

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 7. No. 45

4th August 1927

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berggasse 31, Vienna IX. — Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered mail: Postamt 66, Schliessfach 213, Vienna IX.
Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Vienna.

CONTENTS

- War is not a Matter of Tomorrow, but a Grim Reality of Today!
J. Stalin: Concerning Current Questions.
- China.
Declaration of the Communist Party of China.
- Rescue Sacco and Vanzetti.
H. Shaw: Sacco and Vanzetti must be Freed!
- Politics.
Ercoli: The Difficulties of Fascism and its Measures to Overcome Them.
J. B.: The Imperialist United Front against Syria.
What is the Truth Regarding the "Reactionary Countryside" around Vienna?
- Economics.
H. E.: The Struggle for Soviet Russian Oil.
- The Labour Movement.
J. Raveau: The Fight of the Breton Fishermen.
- The Paris Congress of the Amsterdam International.
The Indonesian Trade Unions to the Congress of the I.F.T.U. in Paris.
- The Co-operative Movement.
E. Varyasch: The 12th Congress of the Co-operative Alliance at Stockholm.
Three Motions to be submitted to the International Co-operative Congress.
- Workers' Sport Movement.
A United Front in the Fight against Fascism.
- The Youth Movement.
4th August 1914 — 4th August 1927. Manifesto of the E. C. of the Y. C. I.
Resolution of the Plenum of the Y. C. I. on the Y. C. I. and the Fight against Imperialist War.
Resolution of the Plenum of the Y. C. I. on the British Young Communist League.
- Ten Years Ago.
Still "War to a Victorious Conclusion".
The Bourgeoisie calls for an Open Dictatorship against the Proletariat.
From Dual Power to the Sole Rule of the Bourgeoisie.
N. Lenin: The Beginning of Bonapartism.
Chronicle of Events.

War is not a Matter of Tomorrow, but a Grim Reality of Today!

Let the August Days of 1927 be the Beginning of a Real Proletarian United Front under the Flag of the Fight against Imperialism and Capitalism!

Manifesto of the E. C. of the C. I. for the Thirteenth Anniversary of the Outbreak of the World War.

Thirteen years have passed since the terrible and cruel world war began which lasted 4 years 3 months and 26 days. The world bourgeoisie succeeded in the August days in 1914 in letting loose the forces of imperialism and militarism only because the Social Democrats of the world openly went over to the bourgeoisie in organising the world war. In the memorable days of August 1914 the Socialist Parties, one after another, voted for war credits and actively supported their governments in fighting the war "to a victorious end". The Socialists of the II. International trampled under their feet the pompous promises which they made at the world congresses in Stuttgart and Basle to fight against war and to declare a general strike and an uprising against war. In order to justify their treachery the Socialists of the II. International assured the workers of the world that that was to be the last war and that it would guarantee peace to the world.

Eight years of the epoch of "permanent peace", heralded by the Versailles Treaty, have already passed. All these years are a record of wars which are designated as small wars only because the powerful imperialist robbers, armed to their teeth, fought against Eastern peoples with small supplies of arms, who shed their blood in the struggle for independence. The graves of our brothers in Nicaragua, Syria, Morocco and Iraq are the silent witnesses of the peaceful character of the Versailles epoch. The last months of this peaceful period show an intensively bloody crusade against 400 million Chinese people who have been roused to a new life, and open preparations for war against the first Socialist Government.

In the years subsequent to the world catastrophe of 1914—1919 the Social Democrats of the world were not satisfied with screening the campaigns of the imperialist powers with the authority that they still have. They actively participated in the

internal struggles against the revolutionary proletarian masses. As a result of the internal treacherous policy of the social patriots we have now the domination of **Mussolini in Italy, Hindenburg in Germany, Horthy in Hungary, Pilsudski in Poland, the Die-Hards, who are drowning China in blood, in Britain** and, finally, the reactionary government in **Austria** which crushes the Austrian proletariat for its daring attempt to enter upon its struggle against Fascism.

