated because it did not go

along the whole path from the commencement of the revolutionary insurrection to its final completion. The struggle must now be fought to a finish if Austria is not to fall a victim to fascism and the imperialist powers.

The Austrian social democracy, the alleged "left-wing", the pride of the Second International has shown its complete bankruptcy, its full treachery. For years it has held back the Austrian proletariat from any serious action, from any really effective struggle against reaction. For years it has pursued a policy of close co-operation with the bourgeoisie and the left-wing phrases were only used to cover this policy and to keep the support of the workers. It has always consoled the workers with the thought of the coming 51% of the votes which they were to win in order to realise socialism by peaceful means. It has already won 47% of these votes and in Vienna even the great majority of the total votes. It has always represented its municipal policy in Vienna as a socialist oasis in a capitalist desert. And what has been the result of all this?

The Social democrats have 47% of the total votes behind them, but fascists may still murder workers with impunity and violate the elementary rights of the workers. The capitalists are robbing the workers of their last achievements. The social democrats have a majority of the votes in Vienna and control the municipal council, but the police can still mow down hundreds of unarmed workers with machine guns.

The social democracy has made Austria a shining example of democracy, but the white terror can take on the sharpest forms there. The Social Democratic Party formed an army, but this army is now being used against the workers. The Social Democratic Party itself disarmed the workers and handed over the arsenals to the bourgeoisie. Now the fascists and the reactionary police have turned these weapons against the workers.

The reformist policy of the Social Democratic Party could not prevent the masses from action. The masses have acted, and when it came to a fight, they fought despite the leaders of the S. D. P., and they fought in a revolutionary manner.

And now, when the masses are fighting with revolutionary energy for their vital interests, the S. D. P. is doing nothing but concentrating its whole attention upon throttling the revolutionary struggle as speedily and as thoroughly as possible. Austro-Marxism has shown itself in its real character. Put to the test, the "left-wingers" of the "revolutionary" Austrian Social Democratic Party have shown that they are not behind Noske and Scheidemann. The formation of a special "municipal police" for Vienna by the social democrats from amongst the reliable members of the Republican Defence Force for the purpose of maintaining order in co-operation with the State police against the workers, shows up the real role of Austrian social democracy like a flash of lightning, shows with all clearness where the "left" road followed by Otto Bauer and Co. is leading. The bankruptcy and the treachery of Austro-Marxism must be exposed to the workers of the whole world and must be sharply stigmatised.

Comrades, Workers! Expose the treachery of the Austrian social democracy! Refuse to follow their compromising, treacherous directions! Prevent the parliamentary bargaining of the social democratic leaders who are anxious for a coalition government! Refuse to break off the strike and the struggle before you have achieved your aims! In this decisive moment of the struggle between the working class and the fascist bourgeoisie, whoever gives way and shows himself the weaker, is lost.

Continue to disarm the fascists and the police; form workers councils in Vienna and in the whole country; Mobilise the masses and lead them into the struggle! Fight for a workers and peasants government!

A furious campaign has commenced against the communists. Hundreds of workers, the majority of them communists have been arrested. The secretariat of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League have been occupied by the police. The whole mass struggle is now supposed to have been due to the "hand of Moscow". And that in a country where the Social Democratic Party has hundreds of thousands of members, that in a so-called democratic paradise! It is true, the communists were and still are in the front ranks of the struggle. But they are fighting side by side with the masses and not against them, like the Social Democratic Party.

The masses are now fighting for the revolutionary slogans of the Communist Party and not for the bankrupt policy of the reformist Social Democratic Party. The Communist Party of Austria has done its revolutionary duty. Therefore it is the object of the full hatred of the social democratic leaders and the bourgeois government. Therefore, however, the whole international proletariat and the Austrian proletariat above all, must show complete solidarity with the Communist Party, and the Austrian workers must follow its leadership.

The reactionary Seipel government which is nothing but an instrument in the hands of the imperialist powers, is determined to fight to the end. The fallen victims are not sufficient, new reactionary troops are being brought in from the provinces, the state of emergency is declared and the workers are threatened with the intervention of foreign troops. This reactionary government must be overthrown. The troops which are being used against the workers must go over to their side and fight side by side with them.

No foreign soldier may set foot upon Austrian territory to overthrow the Austrian working class. Fearing for its purse, the "national" bourgeoisie is prepared to hand over its "Fatherland" to monarchist Hungary, fascist Italy, Czechoslovakia and the imperialist powers, in order to crush the working class movement in blood. That must not be! The working class of the neighbouring States must fight with all the means at their disposal against the interventionist plans of their governments. The workers of Germany, of Czechoslovakia, of Italy etc. must use all means to show revolutionary solidarity with the Austrian working class. Thus they will be fighting for their own vital interests, for the Austrian workers are to be crushed in order to make the attack upon the workers of the other countries more easy, and in order to make Austria a willing instrument in the war plans of the imperialists against the Soviet Union.

The Communist International sends its warmest revolutionary greetings to the workers of Vienna and of Austria in general. The workers of Austria and of Vienna must know that in this difficult hour they are sure of the fraternal support of the workers of all other countries.

No matter how hard the social democrats may try to throttle the Austrian revolt, the struggle is being continued. The July storm over Austria has opened up new ways for the workers of Austria and will be followed by still greater revolutionary storms. The barricades in Vienna are a symbol of revolutionary resistance on the part of the working class. They show that the working class will fight for its interests, for the proletarian revolution.

Workers, working and peasant youth, soldiers! Fight on to victory! Help the Austrian proletariat! Down with social democratic treachery! Fight to death against fascist reaction! Arm yourselves! Form workers councils in Austria! Down with the Seipel government! Long live the workers' and peasants' government! Long live the victory of Red Vienna! Long live the victory of the Austrian working class!

Manifesto of the C. C. of the C. P. of Austria on the Occasion of the Burial of the Victims.

The Austrian working class, and with it the world proletariat, mourns to-day at the open graves of the murdered working men and women. With warm love for the victims of the bourgeois murder regime, with passionate hatred against the blood-stained bourgeoisie and with clenched fists, the Austrian working class pledges itself to preserve the memory of its murdered brothers and sisters and to expiate the mass murder.

The Vienna proletariat collided with elementary force with the bourgeois State apparatus. It was the unbridgable class antagonism, the deadly hostility between proletariat and bourgeoisie, the blood witnesses of which are our murdered class comrades who are being buried to-day. The bourgeoisie knows no sentimentality; its murderous hatred against the insurgent working people knows no limits. Its armed force is the terrible axe which it has caused to fall upon the neck of the Vienna proletariat.

Social-democratic, Communist and non-Party working men and women have been murdered by the blood-thirsty bour-

geoisie. It was a slaughter which made no distinction and showed neither scruple nor pity. The guardians of the bourgeois order of society have commenced with deadly hatred the campaign of extermination against the insurgent proletariat.

Without weapon and without sufficient clearness regarding the inexorable compulsion of History, the Vienna workers were delivered over to their deadly enemy. That is why they were crushed; that is why the July insurrection was drowned in a sea of blood. The proletariat can be victorious in the class struggle only when it recognises with inflexible tenacity, with clear determination that the victory is with that side which employs the most power in the fight.

Indescribable grief has seized the working class of the whole world. This grief is not weak and helpless. From this grief there will spring up a great power which will bring punishment and retribution. Already to-day, in the midst of the tears and sobs of the mourners, from all the indescribable desolation and misery of those who are left behind, the Austrian proletariat is drawing the lessons; after its bloody defeat it is forming its ranks for fresh struggles.

The murderous volleys of 15th and 16th July which mowed down our brothers and sisters have been a terrible awakening for the working class of Austria from out its dream of peaceful democracy. Democracy? That means volleys against the working class, it means ruthless terror, it means a campaign of annihilation against the unarmed proletarians.

The illusion of a peaceful way to socialism has been completely riddled. The bourgeoisie replies to a peaceful demonstration by murdering one hundred and fifty working men and women; it would reply to the desire for a peaceful seizure of power by the proletariat with a thousandfold merciless repressions. In the conflict between the classes the decisive factor is power; and power — that means weapons!

The way which the overwhelming majority of the Austrian proletariat has followed hitherto is now barred by one hundred and fifty corpses. At the graves of the murdered it is necessary to change the direction.

Ten years ago the workers of Russia rose. They set up a revolutionary leadership; they seized weapons; they proceeded straight ahead, regardless of danger and suffering up to the magnificent victory over the bourgeoisie. If the Russian proletariat had shown weakness, sentimentality, timidity — then the Russian Revolution would have been crushed, choked in a sea of blood!

At the graves of the murdered victims we wish to take the unshakable resolve to follow the path taken by the Russian workers, the revolutionary way, the way of victory. The expiation for all the workers' blood which has been shed, will be the seizure of power by the Austrian proletariat. The expiation will be the great abandonment of the dreamy belief in democracy, and the organising of the coming powerful upheaval

The Vienna workers did not stand alone in the fight. Little Austria has become the heart of the world proletariat; and its fierce pulse in the past few days summoned the revolutionary workers of the whole world to the fight. In the Soviet Union, in Germany, Czechoslovakia — everywhere where revolutionary workers live and struggle, everywhere preparations were made to aid the proletariat of Austria. The working class of the whole world is ready along with the Austrian working class!

The power of the Austrian proletariat did not achieve victory this time, as it had no revolutionary leadership. At the graves before which the working people of Austria stand in indescribable anguish, a victorious bourgeoisie triumphs with fiendish joy. But it is not the last fight; the defeat is not a final defeat. The dead brothers and sisters remind us that if the proletariat wishes to live it must overcome its class enemy. The proletariat, which is awakening to the consciousness of its task, pledges the murdered comrades to forge the weapons of victory with revolutionary clearness. We swear to expiate the mass murder by preparing the victorious revolution, by the setting up of the proletarian rule in Austria.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria.

The Funeral of the Fallen Barricade Fighters.

Vienna, 20th July 1927.

To-day at 2 p. m. a part of those killed in the street fighting were solemnly buried. The assembled were confined to deputations from the factories, from the Communist and Social Democratic Parties and from the trades unions. Approximately two to three thousand persons took part in the funeral. In all factories without exception a pause of fifteen minutes was observed. The Simmering street leading to the cemetery was draped with black flags.

The mourning ceremony was held in the great square in front of the main entrance to the Central Cemetery. The first speaker was the Town Councillor **Speiser** who spoke in the name of the social democratic Mayor of Vienna. The second speaker was **Ellenbogen**, the representative of the Social Democratic Party of Austria.

Comrade **Koplenig** then delivered the following speech in the name of the Communist Party of Austria:

"The Austrian working class and with it the working class of the whole world stands at the grave-side of the victims of the July revolt. They are witnesses to the irreconcilable contradiction and the bitter hatred between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. There is no democracy, there is either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The healthy proletarian instincts of the working class have long recognised this.

The acquittal of the Schattendorf murderers gave in fact carte blanche to all fascist murderers. It showed the masses the reactionary character of this democracy. The heroic struggle of the Vienna workers against the power of the government was a revolt against the attacks of the fascist reaction. The Communist Party stands without reservation to the 15th and 16th July. It declares itself in complete solidarity with the workers who fought in the street against the murderous power of the State. We feel passionate sympathy with the relatives of the dead workers and promise them all possible assistance. We demand that the State grants sufficient means to support the relatives of the killed workers and to support the wounded. The struggle of the workers in Vienna ended in defeat. The bourgeoisie is triumphant. It will complete our defeat unless we draw the correct conclusions from the struggle. The open graves of the dead workers are an urgent warning to the Austrian working class, a warning and a lesson at the same time. The collisions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie will be determined by force.

A revolutionary leadership and weapons in the hands of the workers is needed. Give us a revolutionary leadership! Our comrades died with this cry on their lips. That was their last will.

We communists do not want more bloodshed, we want less. Therefore we demand the arming of the workers. The Austrian working class will not be defeated if it draws the correct conclusions from this struggle and alters its policy. — The bourgeoisie of the whole world is now trying, and not for nothing, to use the events in Vienna in a campaign against the Soviet Union, the land of the proletarian revolution. The lessons of the 15th and 16th July mean nothing more nor less than a new revolutionary struggle against fascism, reaction and the danger of war. In this struggle there is only one way for the working class — the way of the Russian revolution, preparation for an armed insurrection and for the proletarian revolution! Our sorrow is not weak and powerless. A great power will arise from our sorrow and take vengeance for the murder of our comrades. This power is the capacity to see clearly and to prepare new weapons for the struggle. The Communist Party accepts the heritage of the July revolt. We swear to revenge this mass murder by the preparation of the revolution and by the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in Austria!"

It had been agreed that only three speakers should deliver speeches, two social democrats and one communist. During the speech of the communist however, considerable unrest made itself felt from amongst the ranks of the social demo-

cratic leaders and councillors. After the speech of the communist therefore, the social democrats broke the agreement and the secretary of the Second International, **Friedrich Adler** commenced to speak, and replied with a concealed, anti-communist speech. He declared that politics should be barred from the graveside of the July victims (!) and that instead one should try to understand the sorrow of the relatives of the deceased. The tragic events of the 15th and 16th July must not be utilised to make political capital for any party. The revolt had, it was true, originated from revolutionary motives, but the events of the 15th and 16th revealed a glaring contradiction between the will to revolution and the possibilities of revolution. At the present moment a seizure of power was impossible on account of the international and internal economic and political situation. Only irresponsible persons could wish to overthrow the power of the State.

A portion of the dead were buried and the others cremated. The dead have each a separate headstone and an obelisk will be erected later at the cost of the Vienna Municipal Council. The final numbers of the dead have not yet been announced. It is rising gradually, as many workers are still at death's door.

CHINA

The Regrouping of the Kuomintang.

By Tang Shin She.

The rapid development of the Chinese revolution is accelerating the crisis within the Kuomintang. The question has arisen as to who shall take over the hegemony in this Party which is composed of all classes. The treachery of **Chiang Kai Shek** was connected with the struggle for power between the feudal big landowners, compradores and big bourgeoisie on the one hand and the proletariat on the other. With the defection of **Wang Chin Wei** and his comrades the question at issue was: shall the leadership be in the hands of the proletariat or in the hands of the petty bourgeoisie, the middle and small landowners?

The whole Chinese bourgeoisie stands today, "under the flag of the Kuomintang and true to the principles of Sun Yat Sen", in the counter-revolutionary front against the Chinese workers and peasants. The situation is the same as that which existed after the great revolution of 1911, when, against the will of **Sun Yat Sen**, the founder of the Party all the mandarins and generals had joined the Kuomintang. But the bourgeoisie is split up into two main camps: the one section, under the leadership of **Chiang Kai Shek** demands the military dictatorship, whilst the other, under the leadership of **Wang Chin Wei**, stands for petty-bourgeois democracy.

The **Chiang Kai Shek** group is the stronger. Around this group there are gathered not only the whole of the higher officers of the Chinese mercenary armies (including those of **Chang Tso Lin** and **Sun Chuang Fang**) but it is supported, directly and indirectly, by the international imperialists. **Chiang Kai Shek's** anti-imperialist phrases are not sincere; he wishes to deceive the people. This is clearly shown by the fact that whilst his press opposed in the sharpest manner the sending of Japanese troops to North China, he himself declared in Hangchau:

"The Japanese troops are not proceeding against us, but against the Communists. For us also it is necessary in the first place to fight the "Communists" and then to turn our attention to the imperialists."