The **Right and Left** social traitors performed the same mission in the defence of the military crusades of imperialists and also in dealing with the internal foes, successfully realising the principle of the division of labour among themselves. In the struggle against the most important proletarian actions of the recent period the so-called **Left** social traitors showed that they are worthy companions of **Noske and Scheidemann, the hangmen of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, in defending capitalism. The Left trade union leaders of Britain** have shown their worth in betraying the **General Strike, and the Left Austro-Marxians** placed at the disposal of the Austrian reactionaries not only their doubtful authority, but also their actual weapons.

The **Social Democrats** of all countries are all now engaged in diverting the attention of the broad masses from the bloody orgies of imperialism in China and to relaxing their vigilance in regard to a new war which is being openly prepared against the first **Workers' Republic**.

From time to time the social traitors mention the menace of war, feebly repeating the decisions of the **Basle and Stuttgart congresses**. These declarations, however, are made only in order not to lose contact with the masses. In reality the social traitors, by slandering the **U.S.S.R.**, actively participate in preparing the new war which, in its ferociousness and power of destruction, will far surpass the bloody slaughter of **1914-1919**. The social traitors are silent regarding the atrocities and tortures committed against the sons of the Chinese people by the agents of imperialism, and at the same time they protest against the revolutionary justice of the first **Socialist Government** in annihilating the hirelings of **British imperialism and the monarchists**.

Working men and women and farmers and peasants of the whole world! The **XIII anniversary** of the terrible and cruel war falls at a time when imperialism is engaged in a true war of execution against China, and is preparing a new terrific world catastrophe which is directed against the only stronghold of the toilers — the **Union of Socialist Soviet Republics**.

The war against China can be stopped, the war against the **U.S.S.R.** can be averted only if the toilers of the world are conscious of the fact that war is not a question of the future, but a bloody reality of the present. The realisation that war is already here, that its dimensions may increase enormously any day, must be a spur to the unification of the efforts of the colonial and semi-colonial slaves with the struggle of the working class in defence of China, which is already invaded by imperialism, and the **U.S.S.R.**, against which the imperialists are mobilising all the forces of the blackest world reaction.

The **August days** must be the beginning of a real mass campaign for the cessation of the war against China and for the prevention of war against the **U.S.S.R.**

It is not enough to make declarations in this perilous hour. Fighting is going on in China. The imperialist agents are committing atrocious acts. Detachment after detachment of armed forces are despatched to its shores.

Force your government to withdraw the armed forces from China, and prevent the transport of new forces and ammunition to its shores!

Workers of the munition factories, workers in the chemical and in the transport industry! The fate of the present war against China and the preparation of war against the **U.S.S.R.** depends largely on you. You must be active in defence of the **Chinese and Russian Revolutions!**

Young workers and farmers! At this moment of peril you must raise your voice in defence of China and against new terrible wars.

The workers must now more than ever make effective preparations for a general strike in order to stop the war already in progress and to prevent the coming of new wars. The capitalists and their hirelings want to snatch the instrument of class struggle out of the hands of the working class. The new military laws in France and the anti-trade union law in England on the one hand, and the activity of the **General Council in May 1926 in Britain** and the actions of the **Austrian reformists in July 1927** on the other prove this. The workers must forge their powerful instrument of struggle, the general strike, in spite of the imperialists and their lackeys. If your preparations, in spite of all your efforts, do not bring about the desired aim and the terrible world war becomes a bloody fact, then be ready to convert the war called forth by imperialism into a war against imperialism and capitalism.

August 1914 witnessed the united front of the **Socialist Parties** and the bourgeois governments in the cause of imperialism. **Let the August days of 1917 be the beginning of a real United Proletarian Front under the banner of struggle against imperialism and capitalism.**

The broad united front must embrace not only the workers but also the farmers and peasants, not only the toiling masses of capitalist countries, but also the toiling nations of the colonial and semi-colonial lands.

A united struggle against war and the menace of war will be successful only if it will be directed against those imperialist lackeys who endeavour to weaken the vigilance of the people with the help of pacifist sophisms and to stifle the revolutionary energy of the working class and the revolutionary nations of the East.

The **August days of 1927** must be spent in dealing blows at those guilty of the crimes of **August 1914**. We must declare a relentless war against the imperialists and their lackeys under the slogans:

Down with the imperialist war against China!