The **Wang Chin Wei** group is very weak; firstly because the officers belonging to it are adopting a vacillating attitude, and secondly because the petty bourgeoisie has no fighting spirit. Immediately after **Chiang Kai Shek's** first attempt at a coup last year, **Wang Chin Wei**, without first attempting any defensive measures, went abroad. A prominent member of his group, Professor **Kuo Min Yü**, even after the departure of **Wang Chin Wei**, worked together with **Chiang Kai Shek** in carrying out the latter's aims against **Wang Chin Wei** and the Communists. The **Wang Chin Wei** group is at present on the way to becoming subordinated to **Chiang Kai Shek**.

Wang Chin Wei has recently not only developed his theory against the class struggle, but has gone wholly and entirely

over to the side of the big bourgeoisie. For instance, the majority of the Political Bureau of the Kuomintang in Wuhan, in May last, in its discussion of the question of the alliance of the workers and peasants with the commercial and industrial employers, maintained that one must only co-operate with the petty bourgeoisie. Wang Chin Wei declared on the other hand, that in China all employers, with the exception of the compradores, could be regarded as petty bourgeois, without first asking them how many workers they employ or how much capital they possess. Thereupon the Wuhan Central of the Kuomintang, on the 18th of May, called upon the workers and peasants to conclude a firm alliance with the employers. The same appeal called upon the peasants to hand back the confiscated land and property to the so-called "good" landowners.

For the purpose of carrying out the Party decisions, the workers and peasants movement in the Wuhan governmental district was practically stifled and the workers' functionaries were driven out. Whilst at the beginning the activity of the political department of the army had been greatly restricted, the Communist and radical elements are now being expelled from these departments. In short, the Wang Chin Wei group is today only a pawn in the hands of the Wuhan generals, who are already in contact with Chiang Kai Shek.

On the initiative of **Deng Janda**, the leader of the peasant department, who, at the beginning of July, resigned his post as chief of the political department of the revolutionary army on the ground that the Wuhan Kuomintang Central had abandoned the three principles of Sun Yat Sen, there has been formed a new Left Kuomintang group, which aims at being the real champion of the principles of Sun-Yat-Sen and at maintaining the Kuomintang as a revolutionary party. On the 2nd of July Deng Janda published in the Central organ of the Kuomintang, "**Tsung Yang I Pao**" a programmatic article in which he opposed in the sharpest manner the generals and politicians who made use of a part of the teachings of Sun-Yat-Sen for their own purposes and afterwards betrayed them. Deng Janda stands for the abolition of the old system of economy and the setting up of a new economic life, and emphasises that the main teaching of Sun-Yat-Sen lead to the agrarian revolution. He says in conclusion:

"We wished to use the mercenary troops for the revolution; instead of this we have allowed them make use of us. Under the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek, all the counter-revolutionaries have gathered together, under the name of the Kuomintang, in one front against the Kuomintang. We therefore find ourselves in a situation similar to that of 1913, when Sun-Yat-Sen was compelled to form a new party in Tokio against the Kuomintang of the counter-revolutionaries. Like our leader, we must not allow ourselves to be defeated by the traitors, but must preserve the revolutionary spirit of the Party".

From this article it is to be seen that Deng Janda has not allowed himself to be swept away by the general counter-revolutionary wave, but that he wishes to continue to represent the interests of the poor peasants.

The teachings of Sun-Yat-Sen, to which also in the future every dirty counter-revolutionary will pay recognition in order to win supporters, will be interpreted differently by every general according to his own sweet will. The robber captain **Chang Tso Lin**, at the beginning of June, in his "peace" message, had the impudence to say that Sun-Yat-Sen had been his old friend and comrade in arms. Every rascally Chinese militarist who has happened to exchange a word with Sun-Yat-Sen will venture in future to make similar assertions. But it goes without saying that the organised workers and peasants of China, once they have been enlightened, will not allow themselves to be diverted by the treachery of the generals and politicians from their revolutionary path. The revolutionary Kuomintang, which stands for the interests of the workers and peasants, will continue to remain a mass Party. The "Kuomintang" of **Chiang Kai Shek**, however, will be destroyed by the furious internal squabbles of the various generals.

The Military Coup in Wuhan.

Moscow, 23rd July 1927.

The Shanghai Correspondent of the "Izvestia" describes the military coup in Wuhan (Hankow) as follows:

I returned to-day from Wuhan where I stayed two weeks. The coup developed gradually, it had the character of a petty-bourgeois democratic coup and was accompanied externally by no great events. A real bourgeois "order" is still far away. The final breach was preceded by a literary preparation. The leaders of the Kuomintang published criticisms of Marxism in the press in the style of college compositions. **Kuo Men-yu**, **Wang Tsin-wei**, **Sun Fo** and others did their best to prove the destructive nature of communism by quotations from **Dostoevsky** and **Bakunin**. They attacked the "false labour leaders", swore allegiance to the mass movement etc. Radical confusion and revolutionary foaming at the mouth accompanied the reactionary coup.

An immediate campaign against **Chiang Kai-Shek** was demanded in mass demonstrations. Under the cover of this characterless propaganda, the generals did their work noiselessly. The troops of General **Hu Hen** went through the town and occupied the headquarters and premises of the workers organisations. The workers themselves retreated in silence without permitting themselves to be provoked. The trade unions however, are becoming more active every day. The workers are adopting illegal forms of the struggle.

The appearance of the one-time revolutionary centre has remained, but internally everything is demoralised. The Kuomintang leaders feared the breach to the last minute, but they were playthings in the hands of the generals. In the question of the expulsion of the communists, the leaders of the Kuomintang are disunited. The final decision has been postponed. In practice however the expulsions have already commenced. The resignation of the communists from the government put an end to the nervous hesitation.

The revolution is severing itself from its half rotten past and making towards new and difficult struggles.

POLITICS

The Parliamentary Elections in Finland.

By N. W. (Helsingfors).

On July 1st and 2nd there took place in Finland the parliamentary elections. They were held under exceptional conditions, for there had been a **social democratic government** in office already for six months. It still holds office and will do so until the budget comes up for discussion in next November or so. With the budget it will fall. The present government is a pure **social democratic** government, the first of its kind in the history of this country. This fact lent a special character to the electoral campaign.

The social democrats, in their campaign, aimed at maintaining their government, and their programme was more reformistic than ever before. It could not be otherwise, as they had conducted a purely bourgeois policy since their taking office. They had ordered two submarines, armed ordinary patrol boats with guns, introduced a censorship over the post and telephone, lowered the stamp-tax for the capitalist-owned corporation stocks and bonds, by which one single company, the **Finnish Sugar Company**, benefitted to the extent of 6,000,000 marks. They had also granted many employers the right to compel the workers to work longer than the Eight-hours Day Law permits. As the workers generally were against this policy the social democrats were compelled to come forward and attempt an explanation.

As the most reactionary nationalist bourgeoisie, for tactical reasons, were also against the social democratic government, the main slogan of the social democrats could not be other than: "For the government!" Thus the main issue at the last elections was the administrative policy. The conservative bourgeoisie stood for a conservative policy and the social democrats defended bourgeois liberalism. The progressives as well as the agrarians were in a united front with the conservatives, not so much against the social democratic government as against

the revolutionary workers. The Swedish nationalists, a national minority, the most reactionary element of the Finnish bourgeoisie, came to the assistance of the social democratic government, as it had defended their national rights.

Only the socialist workers and small farmers had set up a programme of class-struggle. They demanded the release of all political prisoners, abolition of custom tariffs on food-stuffs and other necessities of life, freedom from taxes for the working-class, State benefit for the unemployed and sick, pensions for mothers and old folk, land for the landless, abolition of white-guards, of state-police (okhrana) and of military budgets, freedom of speech, of assembly, association, press etc. Around these demands there rallied the militant part of the class-conscious working class. Although the socialist workers and small farmers are without a proper party organisation (their party was suppressed in 1923 and about 300 of its most active members arrested), and although they had not such funds as the other parties had at their disposal, they achieved a splendid victory.

The votes polled by the different parties at the elections are as follows:

Party	1927	1924	1922
Socialist workers and small farmers	108,566	91,633	129,527
Social democrats	257,364	254,673	216,204
Progressives	60,743	79,587	77,998
Agrarians	205,895	177,798	176,143
Conservatives	160,097	165,960	156,971
Swedish nationalists	110,846	105,733	107,414
Total number of votes cast (including other parties)	905,552	876,591	866,646

The number parliamentary seats obtained by the different parties at the above mentioned elections are as follows;

Parties	1927	1924	1922
Socialist workers and small farmers	20	18	27
Social democrats	60	60	53
Progressives	10	17	15
Agrarians	52	44	45
Conservatives	34	38	35
Swedish nationalists	24	23	25
Total	200	200	200

As is to be seen from the above figures, the socialist workers and small farmers (the so-called communists) have won 2 seats. The social democrats could hardly hold the seats they had. The progressives, who never have had any clear policy and who have served as a screen for the conservatives in their dirty policy, have been almost wiped out.

The conservatives also show losses. They are the backbone of Finnish fascism. They were at one time the most humble agents and servants of Russian tsardom and later the tools of German imperialism. Most of the agrarians do not in reality, differ much from the conservatives, but they have still a very strong hold on the country people. A very intensive campaign against this party in the country districts would be of great importance for the socialist workers and small farmers.

The Swedes gained somewhat as a result of their vigorous propaganda. This was due to the strong Finnish-nationalism propagated by all Finnish bourgeois parties. Only the socialist workers and social democrats defended the national rights of the Swedish minority. The socialist workers and small farmers are ready to grant the Swedes full right of self-determination in the areas inhabited by them. Thanks to their administrative policy the social democrats lost many working class voters in favour of the socialist workers. On the other hand they gained new voters from the petty-bourgeoisie and civil servants.

The election campaign and its outcome have given a strong impetus to the movement of the socialist workers and small farmers. It will serve as a very favourable ground upon which the organisational work can be successfully carried on. The most important task of socialist workers and small farmers in the near future will be the development of a mass and class party of their own.

The Collaboration of the Spanish Socialists with the Military Dictatorship.

By Jar (Madrid).

The Spanish Socialist Party has clearly shown since 1923 that its policy is that of close collaboration with the dictatorship. During the very days of the coup d'état the Spanish Socialist leaders were opposed to a general strike, by which it would have been possible to thwart Primo de Rivera's military movement at that time. Thanks, therefore, to the neutrality of the Spanish Socialist Party in face of the military coup d'état, Primo de Rivera was easily able to seize power. Immediately after the coup d'état the Spanish reactionary press did not conceal its gratitude to the Socialist Party for its neutral attitude towards the new regime.

Since that time, however, the attitude of the Socialist Party towards the government has become more shameful every day. It is no longer a question of neutrality, but of obvious collaboration. The government does not allow any political meetings; not even the monarchist elements are able to obtain permission from the government for this purpose. But the socialists are exempted from this general measure.

Only recently the Young Workers' Socialist Federation held a national Congress in Madrid without encountering any difficulties. The Young Workers Communist Federation, on the other hand, was declared illegal by the police.

Since 1923 the entire activity of the Socialist party leaders has been directed towards getting jobs in government offices. At present all the prominent members of the Socialist Party are drawing salaries from the State. While the Communists are persecuted and imprisoned on account of their activity, the activity of the socialists is confined to helping the government in every possible way.

The attitude of the socialist leaders has naturally created great discontent among the rank and file. The Spanish Socialist Party is at present merely a collection of bureaucrats, prepared to maintain all the established interests and political institutions, but lacking power and prestige among the masses. In spite of the government's protection, the Spanish workers have succeeded lately in expressing their hostility to the socialist leaders. Manuel Cordero, a very prominent socialist leader, was compelled to abandon a propaganda campaign he was trying to conduct in the district of Galicia. The workers refused to give him a hearing at the meetings and denounced him everywhere as a traitor. The same thing occurred in other towns where other socialist leaders had attempted to organise similar propaganda campaigns.

Another factor which will help still more to disorganise the Socialist Party, is the campaign for trade union unity, which is achieving very satisfactory results, although it cannot be carried out so intensively as circumstances would demand. This campaign is being hampered by the police authorities. At the meetings it is impossible for Communist members of trade unions to put their point of view in the discussion, as this would render them liable to several months imprisonment. Our organ "La Antorcha" is prohibited by the censorship from publishing anything concerning this campaign.

A Congress to discuss trade union unity was called by the San Sebastian Trades Council. Organisations in all parts of the country were ready to respond to the appeal of the San Sebastian trades council. But the government, instigated by the socialist party, refused permission for the holding of this congress.

A serious crisis is developing within the Socialist Party. At first only a few organisations in various districts expressed their discontent at the Party's policy of collaboration with the dictatorship. But now some of the leaders are already beginning to show their dislike of this policy.

One of the leaders of the Socialist Party, Indalecio Prieto, wrote an article on the 1st of May, which was regarded as initiating a new class policy. He praised the Soviet Union and appeared as a defender of trade union unity. The Communist Party of Spain immediately attempted to test the sincerity of

these new views of Prieto. Comrade José Ballejos, member of the C. C. of the C. P. of Spain, wrote an article in which he pointed out the practical consequences which could be drawn from Prieto's attitude. Shortly afterwards nobody had the least doubt that the new attitude of the socialist leader was not sincere.

On the other hand, the corruption within the **Confederación Nacional del Trabajo** (anarchist trade union federation) is general. In 1919/20 this organisation had about a million members. It was a powerful force of which the Spanish bourgeoisie was exceedingly afraid. At present the organisation has no political life. The bad policy conducted by its leaders has resulted in the decay of the organisation.

Under these conditions the tasks of the C. P. of Spain are clear. On the 3rd of June last there took place the session of the Plenum of the C. C. The inner Party crisis was settled and it was decided to conduct a wide-spread campaign for trade union unity. If the "Consultative Assembly" should be summoned by the government, it will be the task of our Party to denounce to the working class the treachery of the Socialist Party and to continue an intense struggle against the dictatorship. There will be shortly held in Madrid a Congress of the "Union General de Trabajadores" (reformist federation of labour). In spite of every hindrance many sections have appointed Communist delegates. The Congress will without doubt be a demonstration of our Party's activity and of its influence among the working class.

The opposition to Primo de Rivera is growing every day. Only recently the people of Spain witnessed one of the biggest financial scandals which the government ever had on its conscience. Under a royal decree, a petroleum monopoly was introduced in favour of a group of capitalists. Financial scandals of this description have been quite frequent under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, who, according to his programme, took over power in order to cleanse political life.

On the Political Situation in Japan.

By Sen Katayama.

The fall of the Wakatsuki government and the formation of the Tanaka Ministry were due to the refusal of the Privy Council to grant to the Bank of Japan the sum of 200 million Yen as compensation for advances to the Bank of Formosa which is on the verge of bankruptcy. The Wakatsuki Cabinet was compelled to resign and the reactionary General Tanaka (notorious through his intervention in Siberia and the misappropriation of military secret funds amounting to several million Yen) formed the present Cabinet. He called an extraordinary session of Parliament in order to obtain parliamentary sanction for two bills, the one granting to the Bank of Japan 500 million Yen for losses in respect of advances which it had made to various banks involved in difficulties, and the other bill granting 200 million Yen to the same bank for its advances to the Bank of Formosa. At the extraordinary session of Parliament these two bills were accepted by both houses without difficulty.

At this session of Parliament the Kenseikai Party and the Seiyuhonto Party formed an opposition coalition under the name of the Shinto Club, and introduced a vote of censure against the Privy Council on account of the latter's refusal to approve the proposal of the Wakatsuki Ministry, which refusal, it was said, had called forth the great bank crisis. The opposition, however, approved the proposal of the new government, as it feared the dissolution of Parliament if it should oppose both bills. In this manner the opposition helped the Tanaka Ministry to carry out its financial policy.

The Tanaka Ministry did not have a majority in Parliament, but was afraid to proceed to new elections as it was not sufficiently prepared for them. One of the usual methods of preparing for elections in Japan consists in dismissing all governors and chiefs of police who are regarded as hostile to the government, and putting in their place its own followers and lackeys in order to ensure the victory at the elections. The Tanaka Ministry sent the members of Parliament home and thereupon carried out changes in the sense indicated above.

Since the ending of the extraordinary session, however, the Shinto Club has not remained idle, but is proceeding to form a new party. On the 15th of May it published a Manifesto containing the programme of the new Party, and dealing with the following points: a general review of the political situation, the naming of the Party, foreign policy, economic questions, educational questions, questions of the Party functionaries and Party statutes.

Under the first point the programme emphasises the necessity of taking a new departure in national and international politics. Hence the necessity of a new party. The second point gives the reasons which have led to the party being given the name of **Rikken Minseito** (Constitutional Democratic Party) and calls attention to the necessity of forming a party government responsible to the people. In the remaining points an economic liberalism with free trade, rationalisation of industry etc. is advocated, and election of party functionaries, instead of the present system of appointment from above, is demanded.

The programme of the Rikken Minseito is calculated to catch votes at the coming elections at which manhood suffrage will be in force for the first time. The centralism of the Mikado is to be opposed by the centralism of Parliament, and at the same time an attempt is to be made to abolish the class struggle.

The last extraordinary session of Parliament was dominated by the Shinto Club which had 230 members in the House. The club could have forced the Tanaka Ministry either to resign or to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the electorate. It was, however, lacking in unity; and when the new party came to be formed some discontented elements left it, so that the Rikken Minseito has at present only about 200 members of parliament behind it. The Party intended to hold its formal foundation congress on the 1st of June with Yuko Hamaguchi as President.

The prospects of the Rikken Minseito are diminished by the fact that the Tanaka Ministry achieved what it desired at the extraordinary session, and that since the bank panic the economic situation has greatly improved. It must be further borne in mind that the Rikken Minseito no longer possesses the absolute majority in Parliament, as did the Shinto Club with its 230 deputies.

The Rikken Minseito represents the interests of the firm of revolution in China and Japan's policy in China generally. This is due to the fact that the party, which at present is mainly engaged in organising itself, possesses no clearly defined policy. During the Wakatsuki Ministry the Kenseikai had a definite policy of non-interference in the Chinese revolution, but the Seiyuhonto, which was formed as a result of a split from the Conservative Seiyukai party, does not reveal any definite policy, a fact which is not without effect on the Rikken Minseito.

The Rikken Minseito represents the interests of the firm of Mitsubishi and the Sasshu naval clique, whilst the Seiyukai and its Tanaka Ministry represent the firm of Mitsui and the Choshu military clique. Both parties, therefore, represent the greatest financial powers in Japan, are definitely bourgeois and hostile to the workers and peasants.

The prospects of a general election in the near future under the new manhood suffrage law is arousing the political interest of the entire population. In fact there have been organised at least four national political parties of a proletarian character. These are: the Rodo Nominto (Workers' and Peasants' Party), dominated by the Left trade unions, mainly by the Hyogikai (Trade Union Council); the Nichiroto (Workers and Peasants' Party of Japan), controlled by the centrist trade unions; the Shakai Minishuto (Social People's Party) controlled by the Right wing unions, chiefly by the Sodomei (Japanese Federation of Labour); the Nichi-Noto (Peasant Party of Japan) controlled by the conservative peasants and radical intelligentsia under the leadership of Professor Kita Zava. The chief financial supporter of this last party is Sugai, the big brothel keeper.

The influence and strength of the parties will be tested at the coming elections. All the proletarian parties will encounter great difficulties in the elections as they have no experience and possess no means, whilst all the bourgeois parties enjoy financial support and other advantages. In addition, the proletarian parties are persecuted by the government.

Of course all the opposition parties are to some extent in a disadvantageous position; but the bourgeois opposition parties are better off financially and socially. The only advantage

possessed by the proletarian parties is their numerical strength and their influence among the masses. At the present time there are four proletarian parties, each fighting against the other; but experience will probably force them to unite into one or two parties as soon as the election campaign really sets in. Many of the leaders of labour are speaking of the necessity of a united proletarian national party.

The Rikken Minseito, too, will encounter many difficulties, because it was originally composed of two parties embodying different political ideas and traditions and which have only united in order to gain political power. It is probable that the formation of the Rikken Minseito will promote the formation of a party government in Japan.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Mass Struggles in Greece.

By P...os (Athen).

At the end of May and the beginning of June events of far-reaching importance took place in Macedonia and Thrace.

The government has placed these two provinces under a regime of military and police terror, directed against the 50,000 tobacco workers and the workers in sympathy with them.

The government, urged by the workers, established an "Insurance and Old Age Fund", intended to protect the tobacco workers against unemployment, illness, and old age.

This was, however, only the ostensible object. The real object was to make use of this fund as an instrument against the interest of the workers, and especially against the Tobacco Workers' Union, one of the strongest labour unions in Greece, whose consistently revolutionary tactics have aroused the wrath of the government.

In order to carry out its plan, the government took care that the council administering the Insurance and Old Age Fund should consist mainly of representatives of the employers and civil servants. The number of non-labour representatives is seven, that of labour representatives only three. Besides this, these latter are not elected by the workers, but appointed by the State.

The Tobacco Workers' Union, supported by the great mass of the workers, took immediate action against the reactionary composition of the administrative council, in order to convert the fund into a real labour institution. But the government remained deaf to all demands on the part of the workers.

In view of the reactionary attitude of the government, the Tobacco Workers' Union called upon the workers to cease payment of the monthly subscriptions to the Fund, deducted by the employers from the wages. The employers continued to deduct the amounts, even against the will of the workers. The workers replied by sabotage, and this ended in the employers declaring a general lock-out. 50,000 men and women workers were thrown out of employment.

This was the signal for the Terror. A military regime was declared in the towns of Macedonia and Thrace, and especially in Salonika. The police and the gendarmerie were possessed with furious rage. The arrests, brutalities, and acts of violence committed by the authorities exceeded all limits. The deportation of workers to the barren islands of the Aegean Sea (according to the method of Pangalos) became a constant practice of the present regime, which boasts of having "restored civil liberty".

Blood did not cease to flow. The police, the gendarmerie, and the soldiery of Salonika, Kawala, Drama, and other cities, repeatedly fired upon the masses. Several workers' clubs and workers' institutions were occupied by soldiers. The workers' club at Salonika was not surrendered to the authorities until it had been actually besieged and threatened by a division of artillery. On this occasion 150 workers were arrested and imprisoned. Two communist deputies were arrested on suspicion of having propagated the idea of insurrection against the State. This was an open violation of the constitution and of the immunity of the deputies.

The Central Committee of the Tobacco Workers' Union, and the leaders of the local organisations, had to work illegally during the whole period of the struggle. In some cases the trade union committees have had to elect fresh members three times in succession, the old ones having been arrested.

The aims of this reign of terror may be summed up as follows: The coalition government has been anxious to deal a decisive blow at the Communist Party and the revolutionary labour movement in the provinces, which are considered to be the hiding places of the communists.

And this policy on the part of the government has its good reasons. Great indignation is being felt among the people at the new taxes, which amount to 1800 million drachms. The index figures of the cost of living are rising steadily. There is much unemployment in all the large towns. Wages have been reduced far beneath their prewar level. Among the rural population too there prevails great excitement. Even the bourgeois strata in the towns (shopkeepers, small tradesmen, etc.) are beginning to stir. These facts are portents of a serious struggle on the part of the working class and the great masses against that policy by means of which the bourgeois coalition thinks to re-establish state finance and to stabilise the currency.

The government, anticipating a mighty movement in the masses, sought an opportunity of breaking down the resistance of the exploited before it had really begun. This opportunity was afforded it by the struggle between Macedonia and Thrace. The destruction of the Tobacco Workers' Union would mean a general weakening of the external resistance of the Greek proletariat and the working masses. This is the reason why the government has opposed this great labour union. And with the same object in view the military and police authorities of Macedonia and Thrace are directing their attacks on the local organisations of the Party, whose members are arrested, maltreated, imprisoned, or deported.

The government has endeavoured during this severe struggle to strengthen the influence of the reformist reactionary organisations. It has supported the anti-communist campaign of the latter, and their violent offensive against the Tobacco Workers' Union, with every means at its disposal.

The Trade Union Federation of Greece, which is under the leadership of the reformists, has done its utmost to sabotage the struggle of the tobacco workers. It has done nothing in aid of this fighting section of the working class. It did not mobilise the other trade union organisations. It did not protest against the persecutions and terror carried on by the State. And on top of all this it has characterised the fight of the tobacco workers as unjust and adventurous.

The tobacco workers, caught between the government terror on the one hand and the treachery of the reformists and the trade union federation on the other, were forced to call a retreat after twenty days of severe struggle.

Is this a defeat? Yes, it is a defeat in so far as the demands of the workers have not been fulfilled, and that the struggle has cost 150 banished and 50 imprisoned. But it is not a defeat, when we take into consideration that the Tobacco Workers' Union has emerged from the struggle stronger than before, and that the influence of the Communists among the workers has not diminished. The reformist organisations are beaten to a frazzle. Seen from this point of view, the struggle of the tobacco workers has been a great moral victory for the Communist Party and for revolutionary tactics.

The Communist Party of Greece has done its utmost to come to the aid of the tobacco workers. It mobilised all the revolutionary labour organisations against the terror, organised demonstrations of solidarity for the tobacco workers in every country, and fought steadily against the betrayal of the workers by the reformists and the Trade Union Federation. It helped in the leadership of the struggle by means of its local organisations, its press, and its deputies.

The Communist Party of Greece was able to give the struggle that broad character to which the national and international situation entitled it. It made it clear to the tobacco workers and the whole working class that the terror is not only an attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to break down in advance all power of resistance of the masses against the taxes, but is at the same time an attempt to weaken the proletarian front against the fresh war in the Balkans, and especially against the anti-Soviet front of the Balkan states and a possible campaign against the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party of Greece has endeavoured, during the great tobacco workers' struggle, to weld together the united front of the exploited against taxation, war danger, the war of the imperialists against Soviet Russia, and the war of the imperialists in China.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Resolution of the E. C. C. I. on the Present Situation of the Chinese Revolution.

The fight of the workers and peasants in China is a fight in the foremost positions of the Communist International. The revolution in China continues to be the centre of attention of the Comintern.

In view of:

1. the feverishly rapid speed at which events are developing in China, by which the political situation and the relations of the social class forces in the country are constantly changing;

2. the extraordinary difficulties encountered by the Chinese revolution in connection with the treachery of the generals and of sections of the mercenary army, in connection with the consolidation of the counter-revolutionary forces, and in connection with the series of partial defeats suffered by the Chinese revolution of late;

3. and finally of a number of the most serious errors committed by the leaders of the Communist Party of China during the last few months, the Communist International considers it necessary to address the following resolution to all comrades, to the members of the C. P. of China, to the C. C. of the C. P. of China, and to all Sections of the Comintern. This resolution is the further development of the instructions already issued by the E. C. C. I. on this subject:

1. The most important and absolute necessary prerequisite for correct Communist tactics is the most strictly, careful and Marxist-Leninist estimate of the peculiarity of the present epoch of the revolutionary situation, and the accurate ascertainment of the stage through which the revolution is passing. Unless the peculiarity of the given moment has been grasped, the special tasks of the fighting Communist Parties cannot be determined, vital revolutionary slogans issued, or right tactics laid down for the proletarian vanguard. The import of the present epoch of the revolution in China must be clearly and concretely defined, and for this purpose we must subject the whole course of the revolutionary process to a critical examination.

2. The VII. Session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. (December 1926) defined the character of the Chinese revolution to be one — at the given stage of development — bourgeois-democratic in nature, and at the same time directed energetically against the yoke of imperialism. The E. C. C. I. pointed out that this bourgeois-democratic revolution was showing a tendency to develop into a socialist revolution. The VII. Session of the Enlarged E. C. C. I., whilst defining the position and importance of the social forces struggling in China, pointed out at the same time the inevitability of an aggravation of the class struggle and of class differentiation, the growing disintegration of the united national revolutionary front, and above all the inevitability of the defection of the big bourgeoisie. Proceeding from this fact the E. C. C. I. issued instructions with reference to the preparation of the workers and peasants for the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

This took place some months before Chiang Kai Shek's coup. Subsequent events, with their bloody culmination in the shooting of the workers of Shanghai on 12. April of this year, have confirmed the prophecies of the Comintern: The fundamental shifting of class forces has taken place, the bourgeoisie has committed treachery and gone over to the enemy; the revolution, after having suffered a partial defeat, has risen to a higher level.

3. The last Plenum of the E. C. C. I., meeting in May of this year, adopted a detailed resolution on the Chinese question. The May Session of the E. C. C. I. proceeded from the defection of the bourgeoisie as an accomplished fact. The Plenum defined the concrete features of the situation after Chiang Kai Shek's desertion, and laid down a corresponding line of conduct for the Communist Party of China. The main instructions of the

Plenum were: The steering of a course directed towards the masses, the development of the agrarian revolution by every available means, the arming of the workers and poor peasantry, the clearing of the way for the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, a decided course directed towards the democratisation of the Kuomintang.

The Plenum sketched, clearly and unequivocally, those necessary conditions under which it is possible for the independent C. P. of China to co-operate with the Left Kuomintang in the Wuhan government. The Plenum considered the peculiarity of the given position to be the existence of **three camps** (the feudal camp of Chang Tso Lin, the camp of Chiang Kai Shek, which is still fighting against the imperialists and militarists, but is already shooting down the workers and peasants; and finally the revolutionary camp of Wuhan). The E. C. C. I., in its resolution, considered it to be extremely important to emphasise the unreliability of the generals and of the army divisions, and was of the opinion, in this connection, that "at the present moment the questions of the reorganisation of the army, the formation of divisions of troops absolutely faithful to the revolution, the connection between the army and the organisations of the workers and peasants, the safeguarding of the cadres in the army, the conversion of the mercenary army into a regular army of the revolution, etc., are becoming the burning questions of the day.

The instructions given by the Comintern to the Chinese comrades have been in accordance with the spirit of these resolutions.

4. Events have developed with great rapidity during the last few weeks. The Comintern considers the following to be the most important and characteristic of these events:

The intensification of class antagonisms has made further progress. The movement of the masses of the Chinese proletariat has broadened. The agrarian peasant movement has likewise developed. The question of the attitude adopted towards the agrarian revolution has become the crucial turning point for all the political groups in the country, without exception.

The generals and the officers' corps go quite openly over to the counter-revolutionary camp, and declare themselves the enemies of the peasantry. The insurgent officers in Changsha settle accounts with the peasants, and neither the national government of Wuhan nor the heads of the Kuomintang oppose them. Feng Yu Hsiang turns renegade, forms a block with Chiang Kai Shek (meeting at Hsutshow), and demands the capitulation of the Wuhan government. General Tang Sen Chi, the Commander in Chief of the armed forces of Wuhan, is shooting peasants, executing communists, and driving them out of the army. An understanding is being arrived at among the counter revolutionary generals, from Chiang Kai Shek to Tang Sen Chi.