For the defence of revolutionary China and the U.S.S.R.!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Concerning Current Questions.

By J. Stalin.

I. On the Danger of War.

There can be very little doubt that the main question at the present moment is the danger of a new imperialist war. It is not the question of an indefinite, vague danger of a new imperialist war, but of a real and actual danger of a new war in general and of a war against the Soviet Union in particular.

The redistribution of the world into spheres of influence which took place as a result of the last imperialist war, has already become "obsolete". Some new States have come to the forefront (America and Japan); some old States are being pushed into the background (England). Germany, which had been buried at Versailles, is undergoing a resurrection and experiencing an increasing consolidation. Bourgeois Italy is going ahead and looking enviously at France. A furious struggle is proceeding for markets, for markets for capital investment, for sea and land routes to these markets, a fight for a re-distribution of the world. The antagonisms between America and England, between Japan and America, between England and France and between Italy and France are growing. There are growing antagonisms within the capitalist States, which make their appearance from time to time in the form of revolutionary outbreaks on the part of the proletariat (England, Austria). Antagonisms are increasing between the imperialist world and the dependent countries, which likewise express themselves in the form of open conflicts and revolutionary explosions. (China, Indonesia, North Africa, South America). The growth of all these antagonisms means, however, a crisis of world capitalism, in spite of the fact of stabilisation; a crisis which is incomparably more intense than the crisis which prevailed before the last imperialist war.

The existence and growth of the Soviet Union, the country of the proletarian dictatorship, only deepens and intensifies this crisis. It is not surprising that therefore the imperialists are preparing for a new war, as they see in war the way to a solution of this crisis. The extraordinary increase of armaments, the common tendency of bourgeois governments to adopt the methods of "fascist" governments, the crusade against the Communists, the furious incitement against the Soviet Union, the direct intervention in China — all these are various aspects of the same phenomenon — the preparation for a new war, for a fresh distribution of the world.

The Imperialists would long ago have come into open conflict with one another, had there been no Communist Parties which are conducting an energetic fight against imperialist wars; if it were not for the existence of the Soviet Union, the peaceful policy of which, like a dead weight, hampers the movements of the war-mongers; if the imperialists were not afraid of weakening one another and thereby rendering easier a fresh breach in the imperialist front. I believe that the last circumstance, i. e. the fear of weakening one another, and thereby bringing about an undermining of the imperialist front, is one of the most important factors which is holding back those who are inclined to plunge into mutual slaughter. Hence the "natural" efforts of certain circles of the imperialists to relegate into the background the differences in their own camp, to smooth them over for the time being, to create a united front of the imperialists and institute a campaign against the Soviet Union in order to solve the deepening crisis of capitalism, — at least partially and for a certain period — at the cost of the Soviet Union.

The fact that the initiative in this matter, i. e. the setting up of the united front against the Soviet Union has been taken by the English bourgeoisie and its fighting staff, the Conservative Party should not be a matter of surprise to us.

English capitalism was, is and always will be the most ruthless strangler of revolutions of the peoples. Beginning with the great French revolution at the end of the 18th century and ending with the Chinese revolution which is now proceeding, the English bourgeoisie has always been in the front rank of

the annihilators of the movements for freedom of humanity. The population of the Soviet Union will never forget the acts of violence, the plunderings, and military raids to which our country was exposed for some years thanks to the English capitalists. It is not surprising, therefore, when the English capitalists and their Conservative Party are placing themselves again at the head of a war against the stronghold of the proletarian revolution — the Soviet Union.

The English bourgeoisie, however, does not like fighting with its own hands. It has always preferred to conduct a war with the aid of foreign forces. And it has actually succeeded on many occasions in finding fools prepared to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for it. This was the case during the great French Revolution, when the English bourgeoisie succeeded in bringing about an alliance of the European States against revolutionary France. This was also the case after the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, when the English bourgeoisie, after having attacked the Soviet Union, attempted to set up "an alliance of fourteen States", and when, in spite of this, it was driven out of the Soviet Union. This is how the matter stands also in China at the present time, where the English bourgeoisie is trying to form a united front against the Chinese revolution. It is quite understandable that the Conservative Party, in preparing for war against the Soviet Union, has now for some years been carrying on the preparatory work for the creation of a "Holy Alliance" of the larger and smaller States against the Soviet Union.