At the same time the leading elements of Wuhan cover the actions of the counter-revolutionary generals, help them, disarm the workers, attack the proletarian organisations, hamper the agrarian revolution, and lead a fight against the communists. The heads of the Kuomintang are rapidly preparing to expel the Communists from the Kuomintang. In this manner Wuhan is already becoming a counter revolutionary force.

Such is the development of events, and these are the main features and the peculiarities of the present position of the struggle in China. And the peculiar situation thus arising dictates to the Chinese Comrades a corresponding tactical orientation in the question of power, of the attitude towards the Wuhan government, of the bloc, of the course to be steered in the further struggle, and the like.

5. In accordance with Lenin's teachings, the Communist International has considered, and continues to consider, blocs and alliances with the national-colonial bourgeoisie to be necessary and to the purpose at certain stages, provided this bourgeoisie is carrying on a revolutionary struggle against imperialism. In certain phases of the revolutionary process the support of military campaigns of the bourgeoisie, against the forces of imperialists or their military compradores, is permissible and even obligatory. For this struggle against imperialism is a plus for the cause of revolution.

From this Leninist standpoint every analogy with the bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia must be rejected, and has been rejected, where Bolshevism was perfectly right in declining to come to any understanding with counter-revolutionary liberalism. But blocs with bourgeois groups, and the rendering of aid to their military forces, are only permissible in so far, and for so long, as this does not hinder the independent work of the C. P. of China, so long as the liberal bourgeoisie has not yet turned against the workers and peasants, and so long as the bourgeoisie is still capable of solving the historical tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

The support given to the campaign to the North was perfectly correct so long as it aroused a revolutionary mass movement. And the support given to Wuhan was equally correct so long as it acted as the opponent of Chiang Kai Shek's Nanking. But this same bloc tactics become fundamentally wrong in the moment at which the Wuhan government capitulates to the enemies of revolution. What was correct during the previous stage of the revolution, is now absolutely unsuitable.

It need not be said that all this involves certain difficulties for the leadership of the Party, especially in the case of so young and inexperienced a party as the C. P. of China. These difficulties are increased by the circumstance that the elementary course of events shortens the stages of the struggle at times, drives the process rapidly from step to step, and diminishes the periods during which this or that line of tactics is suitable of application. The acute tension of the revolutionary situation requires a rapid grasp of the features peculiar to each moment; it requires skilful and timely manoeuvres, rapid adaptation of the slogans, the timely reorganisation of the ranks of the proletarian vanguard, energetic action corresponding to altered conditions, and the decided rupture of blocs which have ceased to be factors of the revolutionary struggle, and have become obstacles in its way.

6. If at a certain stage of development of the revolution, the support of the Wuhan government by the C. P. of China was necessary, such support at present would be disastrous to the C. P. of China, and would plunge it into the bog of opportunism. In spite of the advice given by the Comintern, the heads of the Kuomintang have not only failed to support the agrarian revolution, but have unfettered the hands of its enemies. They have sanctioned the disarmament of the workers, the punitive expeditions against the peasants, and the reprisals of Tang Sen Chi and Co. They have postponed and sabotaged the campaign against Nanking under various pretexts.

The revolutionary rôle of the Wuhan government is played out; it is becoming a counter-revolutionary force. The radical bourgeois and intellectual elements of Wuhan are still able to use "radical", pseudo-revolutionary "heroic gestures" of the type of the proclamation of a campaign against Nanking (a campaign whose revolutionary import is destroyed when the workers are disarmed, the agrarian revolution suppressed).

But these gestures are not altering the social class character of the matter. The Wuhan government has become the accomplice of counter revolution.

This is the new and peculiar feature which the leaders of the Chinese C. P., and all the Chinese comrades, must fully and clearly take into account.

7. The present leaders of the C. P. of China have lately committed a number of grave political errors. The C. P. of China should have, according to the instructions of the Comintern, developed and led the agrarian revolution, openly criticised and exposed the half hearted and cowardly attitude of the "radical" leaders of the Wuhan government and the C. C. of the Kuomintang, warned the masses of the possibility of their betrayal by the generals, armed ever greater number of workers, and pushed the Kuomintang and the national government determinedly onto the real revolutionary path. Instead of leading the agrarian revolution, the C. C., in many cases, came forward as a hindrance. Some leaders of the Party issued openly opportunist slogans, such as: "The revolution must first be broadened before it is deepened", or: "First Peking; then agrarian revolution". These slogans were very rightly rejected by the Party Conference, which gave expression to the feeling of the masses of the Party.

Whilst the broad masses of the Chinese communists have been carrying on a self sacrificing and truly revolutionary struggle in the depths of society, among the peasants, workers, and city poor, the leaders of the C. P. of China have pursued a policy of damming back the masses. The revolutionary instructions of the E. C. C. I. were rejected by the leaders of the C. P. of China. Matters even went so far that the Political Bureau of the C. C. of the Chinese C. P. "agreed" to the disarming of workers! In spite of the obviously counter-revolutionary behaviour of the leaders of the Wuhan government, Tang Pin San did not find the courage to declare openly that he left the national government, but preferred to withdraw by a cowardly application for leave of absence.

The C. I. has frequently sent private instructions criticising severely the leadership of the C. P. of China, and has warned the Chinese Party that this criticism will be expressed in public unless the errors are made good. At present, the C. C. of the Party having rejected the instructions of the C. I., the E. C. C. I. considers it its revolutionary duty to call upon the members of the C. P. of China openly to fight against the opportunism of the C. C.

8. The Comintern considers it necessary that these errors committed by the leaders of the C. P. of China should be made good at once, and notifies this to all the members of the Chinese C. P.

The Comintern is of the opinion that it is necessary:

1. That the Chinese communists resign demonstratively from the Wuhan government, without hesitating for a moment.

2. That this resignation from the Wuhan government should be accompanied by a political declaration, substantiating this resignation with the hostile attitude taken by the Wuhan government towards the agrarian revolution and towards the labour movement, demanding the severe punishment of all those who have been guilty of reprisals against workers and peasants, and exposing the policy of the Wuhan government all along the line.

3. Not to withdraw from the Kuomintang. The Communists should remain in the Kuomintang, in spite of the campaign carried on by its leaders for the expulsion of the Communists. Closer contact with the mass of the members of the Kuomintang who should be induced to accept resolutions decidedly protesting against the actions of the C. C. of the Kuomintang, demanding the removal of the present leaders of the Kuomintang, and to make preparations on these lines for the Party Conference of the Kuomintang.

4. To intensify the work among the proletarian masses, by all means available, to build up Labour mass organisations, to strengthen the trade unions, to prepare the working masses for decisive action, and to lead the present struggles of the proletariat.

5. To develop the agrarian revolution, to continue the struggle for the perfection of the bourgeois-democratic revolution on "plebian" lines, that is, by means of the revolutionary advance of the bloc formed by the workers, peasants, and city poor, under the hegemony of the proletariat; systematically to arm the workers and peasants.

6. In view of the reprisals and executions to organise a competent fighting illegal Party apparatus.

7. To take measures to make good the opportunist errors of the C. C. of the C. P. of China, in order to render the leadership of the Party politically sound. The E. C. C. I. is of the opinion that the question of the policy of the Party in general, and of the Party leaders in particular, is beginning to play an extremely important rôle. The E. C. C. I. therefore calls upon all the members of the Party to close their ranks on the basis of the decisions of the C. I. The E. C. C. I. calls upon all the members of the Party to fight decisively against the opportunist deviations of the Party leaders. The E. C. C. I. notes with much satisfaction the correct standpoint of the Young Communist League and the heroic struggle of the Party masses, and expresses the conviction that the C. P. of China will find within itself adequate forces enabling it to change the character of the leadership, and to disavow those leaders who have violated the international discipline of the C. I. It is necessary that the leaders of the workers' and peasants'

organisations, and the Party members who have matured during the time of civil war, should be given decisive influence in the C. C. of the Party. As they are in closer contact with the masses, they will be the better able to overcome the present opportunism among the leaders of the Party.

The E. C. C. I. is of the opinion that the course of the great Chinese revolution has awakened such vast masses of workers and peasants to political life and political action, that no force can possibly suppress their advancing movement. Given the right leadership, the victory will be with the Chinese workers and peasants.

Decisions of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Italy.

After the return of the delegation sent by the C. P. of Italy to the Plenum of the E. C. C. I., a session of the Political Bureau of the C. P. of Italy was held, attended by this delegation.

The organisation report showed that the Party has been entirely successful, especially in North Italy, in restoring the connections between the Party and the broad masses of the working class. In spite of all difficulties, the Party is already on the road to obtaining decisive influence over the working class of Italy. This is especially conspicuous in that former citadel of reformism, the province of Milan. The illegal Party press circulates in a much larger edition in this province, at the present time, than our legal papers before prohibition. The same applies to other industrial centres, as Turin, Trieste, etc.

In the course of the debate many speakers emphasised the fact that the organisational activities of the Party still show many defects, which should be removed as rapidly as possible. The greatest defect is the discrepancy between the political influence and the organisational strength of the Party. It is to be feared that, in the eventuality of fresh struggles, the Party organisations would lose control of those masses whom they have aroused and prepared for the fight. Therefore the main task of the Party at the present time is the firmer establishment of its organisations. The soil is well prepared for this work.

The report on the press shows the editions of our publications to have greatly increased during the last few months; this is however no burden to the Party, as most of the newspapers are easily disposed of, and the costs of printing are fully covered. The number of factory newspapers increases steadily. These deal chiefly with questions of wage reductions and war danger.

The fight against reduced wages has been brought into close connection with the reorganisation of the class trade unions. Energetic agitation is being carried on for the return into the trade unions, and it has been ascertained that the workers are extremely receptive for this agitation.

The campaign carried on by the government and the employers against working wages has assumed very acute forms, and affords much material for Party agitation. The Party does not however content itself with general agitation, but endeavours to show the workers the forms of struggle necessary at the present juncture for an effective resistance to the attacks of capital. These forms are: protest meetings in the factories, public demonstrations, stoppage of work, etc.

The Session of the Political Bureau then heard the report on the Plenary Conference of the E. C. C. I. The Political Bureau of the C. P. of Italy unanimously condemned the attitude of the opposition, which confines itself to a negative criticism of the tactics of the Comintern, instead of occupying itself with the actual discussion of the serious questions facing the working class at the present time. The purport and form of this criticism place the opposition of the C. P. S. U. on a level with those currents outside the Comintern whose representatives have become slanderers and enemies of the Communist International. The Political Bureau of the C. P. of Italy entirely approves of the line taken by the C. P. S. U. in its work for the construction of socialism, and declares this to be right in every respect.

The Political Bureau of the C. P. of Italy declares its complete solidarity with the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. in its struggle against the opposition, and approves of the resolution passed by the E. C. C. I. on the attitude of comrades Trotzky and Vuyovitsch at the last Plenary Session of the E. C. C. I.

The Political Bureau of the C. P. of Italy appeals to the sense of political responsibility of the comrades of the opposition in the C. P. S. U. Their attitude, especially at the present moment, is inadmissible. The revolutionary workers of Italy, who have acquired at the price of many sacrifices the capability of suppressing all feelings of personal sympathy, and of regarding the problems of revolution objectively, condemn every attempt at destroying the unity of the C. P. S. U. and of the Comintern.

A bloc of steel must be opposed to the "holy alliance" which international imperialism is striving to set up against the Soviet Union, a bloc which will protect the Soviet Union from all its enemies, and from those comrades who are working objectively against the interests of proletarian revolution.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Labour Conference at Geneva.

By I. Rimsky (Moscow).

Ennui . . .

The Tenth Conference of the International Labour Office recently took place at Geneva. 331 delegates and experts were gathered together, representing 43 states.

The entire superfluity of the conference was so obvious, from the very beginning, that all participating in it speedily fell victims to its utter tediousness. "We must tell our friends the truth, however disagreeable it may be" — writes the correspondent of the French reformist newspaper "Le Peuple", — the Tenth Conference is being held in an atmosphere of ennui. It was hoped that the debate on Albert Thomas' report would enliven matters somewhat . . . This hope has proved deceptive . . . The most unbearable ennui reigns."

What could have been interesting even in Albert Thomas' report? All he can do is to complain, for the hundredth time, that the separate governments will not ratify the conventions passed by the Labour Office. Even more tedious than this report itself were the comments of more than fifty delegates upon it. They all gave "local reports" showing everything to be "in the best of order" in their countries with respect to social legislation.

At the beginning of the Conference we had that incident which has already become traditional. The "Workers' Group" entered a protest, for the fifth time, against the participation of Rossoni, the representative of the Fascist trade unions of Italy, in the conference.

"This protest" — writes the "Lavoro d'Italia", the organ of the Fascist trade unions, — "was signed by the excellent Oudegeest, secretary of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and whom Mussolini designated as one out of a collection of dunces, and by the secretary of the Swiss Trade Union Federation, Schurz, a miserable personality, who, at a private interview with the Italian delegate, apologised humbly, for the lamentable role which he had been obliged by discipline to play."

Jouhaux supported this protest with the whole power of his stage thunder.

"One of the representatives of the Italian government has called our protest a disgraceful farce, but this farce will last until freedom and right have been restored. We shall never agree to co-operate with those whom we cannot recognise as the real representatives of the workers."

Rossoni, in a long reply, scoffed at the collection of dunces to his heart's content, and made a sarcastic reference to D'Aragona, who at one time represented the Italian workers at the international labour conferences, and has now joined the Fascists.

As was to be expected, the protest of the "workers' group" was rejected by the majority of the votes of the employers and governments, and Rossoni's mandate was confirmed.

"That is the fifth defeat in the course of five years" remarks this same correspondent of the "People" in a melancholy tone, "and it will certainly not be the last".

The "Champions of Liberty".

The atmosphere of ennui cleared up somewhat, and the conference became somewhat more lively, when the main point of the agenda was reached: "The freedom of the trade unions."

A draft of a questionnaire on the subject of the freedom of the trade unions had been drawn up to submit to the conference; this draft to be laid before the various governments, so that the material collected in this manner can be used by the regular sessions of the Labour Office next year as basis for a new "convention".

This draft was submitted by the worker's group. The events of the last few years — the attack on the trade unions in Great Britain, the shattering of the trade unions in Italy, and a number of attempted attacks on the trade unions in other countries — have forced the reformists to come forward with this draft.

The reformists, in support of their action, cited the Versailles Peace Treaty, section XIII of which states that among the working conditions requiring improvement, the most important is the 'confirmation of the principle of the freedom of the trade unions'. One of the paragraphs of this section lays down "the right of combination both for workers and employers, so long as their activities do not contravene the law".

In the commission which discussed the reformist proposal before its submission to the plenary session, the employers had combined under the leadership of the Fascist delegate Olivetti.

It should be mentioned that of the government representatives of the great Powers, only the representative of Italy was present at the meeting of the commission. The other great Powers — Great Britain, France, Germany — sent no delegates, assuming that the fiasco of the workers' group proposition was secure enough without their aid; besides this, they did not wish to side openly with Fascism, as this would have meant compromising themselves unnecessarily.

Thus the employers commenced their attack under the capable leadership of Olivetti. The draft contained only a few points, dealing with the definition of the term: "liberty to combine in trade unions", and "freedom of activity". The employers considered the question of the "liberty not to combine in trade unions" to be of equal interest, and found it necessary to add the "principle of individual liberty" to the questionnaire. As regards the "freedom of activity in the trade unions", the questionnaire drafted by the reformists referred to the Versailles Treaty, and gave the opinion that a possible restriction of this freedom would only be possible from the standpoint of "observance of public order". The employers found it necessary to add to this a further security in the words: "the safeguarding of social interests".

At the plenary meetings the debates were extremely stormy. Jouhaux exerted himself greatly, railed at the Fascists, and quoted Spinoza, Proudhon, and Rousseau. But as it was evident that neither Jouhaux' ardour nor his learning were likely to have the slightest influence on the fixed resolves of the employers' and governments' groups, there was nothing for the reformists to do but to swallow their annoyance and to look on at the burial of their brilliant draft. They observed, however, that "the employers and various members of the governmental delegations had betrayed inclinations" which lay near to the wish that next year the question of trade union freedom shall not be discussed at all. This declaration on the part of the reformists naturally encountered no disclaimer from the representatives of the employers and governments. It is therefore resolved that the question of the freedom of the trade unions should not appear on the agenda of the conference in 1928, nor should the questionnaire drafted by the Labour Office be submitted to the governments.

The Reformists Console Themselves.

The defeat of the reformists on the most important point of the agenda was so self-evident that their spirits sank visibly. The task of defending the International Labour Office became exceedingly difficult. The situation became so acute that there

was talk of a crisis in the International Labour Office. Such a crisis would of course not have been of any advantage to the employers. The Labour Office has proved by past experience to be an excellent means of maintaining reformist illusions in the working class. The Amsterdam International has always been able to cover its passivity, its refusal to do anything definite in the interests of the working class, by referring to the Labour Office, which was supposed to be working day and night for the improvement of the working conditions of the workers.

The representatives of the capitalists and of the bourgeois governments taking part in the conference had no desire to see the final destruction of the authority of the International Labour Office. For this reason they raised no special difficulties in the debates on the two other reformist questions on the agenda, the questions of: "insurance against sickness", and 2. the fixing of a minimum wage. With respect to the latter point it was merely a question of arranging a questionnaire with the separate governments. The matter itself will be dealt with at the next conference.

A highly characteristic decision was that arrived at by the conference on the question of the German language. As is known, the International Labour Office, having been formed by the "victorious countries", has so far permitted the use of only two official languages, French and English. The Germans naturally protested against this, and demanded that the German language should also be officially recognised.

But even in the question of languages the International Labour Office remained faithful to the spirit which has always dominated it. At this conference the German language was not yet recognised as official. The sole "reform" accomplished was the decision that from now onwards all important documents are to be translated immediately into German.

Empty Threats.

The conference showed so very plainly the entire superfluity of the International Labour Office, that the reformists began to doubt whether they will be able to utilise the Labour Office so well for their purpose in the future as in the past, and they exerted every endeavour to awaken, by sounding phrases, the illusion that the interests of the workers are being effectually safeguarded. The reformist leaders did not refrain from indignant Philippics against their opponents, being fully aware that the latter would not be particularly offended, since they understand very well the object of the manoeuvre.

"We cannot but express our dissatisfaction and our protest against the obdurate standpoint of the employers' declared the Spanish reformist Caballero — "This obdurate attitude is increasing, and may have the effect of causing the workers' group to pass from defensive to offensive tactics."

This same Caballero expatiated at the conference on the perfect freedom enjoyed by the trade unions in Spain under Primo de Rivera, and earned thereby the derision of even the Fascists.

Previous experience has, however, shown us that these threats of taking up an "offensive" are pretty cheap. We only need recollect that Jouhaux, at the Ninth Conference of the International Labour Office last year, came forward with even more energetic threats.

"Are you prepared", said he, turning to the representatives of the employers and the governments, "to realise in your countries the obligations which you have taken upon yourselves here in Geneva? I demand an answer; and if this answer is in the negative, we shall return to our old methods".

All this talk about "old methods" has not altered the tactics of the reformists by a jot. As before, the capitalist governments leave the "obligations which they have undertaken" unfulfilled, and are not in the least intimidated by the threats of the reformists.

The results of the Tenth Conference of the International Labour Office must be made known to the broad masses of the workers, and their real import made fully clear. There is no question that this will do much to free the workers from reformist illusions.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Bolshevism and the War of 1914—1918.

(Important Quotations from Lenin's Works.)

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

Conclusion.

III.

3. Methods of struggle.

What are the means and methods of preparing the realisation of the slogan to convert the imperialist war into a civil war? The Conference of the Bolshevik Sections Abroad, held at the beginning of 1915, pointed out:

"As the first steps towards the conversion of the present imperialist war into a civil war, it is necessary to draw attention to the following:

1. The unconditional refusal to vote war credits, and resignation from the bourgeois governments.
2. The complete rupture with the 'class truce' policy.
3. The creation of an illegal organisation wherever the governments and the bourgeoisie substitute martial law for constitutional liberties.
4. The support of the soldiers of the belligerent nations in the trenches and at the fronts in general.
5. The support of all kinds of revolutionary mass actions of the proletariat in general." (Vol. XIII., p. 49. Russian Edition.)

Lenin devoted special attention to the last three points.

The creation of real revolutionary organisations capable to carry on a decisive struggle he regarded as a **necessary condition** in any war against war. That is why he raised the question of splitting the Social Democratic Parties from the very beginning.

"This is not a mere accident. It is necessary to proceed with the formation of revolutionary organisations; this is made necessary by the changed historical situation; this is made necessary by the epoch of revolutionary action of the proletariat. But this can be done only **over the heads of the old leaders who throttle revolutionary energy, over the heads of the old parties, by destroying them.**" (Lenin's italics.) (Vol. XIII., p. 175.)

Lenin outlined very clearly in his pamphlet "The Collapse of the II. International" what the new type of revolutionary organisation of the workers ought to be.

"Let us take a modern army. It is one of the best examples of organisation. And this organisation is alright only because it is flexible and at the same time able to instill **one will** into millions of people. Today these millions sit at home in their own residences in all parts of the country. On the morrow the mobilisation decree is issued and they all get together in the appointed stations. Today they are in the trenches and sometimes for months. On the morrow they march in different order from an attack. Today they perform wonders, hiding from the bullets and shrapnel. On the morrow they perform wonders in open warfare. Today their advance detachments put mines in the ground. Tomorrow they advance tens of miles according to the indications of the aviators. That is what one can call **organisation when millions of people change the manner of their lives and arm themselves according to the changed situations and requirements of the struggle on behalf of one aim and animated by one single will.**

The same applies to the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie (our emphasis). Today we have no revolutionary situation. There are no conditions causing ferment among the masses and urging them to activity. Today they give you an election ticket. Take it and know how to organise in order to defeat and not in order to send to parliament people fond of soft jobs with it, who hold on to the armchairs for fear of imprisonment. On the morrow they have taken away your election ticket. They have given you arms which represent the last word in

armament, an equipped automatic rifle. Take these weapons of death and destruction. Do not listen to the sentimental cries of those who fear war. There is still much in this world which **should be destroyed** by steel and fire for the liberation of the working class. And when discontent and desperation will accumulate among the masses, when we will have a revolutionary situation, get ready to create new organisations and to **turn** these useful arms of death and destruction **against your government and your bourgeoisie.**

This is not easy, no doubt This will require arduous preparatory action, it will require great sacrifices. This is a **new form of organisation and struggle which you must learn**, and knowledge is not acquired without mistakes and defeats. This form of class struggle is related to participation in elections, as an attack is related to manoeuvres, onslaughts or lying in the trenches. This form of struggle is **not very often** the historical order of the day, but its significance and consequences make themselves felt for decades. Those days when it is possible and necessary to put these methods of struggle on the order of the day, are equal to **twenty years of other historical epochs.**" (pp. 175 and 176, Russian Edition.)

Another slogan, which leads to real struggle for peace is the **fraternisation slogan**. Lenin wrote already in 1915 as follows:

"The extent to which it would be possible to diminish the present criminal, reactionary and enslaving war, and to organise a revolutionary and international movement by systematic work in that direction would be enormous if it only would consist of the Left Socialists of all belligerent countries." (p. 106.)

This slogan Bolshevism regarded as the backbone of its agitation after the February revolution when the armies of the German and Austrian Empires were fighting against the armies of revolutionary Russia.

Lenin ascribed enormous importance to anti-war mass action. He regarded it as a powerful means of influencing the masses. The organisation of a May Day demonstration in 1916 by Karl Liebknecht was regarded by Lenin as an event of enormous significance, as such action influences millions of people.

By indicating illegal organisations, fraternisation, and mass action as the fundamental means of preparation for civil war, Lenin at the same time considered necessary the utilisation of all legal possibilities for anti-military agitation. Thus, for instance, in analysing the position of the Bolshevik Duma fraction in the court Lenin said that they

"understood the world historical moment, utilised the open doors of the court for the purpose of frankly expounding Social Democratic views which are hostile not only to tsarism in general, but also to Socialist Jingoism of all shades." (p. 53.)

Lenin particularly pointed out the fact that the Duma deputies utilised their Habeus Corpus rights for mass agitation.

"In such times when almost all 'Socialist' — excuse the abuse of this word — deputies of Europe proved to be jingoes and jingo servants, when the boasted 'Europeanism' of our leaders and liquidators proved to be a meaningless habit of slavish legality, in Russia the deputies of the workers' party alone, through connection with the working masses, performed self-sacrificing work among the masses, of simple inconspicuous, difficult, thankless, particularly dangerous, functions of illegal propagandists and organisers and not by delivering eloquent speeches, not by 'going' to the bourgeois intellectual parlours, not by the shrewdness of a 'European' lawyer and parliamentarian. To rise higher as an influential deputy or minister in 'society', such was in reality the thought of 'European' (read: lackey) 'Socialist' parliamentarism. To go down lower, to help to enlighten and unite the exploited and oppressed, such was the slogan advanced by Murianov and Petrovsky." (p. 54.)

Such are the fundamental features of the Bolshevik teachings on war elaborated in 1914—18. In its struggle against pending war's international Communism will have to utilise in every possible way the Bolshevik experiences of 1914—18.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

Resolution of the Plenum of the E. C. Y. C. I. on the Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

1, The Plenum of the E. C. of the Y. C. I., having received the report of the work of the Plenum of the Y. C. I., declares its full agreement with all the decisions and resolutions of the Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

The Plenum of the E. C. C. I. took place at a time when the international situation was particularly acute. The Chinese Revolution, which has entered upon a higher stage of its development, is experiencing enormous difficulties. The danger of a warlike attack of the imperialists on the first Workers' State has become more imminent. The intervention of the imperialists against the Chinese Revolution has become more intensified. In all countries the offensive of capital against the working class and against the class organs of the proletariat — trade unions, Communist Parties and Youth Leagues — has also become more intense.

The Plenum of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. imposes on all Sections of the Y. C. I. the obligation to fulfil in the most decisive manner all the tasks which the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. placed before all Communist organisations. The Plenum of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. stresses the fact that the chief task of the Young Communist Leagues at the present moment is the mobilisation of all revolutionary forces and the masses of young workers in the struggle for the defence of the Chinese and Russian Revolution against imperialist war and against the offensive of reaction on the working class.

The entire attention and activity of the Sections of the Y. C. I. must be concentrated on these main tasks. In this moment of feverish preparation of the bourgeoisie all Y. C. I. must be as active as possible in the struggle against war and the danger of war, and at the same time be prepared to transform the imperialist war against the U. S. S. R. and the Chinese Revolution into a civil war, into a war against one's own bourgeoisie.

2. The Plenum of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. sharply condemns the attitude of the opposition as adopted by Comrades Trotsky and Vuyovitch at the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. The incessant fractional activity which was already condemned by the Comintern and the C. P. S. U. interferes with the work and struggle of all Communist organisations. The behaviour of the Opposition at the Plenum of the E. C. C. I., the accusations against the leadership of the Comintern and the C. P. S. U. discredit the struggle of the C. I. against the danger of war and is equivalent to the sabotage of this struggle.

The attitude of the Opposition to the Chinese question is based on a false estimation of the position in China. The development of a bourgeois democratic revolution in a backward semi-colonial country demands a bloc between Communists, the working class, the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, a situation which is being realised in the present stage of the Chinese Revolution through the participation of the Communists in the Kuomintang.

The proposal of the Opposition to proceed immediately with the formation of Soviets is based on an under-estimation of the role of the Left Kuomintang and a lack of understanding of the present stage of the Chinese Revolution.

The Plenum of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. condemns in the most decisive manner the proposals and methods of work of the Opposition which are conducive to discrediting and undermining the fighting force of the Comintern, an extremely dangerous matter at the present moment. On this account the Plenum of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. is in full agreement with the decisions of the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. in respect to the Opposition and expresses its conviction that the C. I. and the C. P. S. U. will put a stop to the disorganising activity of the Opposition and take measures against its fractional work.

THE SPORT MOVEMENT

The Going Over of the Lucerne Sport International into the Camp of Social Democracy.

By Fritz Wiest.

The relations between the Lucerne Sport International (L.S.I.) to the working class are of special importance at the present moment, on the eve of the IV. Congress of the L.S.I. to be held at Helsingfors from 5. to 8. August.

It is only since the war that the workers' sport movement has become a serious factor in the European labour movement. Before the war it was but little developed, except in Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Switzerland. Even at the present time the German worker sportsmen compose 50 to 60 per cent of the total membership of the Lucerne Sport International. The German Workers' Gymnastic and Sport Union has been able to increase its membership from 180,000 in 1913 to 650,000 in 1927.

The workers' sport movement developed most rapidly between 1919 and 1923. During this time sport and physical exercises were greatly promoted in those countries restricted in the military training of their population, and in military armaments, by the "peace" treaties.

On the other hand, the history of the post-war period shows that the bourgeoisie has ruthlessly crushed the workers' sport movement wherever the workers and peasants have risen in revolutionary struggle and the worker sportsmen have taken part in the struggle (Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Estonia, etc.). Here it dissolved the workers' sport clubs, persecuted the revolutionary elements, and threw them into prison.

The leaders of the L.S.I. pursue their politics, so to speak, in accordance with a very primitive recipe. The alpha and omega of their argumentation is "party political neutrality". When the worker sportsmen collaborate with the Social Democratic Party, then the Lucerne International issues the slogan: Party, Trade Union, and workers' sport should work together! But when the worker sportsmen attend the meetings of the Communists, or take part in their actions, then the Lucerne sport leaders cry fire and murder, proclaim that the "neutrality" is in danger, and that the Communists are exploiting the workers' sport movement for the purpose of frying their own party fish.

Reformist bureaucracy, in its anxiety to combat the revolutionary worker sportsmen, does not shrink from expelling class conscious workers from its organisation. In Germany the recent attempts at expulsion were based on accusations of having played games with the workers sport clubs of the Soviet Union, of having taken part in the Congress of the Toilers, and of having participated in the ambulance expedition of the W.I.R. to China. In most cases the attempts at expulsion on the part of the social democratic sport leaders failed in face of the energetic defence action of the worker sportsmen.

The general campaign for the expropriation of the princes in Germany was not supported by one single sport club — with the exception of the Workers' Gymnastic and Sport Union. All the others remained "neutral".

During the mining strike in Great Britain no demonstrations were held, and no games played, for the struggling British miners, except on a very few occasions in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. No club committee — again with the slight exception of the German Workers' Gymnastic and Sport Union — made the slightest effort to aid the mining struggle in Great Britain. All remained neutral.

On 1. May the workers' sport unions still maintain a reserve wholly unworthy of the workers' sport movement. This reserve causes a large number of workers' sportsmen to abstain from taking part in the general Mayday celebrations of the working class. They arrange their sports for 1. May, without stamping these in any way as proletarian, precisely like the bourgeois sport clubs. The Lucerne reformists "celebrate" the 18. March. But it is a part of their "neutrality" to forget at the same time the Paris Commune of 1871, and the Russian revolution. When all goes well, the Lucerne reformists solemnly express their opposition to war once a year. Although they have retained war against war as an item in their programme,

nobody notices anything of the practical work accomplished by the L. S. I. Thus not a single voice has been raised, except in the districts where the revolutionary workers' sport clubs take the lead, against the intervention of the imperialists in China, or against the preparation for war against Soviet Russia on the part of the British imperialists.