Whilst the preparatory activity was carried on up to recently in a more or less concealed form by the Conservatives, they are now proceeding to "direct action", are quite openly delivering blows at the Soviet Union and endeavouring, in face of all the world, to create the notorious "Holy Alliance".

The first open blow was delivered by the Conservative government of Great Britain in Peking by the raid on the Soviet Embassy. This raid had at least two aims. It was intended to bring to light "terrifying" documents regarding the "undermining" activity of the Soviet Union which should create an atmosphere of general indignation and prepare the ground for a united front against the Soviet Union. The raid was further intended to bring about a military conflict with the Peking government and to draw the Soviet Union into war with China. This blow, as is known, failed to achieve its object.

The second open blow was delivered in London by the raid on the Arcos and the breach with the Soviet Union. This blow had as its object the creation of a united front against the Soviet Union, to institute in the whole of Europe a diplomatic blockade against the Soviet Union and to provoke a number of dissolutions of treaty relations with the Soviet Union. As is known, this blow also failed.

The third blow was delivered in Warsaw by the organising of the murder of Voykov. The murder of Voykov, which was organised by the agents of the Conservative Party, was intended by its initiators to play a role similar to that of the Sarayevoo murder by drawing the Soviet Union into a military conflict with Poland. This blow has apparently likewise proved a failure.

What is the reason why these blows have not had the effect which the Conservatives had expected? The reason is to be found in the antagonistic interests of the various bourgeois States, many of which are interested in maintaining economic relations with the Soviet Union; a further reason is the peaceful policy conducted firmly and unshakably by the Soviet Union; yet another reason is unwillingness of the States dependent upon England — no matter whether it is a State of Chang Tso Lin or a State of Pilsudski — to serve as helpless tools of the Conservatives to the detriment of their own interests. The noble Lords obviously will not understand that every State, no matter how insignificant it may be, considers itself to be at least of

some account, and seeks to live its own life and not to hazard its existence for the sake of the beautiful eyes of the Conservatives. The English Conservatives have forgotten to take all these circumstances into account.

Does this mean, however, that no further blow will be delivered against us? No. On the contrary, it only means that the blows will be repeated with renewed force. We must not regard these blows as chance occurrences. They arise from the entire international situation, from the position of the English bourgeoisie both in the "mother country" and in the colonies from the situation of the Conservative governing party.

The whole international situation at the present time, all the facts within the field of "operations" of the British government against the Soviet Union, the circumstance that the British government is organising a financial blockade of the Soviet Union, the fact that it is holding secret conferences with the other Powers to secure a joint policy against the Soviet government, the fact that it is supporting the emigrant "governments" of the Ukraine, Georgia, Aserbaijan, Armenia etc. with a view to organising insurrections in these countries against the Soviet Union, the fact that it is financing espionage and terrorist groups to blow up bridges, set fire to factories and carry out terrorist attempts upon the political representatives of the Soviet Union — all these facts show without the faintest shadow of a doubt that the British conservative government is relentlessly pursuing a policy towards the organisation of a war against the Soviet Union. It is by no means out of the question that under certain circumstances the conservatives will be successful in forging some form of military bloc against the Soviet Union.

What are our tasks in this situation? One of our tasks is to sound the alarm in all the countries of Europe and to ensure the watchfulness of the workers and soldiers in the capitalist countries against the new danger of war, to prepare the masses ceaselessly for all and any attempts on the part of their bourgeois governments to let loose the horrors of a new war, and to prepare them above all to resist all such attempts by an energetic revolutionary struggle.

Another task is for us to pillory all those leaders of the working class movement who consider the danger of a new war to be illusory, who attempt to lull the watchfulness of the workers with pacifist lies, who try to close the eyes of the workers to the preparations of the bourgeoisie for a new war, for these so-called leaders want the war to take the workers by surprise.