The leaders of the L. S. I. collaborate to an ever increasing extent with the authorities and the governments. At the Prague Olympiade recently held by the Czech reformist sport union, the worker sportsmen had to march past the Czech president, Masaryk, with lowered flags. And the Berlin "Vorwärts" even reported:

"The Czech generals for the International", and then proceeds: "The generals of the Czechoslovakian army were again present, and delegations from the regiments and military bands marched in the procession."

The Lucerne leaders, who are responsible for this Olympiade, in which they took personal part, have demonstrated that their war against war and reaction is an impudent swindle, that they have reconciled themselves with reaction and with the imperialist generals, and have become active assistants in the preparation for war, of the inciters of war, and the imperialists.

Not only the social democratic sport leaders, but numerous social democratic leaders of the party and trade union movement oppose the workers' sport movement, and work in the service of reaction. In Hessen the social democratic prime minister Ulrich has decreed that the workers sport clubs cannot hold sports without previous permission from the police. The social democratic deputy Südekum is President of a feudal bourgeois sport club in Berlin, and the Prussian Prime Minister Braun and other social democratic government officials attended, in company with Hindenburg, the celebrations of the bourgeois sport movement. Peter Grassmann, represents the General German Trade Union Federation in the Red Cross Committee, that outspoken reactionary military ambulance organisation of the German bourgeoisie.

When the great social democratic leaders pursue such a policy, it is scarcely to be wondered at that the smaller lights of social democracy in the Workers' Gymnastic and Sport Union, on the occasion of the inauguration of the union school, switched off the wireless at the moment of comrade Eberlein's (C. P. of Germany) speech, stating afterwards in the press that "in view of the character of the assembly, this rude characterisation of bourgeois society" would have been out of place. These are few points from the political aspect of the matter, graphically illustrating the manner in which the social democratic leaders of the L. S. I. are following, consistently, if a few years later, along the path pointed out by the treacherous leaders of the II. International.

In order to establish more firmly the policy of social democracy in the L. S. I., the social democratic leaders are working systematically for the amalgamation of the workers' sport clubs with the social democratic organisations. Hence the L. S. I. has a representative in the "International Commission for defence against Fascism". In Austria the Austrian S. P. has an official representative in the Austrian Workers' Sport Union, the workers' sport central; and in Germany the sport departments of the Socialist Youth Leagues (S. A. J.) and of the free trade union youth sections have been incorporated in the Workers' Gymnastic and Sport Union. The same was attempted with the black-red-gold associations (Reichsbanner), but this attempt failed as a result of the resistance of the members, and the strong sympathy felt by the worker sportsmen with the Red Front Fighters Union.

We must redouble our work in the workers' sport clubs, in order to break the disastrous influence of the social democrats. And our work must be increased also because, the physical improvement of the workers is of the utmost importance for the proletariat and its struggles. The training of the worker sportsmen to class conscious and revolutionary champions will have the effect that in the local organisations the worker sportsmen will stand side by side with the fighting working class, instead of making civil peace with the bourgeoisie. Let the leaders of the L. S. I. go to the bourgeoisie, let them enjoy the company of generals, and continue to see their ideals of emancipation realised in the League of Nations, the worker sportsmen will and must not follow them. This is the meaning of our work in the workers' sport movement, for here, too, we have to fight some battles against the II. International and the bourgeoisie.

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

Twenty Years after the Great Peasant Insurrection in Roumania.

By Vasile Spiru.

In 1907 there was a great peasant revolt in Roumania. The Conservative Government of Peter Carp which was at the helm, wanted something to distract the masses of enslaved Roumanian peasants who were groaning with indignation under the unbearable yoke of the Boyars. A few "small" pogroms seemed to the Roumanian Statesman just the thing.

Antisemitic agitators went from village to village in Moldavia stirring up the population against the "Jewish leeches" whom they represented as the cause of all the misery and distress of the peasantry. The result of this agitation was as deep-reaching as it was unexpected. Groups of peasants armed with scythes, hatchets, flails, old hunting guns and Turkish scimitars stormed not only the houses of Jewish tenants, but also the Konaks and castles of the Boyars, the closest friends and relations of Carp the Prime Minister and threatened the surrounding towns.

The revolt spread with astounding rapidity to all the enslaved peasants of Roumania, and soon there was hardly a spot where the peasants had not turned out the authorities and the landowners and taken possession of the land.

The Government, aghast, resigned, giving place to a government of the strong hand, a government of the Liberal Bratianu party with General Avarescu.

This gave Avarescu the opportunity of earning his first military laurels against the "enemy at home". "Merciless repression!" was his slogan, and rarely has a punitive corps raged so unchecked as did that commanded by Avarescu in the campaign of retaliation against the peasantry of its own country. Whole villages were burnt or levelled to the ground by fire from the artillery, more than 11,000 peasants were killed without legal proceedings. In a short time, the prisons and penitentiaries of Roumania were filled with hundreds and thousands of insurgent peasants.

At that time there was a Liberal bourgeois Press in Roumania. The most ghastly details of Avarescu's repressions are revealed to us by it and the Labour Press. Sergeants and corporals passed death sentences. Shooting was the most pleasant form of death. Burning at the stake was more popular. Other forms of torture for the peasants were the wheel, being torn asunder by horses, quartering. They were pumped full with manure. These and other forms of death which we know so well from the history of the Peasants' War in Germany, still proved wonderfully effective in 1907 in the fight of the Boyars against the peasantry in Roumania. The peasant revolt was crushed, and a third department, the Siguranza, was created in the Ministry of the Interior, "to prevent similar occurrences". The reigning Monarch, King Carol, who himself was the greatest landed proprietor, just as to-day King Ferdinand is the largest shareholder, could breathe freely; the peasants had been "brought to reason". To the present day, the Avarescu and Bratianu, supported by the Siguranza, are ruling by means of murder, torture and pillage.

The very General Avarescu who, in 1907 drowned the peasant revolt in the blood of 11,000 peasants, has himself hailed to-day as the "liberator of the peasants" because he happened to be Prime Minister when the "agrarian reform" was passed which was brought about under the pressure of the great Russian revolution. In reality, however, the only effect of this agrarian reform has been that the peasants of the new districts, especially of Bessarabia, have been reduced to the condition of semi-serfdom of the peasants of the old kingdom. The daily reports of local peasant revolts in Moldavia, Wallachia, Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transylvania, but especially the great peasant revolt of Tatar Bunar, show us the true nature of the liberation of the peasants cared through by Avarescu.

In 1907, the Roumanian Labour movement under the leadership of Christo Rakovsky gave brilliant evidence of its solidarity with the persecuted revolutionary peasants some hundreds of whom are still imprisoned in the salt mines and prisons of Great Roumania. The workers instituted collections

for the persecuted and imprisoned peasants, and in spite of all the terror, they demonstrated in the streets and protested loudly against the massacres in the villages.

For this reason, the persecution was directed also against the leaders of the Labour movement, and most of them were banished although they were Roumanian citizens. Some of them are still living in exile.

Let us Study the Juvenile Movement of the Village!

The young peasants have not yet attracted the attention of our peasant organisations. Although the powers in opposition to us endeavour to organise the young peasants under their leadership, we do nothing at all to attract them to our side.

It is now incumbent upon us to study this most important question of the young peasants' movement.

In view of the existing need, the Office for the Peasant Movement at the International Agrarian Institute has founded a Juvenile Section.

The Juvenile Section has made it its task to study the young peasant movement in all countries, irrespective of the particular form the movement may take, and of the tasks it takes upon itself, and to investigate the activities of all kinds of peasant organisations and other organisations among the young peasants.

The results of the study of the young-peasant movement will be published in the Press and in the form of special collected works and brochures. This necessary and useful work can only be executed with the help of workers living among the peasantry, who have the opportunity of observing the life and pursuits of the young peasants and the activities of the organisations.

All the material concerning the young peasantry, which is available to local functionaries, must be sent to the Juvenile Section at the address: International Agrarian Institute, No. 14, Vosdvishenka, Moscow.

Such material may consist of books, brochures, periodicals, minutes, newspapers, hand-bills etc., as also of documents other than printed matter, such as: observations, statistical data, correspondence, essays, etc.

Correspondence and articles describing the activity of any particular organisation of young peasants are of special value. Such articles must be written and sent to the Juvenile Section.

TEN YEARS AGO

Complete Collapse of the Offensive.

A Breach in the Russian front.

Official. Staff headquarters. July 22, 1917 (W. T. B.).

The counter-attack begun on July 19, in East Galicia has developed into a great success for the German and allied arms.

The main portion of the Russian 11. army is defeated. In spite of bad roads our brave troops are pressing unweariedly forward. After many severe conflicts, they have everywhere defeated the renewed efforts of the Russian forces. The district west of Tarnopol and the Brzezany Tarnopol railway have been reached at several points.

The Russian 7th army is beginning to give way at Brzezany under the increasing pressure on its flank.

Our attack and advance on the Sereth have forced the whole Russian front to retire, from the Zlota Lipa to close on the Dniester.

Berlin, July 21, (W. T. B.). The attack of the German and Austro-Hungarian troops in East Galicia continued on July 20. The Russian front has been broken through over a breadth of 40 kilometres. Thus the troops of the Central powers have succeeded once more in breaking through the front to an extent hitherto unattained by the French and English, in spite of enormous sacrifices of human life and material. On July 20. our troops, with the greatest courage and with their old fighting spirit entirely unbroken, drove the Russians before them, inflicting severe losses, as in the rearguard and separate fights of the days before. Our flying squadron has also carried out

successful attacks, dropping bombs on the dense columns of the Russians on the highroad near Tarnopol, and flying low to make use of their machine guns. The number of prisoners has increased to 5000. Under the irresistible attacks of the German and Austro-Hungarian troops, and under the pressure of the advance from the North, the Russians have also been forced to abandon their positions east of Konjuchy and east of Dyszki. Enemy patrols south of the Bistriz have been driven back.

The Bolsheviki are to Blame for Everything.

Russian army report, July 20. West front: Our defeat is due to the fact that many divisions of troops, under the influence of Bolshevik agitation, arranged meetings and discussed whether they should obey the commands received to go to the aid of the divisions attacked. Several regiments refused to fulfil their military duty, and deserted their positions without the slightest pressure from the enemy. The efforts of the officers and committees to induce them to obey orders were in vain.

The Soviet Prohibits Revolutionary Demonstrations.

Moscow, July 18, (Reuter). The Workers' and Soldiers' Council discussed the events in Petrograd, and decided, by 442 votes against 242, to prohibit all street demonstrations in Moscow. The Maximalists, who were desirous of armed demonstrations, raised objection to this decision as hindering participation in political life, and left the meeting.

The Counter-Revolutionary Storm against the Revolutionary Proletariat.

The Disarming of the Petrograd Proletariat.

Petrograd, July 19. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.)

The government, in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, ordered the evacuation of the country house of the dancer Keszinska, as well as of a part of the Peter Paul fortress, which were occupied by armed men. Troops proceeded to the buildings, but found the country house empty. They discovered large quantities of weapons and explosives. The insurgents occupying the fortress offered resistance, but surrendered after a harmless exchange of shots. Soon after this deputies of the insurgents occupying the Vasili Outrov district on the other side of the Neva appeared in the fortress, and declared their submission to the government.

Petrograd, July 19. (Reuter). During the whole of yesterday vast numbers of arrested sailors and soldiers were conveyed to the headquarters of the general staff in the Petrograd district. Numerous machine guns, rifles, and cartridges were delivered up. Troops were brought to Petrograd from the front for the protection of the government and the Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

The Destruction of the "Pravda".

Stockholm, July 22. According to a report in the "Svenska Dagbladet", Haparanda, the Provisional Government has resolved to appoint a commission for the purpose of preventing, in collaboration with the commander of Petrograd any disturbances. Skobelev, Lebedoff, and Holz are members of this commission. A domiciliary visit was paid to the offices of the "Pravda"; war disabled soldiers destroyed every number of the newspaper.

"The Next Task" of the Government —
Suppression of the Revolutionary Movement.

Petrograd, July 22. (Report of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The Provisional Government has issued a declaration beginning as follows:

Citizens! The hour of danger has struck. The armies of the German Kaiser have broken through the front of the national revolutionary army of Russia. This frightful deed has been made easier for them by the criminal carelessness and blind fanaticism of certain persons, and by the traitorous action of others. Both have exposed our new free Russia, down to its very foundations, to threat of confusion and downfall. The concealed forces of counter-revolution may take advantage of the general disorder, and utilise this moment of danger.

The government considers its first and main task to be the employment of every force for the fight against the external enemy, and for the defence of the new form of government against all anarchist and counter-revolutionary attacks, without shrinking from the severest measures.

Kerensky's Pogrom Command.

Petrograd, July 2. The Minister for War, Kerensky, has issued the following command to the fleet: Since the beginning of the revolution, persons, under the influence of German agents and provocateurs (the Bolsheviki are meant, Ed.), have appeared in Kronstadt and on certain ships of the Baltic fleet, and have incited to actions threatening the revolution and the security of the country, and to disobedience to the revolutionary power, represented by the Provisional Government.

Simultaneously with the offensive of our army, disorders broke out in Petrograd, by which the revolution was threatened and our army exposed to danger from the side of the enemy. When a command of the Provisional Government, issued in agreement with the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet, ordered the ships of the fleet to take rapid and decisive measures against the seamen from Kronstadt taking part in these risings, the enemies of the people and of the revolution made use of the head committee of the Baltic fleet to spread unrest among the men by means of a lying interpretation of these measures. These traitors prevented the ships faithful to the revolution from being sent to Petrograd and the carrying out of the measures made necessary by the unrest incited by the enemy, and misled the men into such arbitrary actions as the removal of the General Consul, the arrest of the adjutant of the Minister of the Navy, captain Dumdorov, and the submission of a number of demands on the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets.

The treacherous activities of a number of persons forced the Provisional Government to order the immediate arrest of the instigators. The government therefore ordered the arrest of the delegation of the Baltic Fleet in Petrograd, in order to make an inquiry into their activities.

In consideration of the above I order that:

1. the Head Committee of the Baltic Fleet be dissolved and a new one elected;
2. all divisions and ships of the Baltic Fleet are to be informed that I call upon them to remove from their midst at once all suspicious persons who incite to disobedience against the Provisional Government and agitate against the offensive, and to bring these persons to Petrograd for examination;
3. the divisions of Kronstadt and the ships of the line, Petropawlowsk, Republic, and Slawa, whose names are smirched by counter revolutionary deeds, are to arrest the instigators within 24 hours, and to bring them to Petrograd for examination and judgment; at the same time they are to give an assurance of their complete submission to the Provisional Government.

The Soviet Proclaims the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie.

Petrograd, July 23. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.)

The joint session of the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet and of the Peasants' Soviet, after a lengthy debate lasting until 4 o'clock in the morning, passed the following resolution:

Realising that the situation at the front and in the interior of the country threatens a military collapse, a disaster for the revolution and a triumph of the counter revolutionary forces, we resolve that:

1. The country and the revolution are in danger.
2. The provisional Government is appointed as government for the salvation of the revolution.
3. The government is given unlimited authority for restoring the organisation and discipline in the army, for the leadership of the struggle against counter-revolution and anarchy, and for the realisation of the whole of the programme laid down in the declaration issued the day before yesterday by the government.

The resolution was adopted unanimously by 252 votes. 47 representatives, mostly Maximalists, abstained from voting.

Warrant of Arrest against Lenin.

Petrograd, July 20. The "Listok Pravdy" (substitute paper) derided the arrest of Lenin, Zinoviev, and Kameaev.

Lenin — "German Spy."

Petrograd, July 20. The "Listok Pravdy" (substitute paper for the "Pravda") writes:

There exists in the world a certain Alexinsky, one-time member of the second State Duma, who made himself so notorious by his slanders that the Mensheviki and the S.R., the ruling parties in the Soviets, refused to admit him into the Executive until he had succeeded in rehabilitating himself... Alexinsky did not do this, but preferred to express himself through the medium of Plechanov's newspaper, in which he published his articles, signed at first with only his initials, afterwards, however, venturing to use his full name.

On 17. July some of the Bolsheviki received warnings from their acquaintances that Alexinsky was once more dishing up some fresh mendacious tit-bit to the Petrograd journalist committee... The import of this slander is as follows: A certain first lieutenant Jermolenko is said to have been a prisoner of war in Germany, and to have been sent back for the purpose of agitating in the VI. army in favour of a separate peace with Germany... This Jermolenko is supposed to have said: "The German general staff officers Schiditzi and Lübers, stated that the agent of the German general staff and chairman of the Ukraine section of the "Union for the Emancipation of the Ukraine", A. Skoropis, and also Lenin, were carrying on a similar agitation. Lenin was supposed to be commissioned to exert every effort to undermine the confidence of the Russian people in the Provisional Government"...

In Illegality.

Amsterdam, July 21. (T.U.) It is reported from Petrograd that Lenin has had the opportunity, for the moment at least, to escape. During the last two days the troops have repeatedly arrested Maximalist leaders. The soldiers, though not in agreement with doing so, released the prisoners again on the express request of the Executive Committee of the Workers and Soldiers.

London, July 20. Reuter's agency has received a report from Petrograd that Lenin has gone to Kronstadt disguised as a seaman.

Kerensky — Prime Minister.

Petrograd, July 21. (Reuter.) The "Börsenzeitung" reports that the Prime Minister, Lvov, has resigned, Kerensky has been appointed Prime Minister, and retains at the same time the post of Minister for War for the present. Zeretelli was appointed Minister for the Interior, remaining at the same time Minister for Posts and Telegraphs. Nekrasov was provisionally appointed Minister of Justice.

The Temporary Triumph of Counter-Revolution.

Dissolution of the Revolutionary Troops.

Petrograd, July 21. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.)

The Provisional Government has decided to send back to their divisions all troops which took part in the armed insurrection in Petrograd and its environs on 16th to 18 July. The Government has further decided to dissolve all organisations which took part in this armed attempt against governmental power, and to arrest and bring to trial, on the charge of treason to the country and to the revolution, all persons who have instigated and incited this undertaking.

Murder Commands against the Revolutionary Ships' Crews.

Stockholm, July 24. (Private wire of the "Vorwärts".)

The local Left socialist newspaper, "Politiken" publishes, in agreement with the Workers' Council, a secret decree issued by the Provisional Government on 17th July 1917, ordering that torpedo boats be sent secretly to Petrograd at once, and that other warships with crews of Bolshevik tendencies should be prevented from leaving Kronstadt, if necessary even by torpedoing them by means of submarines. This command proves the treason being carried on against the country by the government.

With Blood and Iron — against the Revolution.

Petrograd, July 25. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The Prime Minister, Kerensky, at an interview granted to the representatives of the press after his return from the front stated:

At the present moment the main question is the concentration and unification of state power. The Provisional Government aims solely at protecting the state against disintegration by anarchy and at saving the army. The government will be supported by the confidence of the masses of the people and of the army, will save Russia, and will ensure its unity with blood and iron if a basis of honour and conscience do not suffice.

The Bourgeoisie Gathers its Forces.

The Convocation of the Moscow "State Council".

Petrograd, July 25. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.)

The provisional Government, after discussing the ever growing acuteness of the inner situation of the country, and recognising that the welfare of the country demands most decisive measures, has decided to fulfil this difficult task in complete agreement and co-operation with all honorable persons desiring to serve their country. The Government has therefore decided to convocate a conference of the representatives of the leading public organisations in Moscow, in order to instruct them with respect to the present situation in the country, and the questions to be solved in the near future.

It is reported that the great National Congress of the representatives of the different public and social organisations and institutions, participated in by all the Duma deputies, the convocation of which was decided upon yesterday by the Government, will take place on 31. July in the Great Opera House of the old capital.

Death Penalty Reintroduced at the Front.

Petrograd, July 26. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.)

As the generals at the front and the army commanders have insisted, in their reports, that the restoration of discipline at the front could not be accomplished without the introduction of capital punishment, this has now been reintroduced.

The Revolutionary Press Gagged.

Petrograd, July 25. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.)

The provisional Government has altered the decree of 10. May referring to the press by authorising the Minister for War and the administrator of the Ministry of the Interior to suppress periodicals inciting to insubordination against military superiors, to violation of military duties, and to acts of violence, and to take legal measures against the persons responsible for the publication of the periodicals.

The Masses Abandon the Opportunist Parties.

Petrograd, July 25.

The "Novaya Schisny" publishes a declaration of the Left S. R., criticising sharply the policy of the Party leaders, as calculated to repel the class conscious workers from the Party.

The Left minority reserves for itself complete freedom of action, "without undermining the organisatory unity".

The Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet Joins the Campaign against the Bolsheviki.

Petrograd, July 28. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.)

The Executive Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet passed the following resolution, on the motion of Dan:

"It is the will of the whole of revolutionary democracy that the group of the Bolsheviki, which is accused of having organised unrest, incited insurrection, and received money from German sources, should be publicly condemned. The Committee therefore considers it entirely inadmissible that Lenin and Zinoviev should avoid legal proceedings, and demands that the Maximalist group should at once express a perfectly clear and definite condemnation of the attitude of their leaders.

In view of the extraordinary situation, the Committee of the Worker and Soldiers' Soviet demands form all its members and party groups, and from all members of the local Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets, that all the decisions accepted by the

majority of the central organ are carried out unconditionally. All persons against whom legal proceedings are being taken are to be excluded from participation in the deliberations of the Executive Committee until judgement has been pronounced. As the Committee considers it to be absolutely necessary that the workers and soldiers in Petrograd should have the opportunity of expressing their opinion of the latest events and their instigators, it recommends that the Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd should carry out its decision with regard to a new election of all its members as soon as possible."

Protest of the Bolsheviki against the Campaign of Slander.

Stockholm, July 30.

The report issued by the Bolsheviki, signed by 280 representatives of forty Petrograd trade unions, sharply protests against the counter-revolutionary action of the government. The Bolsheviki, in an appeal to the Russian people, declare the assertion that Lenin is a German spy to be a despicable slander. They demand an immediate public inquiry into this dirty conspiracy on the part of these pogrom heroes and paid liars, against the honour and life of the workers' leaders. The inquiry will bring to light the unblemished character of the Leninists.

The Effect of the Russian Revolution Abroad.

The Revolutionary Movement in Spain.

Berlin, July 21. A report has been received, via the enemy countries, that a revolution is being attempted in Spain.

Madrid, July 20. (Havas Agency.) The Prime Minister, Dato, states that during the recent occurrences at Barcelona two gendarmes and four participators in the demonstration were wounded. The Mayor of Barcelona has sent in his resignation.

The Minister for the Interior declares that the fermentation in Valencia continues. Bodies of men attempted to prevent a railway train from leaving, and attacked the stoker, who defended himself with a revolver. The captain general and the civil governor had the railway station of Valencia evacuated, which had been occupied by the insurgents. The minister officially denies the rumour that a state of siege has been declared in Valencia.

The German Social Patriots still supporting the War.

Berlin, July 19. Scheidemann, in the course of his speech at today's Reichstag sitting, declared.

"In accordance with the decision resolved upon with our co-operation, we shall grant the fresh credits. Not by any means for the purpose of giving a vote of confidence to the Chancellor. We have always granted the credits solely to the country; we grant them to the German people (!), of whom we know that nine tenths are in agreement with our programme of peace. (Very good! from the social democrats.)

The Revolutionary Socialists against Stockholm.

Stockholm, July 27.

"Politiken" publishes a lengthy proclamation, signed by the party leaders of the Bolsheviki, of the social democracy of Poland and Lithuania, of the Bulgarian narrow party, of the Swedish Left, and of the Young Socialists, on the Stockholm conference. It states that the Entente has annexionist plans; Germany and the Danube monarchies are accused of not clearly renouncing all annexion. It further points out that the strikes and unrest in all countries signify the struggle of the masses of the people against war. The renewed granting of credit on the part of the German social democrats is severely condemned, and the so-called social patriots of all countries are sharply criticised. The government agents Scheidemann and Adler, and the social patriots Troelstra and Stauning, are aiming in their conference at a capitalist peace, without an emancipation of the peoples. The oppositional minorities cannot collaborate at a conference with these people, so closely connected with their governments. Such a conference would be solely a non-official diplomatist conference, and the real socialists taking part in it would become

its prisoners. Therefore the real socialists are called upon to enlighten the workers as to the social patriotic character of the conference, and to disavow those party leaders who, despite adherence to Zimmerwald, still want to co-operate in bringing about a capitalist peace. The workers are further called upon to send delegates to a really socialist conference for the struggle for peace, to demand passports for this, and, should these be refused, to appeal to the public.

The Irish Struggle for Liberty.

London, middle of July. ("Times".)

De Valera, the Sinn Fein Parliamentary candidate, elected in East Clare on 11. July by an overwhelming majority, declared in his speech at Dublin: The Irish will not fight for the blood-stained Union Jack. They have no special love for Germany, France, or any other country. But if a foreign nation stretches out its hand to them, they will clasp it, and then that nation may reckon on our help in return.

The Slogans.

By N. Lenin.

(Published as a pamphlet, July 1917.)

It has happened only too often that when history has taken a sudden turn, even the most advanced parties have not been able to familiarise themselves at once with the changed conditions, and have gone on repeating today the slogans which were right yesterday, but which have now lost their purport, and have lost it as "suddenly" as the abrupt historical change has been "sudden".

It seems as if the same is about to occur again in the case of the slogan of the handing over of the whole state power to the Soviets. This slogan was right during that period of our revolution which now lies definitely behind us, between about 11th March to 17th July. This slogan has now obviously ceased to be correct. Unless we grasp this, it is impossible to solve the burning question of the present moment. Every separate slogan must be derived from the totality of the peculiarities of a definite political situation. In Russia the political situation at the present time, since July 17., differs fundamentally from that between 11th March and 17th July.

At that time, during this period of our revolution now past, there ruled in the state a so-called "double government", expressing both materially and formally the indefinite period of transition of state power. We must not forget that the question of state power is the fundamental question of every revolution.

At that time state power was in a vacillating condition. It was shared, in accordance with a mutual and voluntary agreement, by the Provisional Government and the Soviets. The Soviets represented delegations of the mass of free workers and soldiers, that is, of the workers and soldiers who were armed and not subordinate to any external force. The weapons in the hands of the people, and the absence of an external force ruling the people — that was the essence of the matter. The path to peaceful development was thereby opened and secured for the whole revolution. The slogan: "Transference of the whole power to the Soviets" was the slogan of the next step, of the immediate step to be actually taken along this path of peaceful development. It was a slogan for the peaceful development of the revolution, a slogan possible between 11th March and 17th July, and naturally, the most desirable, but one which has now become absolutely impossible.

It seems as if the advocates of the slogan: "All power to the Soviets" are not all sufficiently aware that this was a slogan of a considerable force, was able at that time (11th March to 17th July) suitable for a period of peaceful revolutionary development. Peaceful not only in the sense that nobody, no class, no consistory oppose and prevent the transference of power to the Soviets. That is not everything. The peaceful development would have been possible at that time even from the standpoint that the struggle of the classes and parties within the Soviets — assuming the transference at the right moment of all state power to the Soviets — could have been carried out as peacefully and painlessly as possible.

This last aspect of the matter has not been sufficiently taken into account. The Soviets were, according to their class composition organs of the workers' and peasants' movement, and were thus a finished form of a dictatorship of these classes. If they had had the whole power in their hands, then the main fault of the petty bourgeois strata, their greatest sin, their trust and confidence in the capitalists, would have vanished in actual practice, would have been criticised by the experience gained through their own measures. The replacement of the classes and parties in power could have been carried out peacefully within the Soviets on the basis of their sole and supreme power. The connection between all the Soviet parties and the masses could have remained secure and unweakened. One must not for a moment lose sight of the fact that this close connection between the Soviet parties and masses, a connection capable of free growth and expansion, would alone have helped to disperse the illusion of petty bourgeois pacts with the bourgeoisie. The transference of power to the Soviets would not in itself have altered the class relations, and could not have altered them; it would not have altered anything in the sphere of petty bourgeois peasant relations. But it would have meant a considerable step forward, at the right time, towards separating the peasantry from the bourgeoisie, and bringing them closer to the working class.

This could have been the case, had the power been transferred to the Soviets in time. This would have been easiest and most advantageous for the people. This path would have been the most painless, and therefore it should have been fought for most energetically. But now this struggle, the struggle for the transference of power to the Soviets at the right juncture, has come to an end. The path of peaceful development has become impossible. A non-peaceful and really painful path has now to be trodden.

The essence of the coup d'etat of 17th July is precisely the fact that it was followed by a thorough change in the objective situation. The vacillating attitude of the government is at an end; power has passed into the hands of counter-revolution at the decisive point. Party development on the basis of agreements between the petty bourgeois parties of the social revolutionists and Mensheviks and the counter-revolutionary cadets has reached a point at which these two petty bourgeois parties have actually proved themselves to be partners and accomplices in the service of counter-revolution. The unconscious faith of the petty bourgeois in the capitalists has led them to an unconscious support of counter-revolution during the course of the development of the party struggles. The circle of development in party relations is completed. On March 11, all the classes stood together against the monarchy. Since the 17th July the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, hand in hand with the monarchists and the Black Hundreds, has, partly by means of intimidation, drawn the petty bourgeois social revolutionists and the Mensheviks over to its side, and has actually placed the power in the hands of the Cavaignacs, in the hands of that military camarilla which shoots the mutineers at the front and shatters the Bolshevist organisations in Petrograd.

The slogan: All power to the Soviets! at the present moment would be either derisive or Quixotic. Objectively, this slogan would mislead the people, would awaken the illusion that the Soviets have now decided that they want to seize power, or that they only need to decide it and the power will fall to them — as if the Soviets did not still contain parties which have tarnished their record by aiding the executioners of the revolution, as if all that has happened could be wiped out as if it had never been.

It would be the profoundest error to believe that the revolutionary proletariat, as a kind of "revenge" against the social revolutionists and Mensheviks for their support of the agitation against the Bolsheviki, and for the executions at the front and the disarmament of the workers, can "refuse" to aid them against counter-revolution. Such an idea would signify in the first place the transference of petty bourgeois conceptions of morals to the proletariat (since for the sake of the cause the proletariat will always aid, not only the irresolute petty bourgeoisie, but even the big bourgeoisie), and in the second place — and this is the most important — it would signify a petty bourgeois attempt to conceal the political essence of the matter beneath a veil of "morality".