A further task is for the Soviet government to continue unwaveringly and unhesitatingly its policy of peace, its policy of friendly relations with the surrounding States, despite the provocations of our enemies, despite the pinpricks at our prestige. The provocateurs in the camp of our enemies are trying, and will continue to try, to provoke us by declaring that our policy of peace is founded on the weakness of our army. This causes many of our comrades to lose their heads, to fall into the trap and demand energetic measures. That is a result of weak nerves, of an insufficient steadfastness. We cannot and will not dance to the tune of our enemies. We must go our own way, defend the cause of peace, demonstrate our will to peace and expose the predatory intentions of our opponents, pillorying them as warmongers. This is the only policy which will enable us to mobilise the whole population of the Soviet Union in one camp should the imperialists force war upon us, or rather, when the imperialists force war upon us. With regard to our "weakness" or to the "weakness" of our army, it must be remembered that this is not the first time that our enemies have miscalculated in this connection. Eight years ago, when the British bourgeoisie conducted the intervention against the Soviet Union and Churchill threatened us with a crusade of the "fourteen States", the whole bourgeois press screamed itself hoarse over our "weakness", over the "weakness" of our army. But the whole world knows that the British interventionists and their allies were driven over the borders of our country in confusion by our victorious army. It would be worth while for the new war-mongers to call this to mind.

Another task is to increase the capacity of our country to resist attack, to improve our economic system to improve our industry, including our war industry, to increase the watchfulness of our workers, peasants and red army soldiers, to

steel the will within them to defend their socialist Fatherland and to put an end to all vacillations, which unfortunately still exist.

Another important task is to strengthen our rear and to rid it of all foreign bodies without fearing to settle accounts thoroughly with the terrorists and incendiaries in our factories and workshops, for an effective defence of the country is not possible without a strong revolutionary Hinterland.

Some time ago Rykov received a telegram of protest from the well-known leaders of the British working class movement Lansbury, Maxton and Brockway against the execution of 20 terrorists and incendiaries from the ranks of the Russian princes and aristocrats. I cannot regard these leaders of the British working class movement as enemies of the Soviet Union, but in effect, they are worse than enemies, because whilst calling themselves friends of the Soviet Union and protesting against the executions, they make it easier for the Russian landowners and British spies to organise the assassination of the leaders of the Soviet Union in the future. They are worse than enemies, because they wish the workers of the Soviet Union to stand unarmed in the face of their bitterest enemies. They are worse than enemies because they will not grasp the fact that the shooting of the twenty "nobles" was a necessary measure for the defence of the revolution. The phrase "God spare us from our friends, our enemies we can deal with ourselves" is not without its justification. Let the shooting of the twenty "Nobles" show the enemies of the Soviet Union at home and abroad that the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union is still alive and that it has a firm hand.

With regard to all these facts which we have considered, what is to be said of our unfortunate Opposition and its latest attacks on the Party in face of the danger of a new war? What is to be said to the fact that, in face of the danger of war, the Opposition considered it necessary to increase its attacks on the Party? What good can come of the fact that the Opposition, instead of rallying round the Party in the face of the danger of war from outside, considers it advisable to exploit the difficulties of the situation of the Soviet Union for its attacks on the Party? Is the opposition opposed to a victory of the Soviet Union in the coming war with the imperialists? Is it against increasing the capacity of the Soviet Union to resist its enemies? Is it against strengthening our rear? Or is it perhaps cowardice in the face of new difficulties, desertion, the wish to avoid responsibility which is cloaking itself in left-wing phrases?

2. Concerning China.

Now that the revolution in China has entered on a new stage, we may draw a certain balance concerning the past and discuss the question of overhauling the policy of the Comintern in China.

There are certain tactical principles of Leninism without which it is not possible either to have a correct leadership of the revolution or to overhaul the policy of the Communist International in China. All these principles have been long ago forgotten by our Opposition. But just because our Opposition suffers from forgetfulness, we must remind it again and again of these principles. I am thinking of such tactical principles of Leninism as: a) the principle making it obligatory to consider the national peculiarities of a country in working out instructions by the Comintern for the working class movement in the particular country; b) the principle that the Communist Party should not fail to utilise the smallest possibility to win a mass ally for the proletariat, even if only for a time and even if the ally is vacillating, unstable and very little reliable; c) the principle which demands a recognition of the truth of the fact that propaganda and agitation alone are insufficient for the political education of the masses, and that their own political experience is also necessary.

I think that the observance of these tactical principles of Leninism is the indispensable condition for a Marxist examination of the policy of the Comintern in the Chinese Revolution.

Let us now consider the questions of the Chinese revolution in the light of these tactical principles.

Despite the ideological growth of our Party, there is still within its ranks a certain type of "leader" who honestly

believes that it is possible to lead the Chinese revolution telegraphically, so to speak, on the basis of well known and generally recognised principles of the Comintern, taking into consideration the national peculiarities of Chinese economy, the Chinese political structure, Chinese culture, Chinese usage, traditions and customs. These "leaders" differ from real leaders in that they always have two or three cut and dried formulas in their pockets which "fit" all countries and which are "obligatory" in all circumstances. For them the question of considering the national peculiarities in a particular country does not exist. For them the question of uniting the general principles of the Comintern with the national peculiarities of the revolutionary movement in each country, the adaptation of the general fundamental principles of the Comintern with the national peculiarities of the revolutionary movement of each country, and the national State characteristics of each country, does not exist. These leaders do not understand that in those countries where the Communist Parties have grown and become mass parties, their chief task is to find the national characteristics of the movements in these countries and bring them into intelligent harmony with the general fundamental principles of the Comintern, and thus facilitate the achievement of the main aims of the Communist movement and make it possible to carry them into practice. This is the reason for the attempt to standardise the leadership in all countries, for the attempt to transplant mechanically a few general formulas without considering the concrete conditions of the movements in question. That is the reason for the eternal conflicts in the individual countries between the formulas and the revolutionary movement, a struggle which is the product of this unfortunate leadership.

Our oppositionalists belong to this category of leaders. The Opposition came to know that a bourgeois revolution is proceeding in China. It knew that the bourgeois revolution in Russia took place against the bourgeoisie, therefore its cut and dried formula was ready for China: no joint action with the bourgeoisie, the communists must immediately leave the Kuomintang (April 1926) etc. The Opposition, however, has forgotten that in contradistinction to Russia in 1905, China is a semi-colonial country; that it is oppressed by the imperialists and that therefore the revolution in China is not simply a bourgeois revolution, but a bourgeois revolution of an anti-imperialist type and that imperialism has in its hands the chief threads of industry, commerce and transport; that the pressure of imperialism affects not merely the toiling masses, but also certain sections of the Chinese bourgeoisie and that in consequence the Chinese bourgeoisie is prepared, under certain conditions, to support the Chinese revolution for a certain time. In reality, as is generally known, this is exactly what took place. If we consider the Canton period of the Chinese revolution, the period of the campaign to the Yangtse river, the period up to the split in the Kuomintang, then we must recognise that the Chinese bourgeoisie did support the revolution in China, and that the policy of the Comintern concerning the permissibility of joint action with the bourgeoisie for a certain time and under certain conditions, was completely correct. The result was that the Opposition abandoned its old formula and adopted a new one: joint action with the Chinese bourgeoisie is absolutely necessary, the communists may not leave the Kuomintang (April 1927).

That was the first punishment that overtook the Opposition because it refuses to recognise and take into consideration the national peculiarities of the Chinese revolution.

The Opposition learned that the Peking government is at sixes and sevens with the representatives of the imperialist powers over the question of customs autonomy. The Opposition knows that the customs autonomy is needed above all by the Chinese bourgeoisie. Therefore the cut and dried formula: the Chinese revolution is a national, anti-imperialist revolution because it aims at autonomous customs for China. The Opposition, however, forgot that the chief power of the imperialists does not lie in the customs limitations they have imposed upon China, but in the fact that they possess factories, works, mines, railways, steamships, banks, commercial organs etc. in China and that they are thus able to suck the blood from the veins of the Chinese workers. The Opposition forgot that the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people against imperialism is to be explained above all by the fact that imperialism

in China is that force which supports the direct exploiters of the Chinese people, the feudalists, militarists, the capitalists, the bureaucrats etc., and that the Chinese workers and peasants cannot overcome these enemies without at the same time carrying on a revolutionary struggle against the imperialists. The Opposition has forgotten that this circumstance is the most important factor making possible a growth of the bourgeois revolution into a socialist revolution.