The essence of the matter is the fact that it is no longer possible to seize power peacefully. The seizure of power now

means that a final combat must first be fought with the present actual possessors of the power, the military camarilla, the Cavaignacs, backed up by the reactionary troops which have been brought to Petrograd.

Further, the essence of the matter is the fact that these new bearers of state power can only be conquered by the revolutionary masses of the people. The first condition for this revolutionary mass movement is not only that it be led by the proletariat, but that it turns its back on the parties of the social revolutionists and the Mensheviks, who have betrayed the cause of revolution.

Those who are endeavouring to introduce petty bourgeois morality into politics argue as follows: Assuming that the social revolutionists and Mensheviks have committed an error in supporting the Cavaignacs, and in disarming the proletariat and the revolutionary regiments, they must surely be given the opportunity to "correct" their error; we should not make it difficult for them to correct their "mistake", and we should facilitate the petty bourgeois movement into the camp of the workers. Such a line of argument would be childish simple-mindedness or plain stupidity, were it not a fresh deception of the people. For a real movement of the petty bourgeois masses into the camp of the workers could simply and solely consist of these masses turning their back on the social revolutionists and Mensheviks. A correction of the "error" of the parties of the social revolutionists and the Mensheviks could only consist, at the present time, of an admission on the part of these parties that Zeretelli and Chernov, Dan and Rakitnikov, etc. have been the accomplices of the executioners. We are entirely and decidedly in favour of such a "correction" of the error.

We have said that the fundamental question of revolution is the question of state power. And we may add that revolutions show us, at every turn, the evasion of the question of who really has the power, and evince a discrepancy between formal and actual power. This is one of the main peculiarities of every period of revolution. In March and April of 1917, no one knew whether the actual power was in the hands of the government or of the Soviets.

At the present time it is of the utmost importance that the class-conscious workers should accord earnest consideration to this fundamental question of revolution: In whose hands is the state power at the moment? Look well at the actual facts before you, do not mistake sounding phrases for real coin, and you will find the right answer without difficulty.

The state consists first of all of the divisions of armed forces with material appendices in the form of prisons — thus wrote Friedrich Engels. At the present time the state is the lieutenants and the reactionary Cossacks who have been brought specially to Petrograd. It is these who hold Kamenev and the others behind locked doors, who have prohibited the newspaper "Pravda", who have disarmed the workers and a certain section of the troops, and who have shot soldiers in the army. These executioners are the actual governmental power. Zeretelli and Chernov are ministers without power, puppet ministers, leaders of parties supporting these executioners. This is a fact. And this fact is not in the least altered by the circumstance that Zeretelli and Chernov certainly do not "approve" of rendering service to the executioners, and that their newspapers raise timid objections: such alterations in the political scaffolding do not alter the facts in themselves.

The prohibition of the newspaper representing 150,000 Petrograd electors, the murder of the workman Voinov (6. July) by the ensigns on account of the removal of the "Listok Pravda" (Pravda news sheet) from the printing offices — is this not counter-revolutionary executioners' work? Is this not the work of the Cavaignacs? We shall be told that neither the government nor the Soviets are "to blame".

First of all, and above all, the people must know the truth, must know in whose hands the state power really lies. The people must be told the whole truth: the governmental power is in the hands of the military clique of the Cavaignacs (Kerensky, many generals, officers, etc.), supported by the bourgeoisie as a class, headed by the Cadet Party, and by all the monarchists with their arch reactionary newspapers: the "Novaya Vremya", "Schivoye Slovo", etc.

This power must be overthrown. Otherwise all the phrases on the fight against counter-revolution are empty talk, "self-deception, and deception of the people".

At the present time this power is receiving the support of not only the ministers Zeretelli and Chernov, but of their parties. The people must be shown that these are acting as the accomplices of the counter-revolutionary executioners, and that they were bound to end as such after their "errors" of 4th and 18th May, 22nd June, and 17th July, after their approval of the offensive policy, which determined by nine tenths the policy of the Cavaignacs in July.

The whole of the agitation carried on among the people must be reconstructed, incorporating the practical experience gained in the present revolution, and especially during the July days, that is, the real enemy of the people must be named: the military camarilla, the cadets, and the Black Hundred, and those bourgeois parties, the parties of the social revolutionaries and Mensheviks, which have played, and continue to play, the rôle of accomplices to counter-revolution, are to be completely unmasked.

The whole of the agitation among the people must be so reconstructed that they are made to realise plainly the hopelessness of expecting the land to be divided among the peasants until the military camarilla has been overthrown, until the parties of the social revolutionaries and Mensheviks have been exposed and deprived of the confidence of the people. Under "normal" circumstances of capitalist development this would have been an extremely tedious and difficult process, but the war and the economic ruin greatly accelerate it. These are factors of acceleration which can make a month, or even a week, equal to a year.

Two objections will probably be raised to the above: firstly, that to speak of the final struggle at this point is to encourage that separate action which would play into the hands of counter-revolution, and secondly, that the overthrow of counter-revolution signifies the transference of power to the Soviets.

In reply to the first objection we answer: the workers of Russia are sufficiently aware of the situation to prevent their being deceived by provocations at a moment expressly unfavourable for them. That immediate action would be to the advantage of counter-revolution is incontestable; that the final struggle can only be made possible by a fresh surging up of revolution in the lowest masses is equally incontestable. But it is not sufficient to talk of a surging up, of the rising tide of revolution, of the support of the West European workers, etc.; we must draw definite conclusions from the experience of our past, and these teachings must be taken to heart. These are the teachings which will indicate to us the slogans of that final struggle against these forces of counter-revolution which have seized the power into their hands.

The second objection again consists of a substitution of general considerations in the place of concrete truths. The overthrow of the bourgeois counter-revolution can be accomplished by no other force than that of the revolutionary proletariat. The experiences of July 1917 have proved that it is the revolutionary proletariat alone which must take the state power into its own hands — until this step is taken there can be no victory for the revolution. The power in the hands of the proletariat, the support of the proletariat by the poorest peasantry or the semi-proletariat — this is the only way, and we have already mentioned by what circumstances the process can be greatly accelerated.

Soviets may arise in this new revolution, and must arise; but not the present Soviets, not organs forming pacts with the bourgeoisie, but organs carrying on revolutionary combats against the bourgeoisie. It is true that after this has been accomplished, we shall be in favour of a state structure built up entirely on the Soviet system. The whole question is not one of the Soviets as such, but a question of combatting the given counter-revolution and the betrayal of the given Soviets.

The substitution of the abstract for the concrete is one of the greatest sins, the most dangerous sins, of counter-revolution. The Soviets have failed, have suffered shipwreck, because the social-revolutionaries and the Mensheviks have gained the upper hand in them. Just now these Soviets resemble sheep brought to the slaughter; they see the axe and begin to bleat lamentably. The Soviets are powerless and impotent in face of victorious counter-revolution. The slogan of surrender of all power to the Soviets may be understood as a "simple" appeal for the assumption of power by the Soviets, but to say this,

to proclaim this, would mean to deceive the people. There is nothing more dangerous than deception.

The circle of development in the class and party struggle in Russia, between 27th February and 4th July, is completed. A fresh cycle is beginning, not of the old classes, not of the old parties, not of the old Soviets but of those emerging from the fire of battle, refreshed, steeled, and schooled. We must not look backwards, but forwards. We must not operate with the old categories of parties and classes, but with the new ones of the post-July period. The new cycle must start from that victorious bourgeois counter-revolution which owes its victory to its pact with the social revolutionaries and Mensheviks, and which can only be defeated by the revolutionary proletariat. In this new cycle we shall have to pass through many stages of victorious counter-revolution, of final defeat (without a struggle) of the social revolutionaries and Mensheviks, and above all of fresh uplift towards the new revolution. But it will be possible to speak of this when these stages have become definitely outlined...

Should the Bolsheviks Appear before the Courts?

By N. Lenin.

(Written in July 1917.)

To judge by personal conversations, two opinions exist on this subject.

Those comrades who succumb to "the atmosphere of the Soviets" are not seldom inclined to appear before the courts.

Those in closer contact with the working masses are obviously in favour of not appearing.

In principle, the question is one of the estimate formed of what is generally designated as the constitutional illusion.

If one is of the opinion that a proper government and a proper court of law exists, and can exist, in Russia, and that the convocation of the Constituent Assembly is probable, then one may come to the conclusion that it is of use to appear at courts of law.

But such an opinion as this is thoroughly erroneous. The latest events, since 17. July, have shown in the plainest possible manner that the convocation of the Constituent Assembly is improbable (without a fresh revolution), and that in Russia there is no proper government and no proper court of law, nor can there be (now).

The court of law is an instrument of power. This is forgotten at times by the liberals. For a Marxist it is a sin to forget it.

But where is the power? Who is the power?

There is no government. It changes daily. It is inactive.

The military dictatorship is active. Here it is ridiculous to speak of a "court of law". Here there is no question of a "court of law", but of an episode in the civil war. This is the point which, unfortunately, is not grasped by those who are in favour of the appearance of the Bolsheviks at courts of law.

Pereversev and Alexinsky as justifiers of "trials"! Is it not ridiculous to speak here of a court of justice? Is it not extremely naive to believe that under such conditions a court of law can ascertain or examine anything?

The power is in the hands of the military dictatorship; and unless there is a new revolution this power can only establish itself more firmly for a time, especially during the time of the war.

"I have done nothing illegal. The court of law is just.

The court will make an inquiry. The inquiry will be public.

The people will understand it. I shall appear."

This train of thought is simple minded to the point of childishness. What force requires is not a court of justice, but agitation against the internationalists. What Messrs. Kerensky & Co. need is to throw the internationalists into prison and to keep them there. This is how it was (in England and France), and this is how it will be (in Russia).

The internationalists should work illegally to the utmost of their power; but they should not be so foolish as to appear of their own free will in a court of law.

The July Victory of the Counter-Revolution.

By N. Bukharin.

The crisis in governmental power suddenly released the elementary revolutionary energy. Just as the news arrived of the unrest among the masses of Petrograd, the town Conference of the Petrograd organisation of the Bolsheviks held its session. At this meeting the organisation declared itself opposed to a demonstration. The Central Committee of the Party, in view of the seriousness of the situation, also declared itself opposed to a demonstration, and corresponding instructions were given to the districts. During the session of the Petrograd Workers' Soviet held on the evening of July 16, a rumour suddenly arose that the machine-gun and grenadier regiments were already advancing on the Taurian Palace. The impending advance of other regiments and factories was also reported. Then the Bolsheviks proposed, for the first time, to take a hand in events, in order to impart a peaceful and organised character to the demonstration. The proletarian Party could not play the hypocritical and despicable rôle of a Pontius Pilate; it could not desert the masses at the decisive and critical moment. It intervened — and it was solely thanks to this intervention that a frightful street massacre was prevented.

At a meeting held by the workers' section of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet, it became evident that the majority were on the side of the Bolsheviks. The social revolutionists and the Mensheviks left the meeting. The majority passed a resolution on the necessity of the transference of power into the hands of the Soviets, and elected a deputation of 15 persons, commissioned to "negotiate, on behalf of the workers' section, with the Petrograd and All Russian Executive Committee".

Towards half-past ten the first machine gun regiment approached the Taurian Palace. It was welcomed by Voitinsky on behalf of the Central Council. After this, events develop with amazing rapidity. The town is converted into an armed camp. The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 13th and 14th companies of the first machine-gun regiment, the 4th, light machine-gun company, the 1st infantry regiment with all its baggage and equipment, and the whole reserve pioneer battalion, assembly at the palace. A huge meeting is held. The chief slogan: All power to the Soviets! At 2 o'clock in the morning the whole of the workers from the Putilov Works arrive. Meanwhile the session of the united Executive Council is held. The masses of the workers and soldiers demand that their representatives shall seize power and take the cause of the people into their hands. The conference declares the demonstration to be counter-revolutionary. The situation becomes more and more disturbing. At this most critical moment the profoundest difference of opinion become apparent between the authorised organ of revolutionary democracy and the elite of the revolutionary masses. This difference of opinion creates a chaotic situation, and in a number of places the movement assumes a confused character. The Kronstadt and machine gun-troops from Oranienbaum arrive. Shots are heard in the streets. The counter-revolutionaries provoke a panic. The movement spreads steadily.

At this point the government troops from the front arrive on the scene. With the actual aid of the Executive Councils, a report on the demonstration is prepared. And at the same moment Alexinsky's document, declaring Lenin to be a German spy, explodes like a deafening bomb!

This move on the part of the counter-revolutionists had been very cleverly thought out. On the one hand the material force of the bayonet prepared to suppress the "insurrection", and on the other hand the demoralisation of the movement, the throwing of mud at their intellectual leaders, the disintegration and shattering of the unity of the revolutionary forces, and the poisoning of the whole atmosphere with those evil odours and abominable slanders which only a bourgeoisie, senseless with rage, is capable of spreading.

This noble task of a Cicero, saving his native country from a Catalina Lenin, was undertaken by the Minister of Justice Pereversev. A priest of Themis the just, he spread abroad a lying and contemptible document, fabricated by a German-Russian spy in order to "arouse the rage of the soldiers!". And this protector of the law had the impudence to admit this later!

But all means are permissible when it is a question of suppressing revolution, so long as they attain their object. And the object was attained, even if Pereversev had to leave the cabinet. And now began the hunt for the "traitors"....

The bourgeoisie did not, however, succeed in shedding so much blood as it would have liked. Although it could not murder the proletariat, it could at least weaken it for the time being. The insolence of counter-revolution had its triumphs.

Chronicle of Events.

July 18.

Kerensky transfers counter-revolutionary troops from the front to Petrograd.

Destruction of the editorial premises of "Pravda" and of the Bolshevik Party printing works.

Lenin is slandered as a "German spy".

July 19.

Unsuccessful attempt on the life of Kerensky.

Breaking through of the Russian front. Collapse of the offensive.

July 20.

Order of arrest against Lenin, Zinoviev and Kamenev.

Lenin goes into illegality.

Arrest of the whole delegation of the Baltic Fleet.

The government orders the disbanding of all regiments which have taken part in the demonstrations of July, 16, to 18.

Kornilov demands the immediate introduction of the death penalty.

July 21.

Kerensky becomes Prime Minister.

Kornilov telegraphs to all army commanders: "The leaving of positions without orders is treachery. Hence I demand categorically that in such cases, machine gun fire and artillery fire be opened against such troops".

July 22.

Arrest of comrade Kamenev.

The Soviet Executive resolves:

1. The country and the revolution are in danger.
2. The Provisional Government is declared the "government of the salvation of the revolution".
3. The government receives unlimited authority for the restoration of discipline in the army.

July 23.

At the Plenary Session of the Petrograd Soviet, the Mensheviks declare the Bolsheviks to be responsible for the events of 16th to 18th July.

The Moscow Soviet passes a resolution against the counter-revolutionary slanders against the Bolsheviks.

The Moscow District Conference of the Bolsheviks adopts a resolution against the anti-Bolshevik counter-revolutionary agitation, as follows:

"The Conference protests with indignation against the impudent slanders being spread against Comrade Lenin and other members of the revolutionary social democracy, and demands that the public inquiry into the accusations shall not be made by Tsarist judges, but by the Soviet Executive, with the collaboration of the representatives of the revolutionary social democracy. It demands that immediate steps be taken towards the punishment of the slanderers."

July 24.

Occupation of Tarnopol by German troops.

Savinkov demands the institution of capital punishment.

The officers' union demands the telegraphic institution of capital punishment.

The last transport of the oldest soldiers (over 40 years) is sent from Petrograd to the front. The soldiers refusing to go, they have to be forced into the wagons.

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