The Opposition forgets that those who declare the Chinese anti-imperialist revolution to be a revolution for customs autonomy, are those who deny the possibility of a growth of the bourgeois revolution into the socialist revolution, for they thus bring the Chinese revolution under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. The facts actually showed later on that the fight for customs autonomy was basically the programme of the bourgeoisie, because even such out-and-out reactionaries as Chang Tso-lin and Chiang Kai-shek now declare themselves in favour of the abolition of the unequal treaties and for the establishment of customs autonomy. This is the reason for the split in the Opposition, the attempts to abandon the formula in connection with the customs autonomy, the attempts quietly to drop it and to adopt the position of the Comintern concerning the possibility of the growth of the bourgeois revolution into the socialist revolution. That was the second punishment of the Opposition caused by the fact that the Opposition will not seriously study the national peculiarities of the Chinese revolution.

The opposition heard that the commercial bourgeoisie had penetrated into the villages and that it had leased the land to the small peasantry. The opposition knows that a merchant is no feudalist. Therefore the cut and dried formula: The remnants of feudalism, and therefore also the struggle of the peasantry against feudalism are of no significance for the Chinese revolution; the chief question for China is not the agrarian revolution, but the question of its customs autonomy from the imperialist countries. The opposition, however, does not see that the peculiarity of the situation does not lie in the penetration of the commercial bourgeoisie into the villages, but in the connection between the domination of the remnants of feudalism with the existence of commercial capitalism and the maintenance of the feudalistic, medieval methods of exploiting and oppressing the peasantry. The Opposition does not understand that the present military-bureaucratic machine in China, which oppresses and exploits the Chinese peasantry in an inhuman fashion, is in the last resort, the political superstructure of the alliance between the dominance of the remnants of feudalism and feudal methods of exploitation with the existence of commercial capital in the village.

And in reality, the facts in China have shown the development of a tremendous agrarian revolution which is directed above all against the feudalists both great and small, in China. The facts have shown that this agrarian revolution has already embraced some millions of peasants, and that it tends to spread over the whole of China. The facts have shown that feudalists, real, live feudalists, do not merely exist in China, but that in a number of provinces they have power in their hands, control the military staffs, subordinate the leading organs of the Kuomintang to their will and deliver blow after blow at the Chinese revolution. After all that, to deny the existence of feudalist remnants, and the existence of a feudal system of exploitation as the chief form of the pressure in the Chinese revolution, to deny that the agrarian revolution is the chief fact of the Chinese revolutionary movement at the present moment, that would be to fly in the face of facts. That is the reason why the Opposition has abandoned its old formula in the question of the remnants of feudalism and the agrarian revolution. That is the reason for the attempts of the Opposition to drop silently its old formulas and recognise the correctness of the position of the Comintern. That was the third punishment of the Opposition for refusing to take into consideration the national peculiarities of the Chinese economic system.

The cleft between formula and reality, that is the tragedy of the unfortunate leaders of the Opposition. This cleft is the direct result of the abandonment by the leaders of the opposition of the well-known tactical principles of Leninism relating to the national peculiarities in the revolutionary movement of each particular country.

Lenin formulated this principle in the following way:

"It is now a question for the communists of each country to take into consideration deliberately the basic tasks of the struggle against opportunism and left-wing dogmatism and also the concrete peculiarities which this struggle has in every country, in accordance with the peculiar characteristics of its economic system, politics, culture and national composition (Ireland etc.), its colonies, its religious splits etc. etc. One feels that everywhere dissatisfaction with the Second International is growing, both against its opportunism and against its incapacity to form a really centralised, really leading centre capable of directing the international tactics of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle for the soviet republic of the whole world. We must realise clearly that such a leading centre can by no means be built up upon a standardising and mechanisation of the tactical methods of the struggle. As long as national and political differences exist between the peoples and the countries — these differences will continue to exist for a very long time after the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat upon a world scale — the unity of the international tactic of the communist working class movement demands not the abolition of these differences, not the abolition of national peculiarities (in the present moment that would be a senseless Utopia), but an application of the fundamental principles of Communism (the power of the Soviet and the Dictatorship of the proletariat) in such a way that these principles are altered correctly in detail to fit the national and national-political differences of the various countries. To discover, study, and grasp the national peculiarities in the concrete methods of each particular country in order to perform the joint international tasks, to defeat opportunism and 'radical' dogmatism inside the working class movement, to overthrow the bourgeoisie, to establish the soviet republic and the dictatorship of the proletariat — that is the most important task of the historical moment."

The policy of the Comintern is to observe without fail this tactical principle of Leninism. The policy of the Opposition is just the opposite; it represents a breach with this tactical principle. This breach contains the roots of the conclusions of the Opposition in the question of the character and the perspectives of the Chinese revolution.

*

Let us now consider the second tactical principle of Leninism. The question of the allies of the proletariat in its struggle for the victory of the revolution arises from the character and the perspectives of the Chinese revolution.

The question of the allies of the proletariat is one of the fundamental questions of the Chinese revolution. The Chinese proletariat is faced by powerful enemies: large and small feudalists, the military-bureaucratic machine of the old and the new militarists, the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and the imperialists of the East and the West, who hold the most important threads of Chinese economic life in their hands and who support their right to exploit the Chinese people by troops and warships. In order to defeat these powerful enemies, it is above all necessary that the proletariat pursue an elastic well-thought-out policy and that it is able to take advantage of every split in the ranks of the enemies, no matter how small, and that it seek allies for itself even if these allies are uncertain, and vacillating, upon the condition that they are mass allies and that they do not limit the revolutionary agitation and propaganda of the proletariat, that they do not retard the work of the Party for the organisation of the working class and the toiling masses. Such a policy is the basic demand of the second tactical principle of Leninism.

Without such a policy the victory of the proletariat is impossible.

The Opposition, however, regards such a policy as incorrect, as unleninist. By this, however, it only proves that it has lost the last remnants of Leninism, that it is as far from Leninism as the sky is from the earth.

Has the Chinese proletariat had allies in the recent past? Yes. In the period of the first phase of the revolution, when the revolution was a revolution of the united national front (the Canton period), the allies of the proletariat were the peasantry, the poor population of the towns, the petty bourgeois intellectuals and the national bourgeoisie. One of the peculiarities of

the Chinese revolutionary movement was that the representatives of these classes worked together in a bourgeois revolutionary organisation, in the so-called Kuomintang, together with the Communists. These allies were not and could not be reliable to the same degree. One was more or less reliable (the peasants and the poorer population in the towns).

The other was less reliable and vacillated (the petty bourgeois intellectuals), the third was absolutely unreliable (the national bourgeoisie). The Kuomintang at that time was certainly more or less a mass organisation. The policy of the Communists inside the Kuomintang consisted in isolating the representatives of the national bourgeoisie (the right wingers) and utilising them in the interests of the revolution, in forcing the petty bourgeois intellectuals (the left-wingers) still further to the left and linking them with the proletariat, the peasantry and the poorer population of the towns. Was Canton the centre of the revolutionary movement at that time in China? Absolutely. Only people who are out of their senses can deny this. What gains did the Communists make in this period?

The enlargement of the territory for action as the Canton troops pressed forward to the Yangtse, the possibility of an open organisation of the proletariat (trade unions, strike committees), the gathering of the Communists into an organised Party, the formation of the first nuclei of the peasant organisations (the peasant unions), the penetration of the Communists into the army.

In this period, therefore, the leadership of the Comintern was absolutely correct.

In the period of the second stage of the revolution, when Chiang Kai-shek and the national bourgeoisie went over into the camp of the counter-revolution and the centre of the revolutionary movement was moved from Canton to Wuhan, the allies of the proletariat were the peasantry, the poorer population in the towns and the petty bourgeois intellectuals. How is the defection of the national bourgeoisie into the camp of the counter-revolution to be explained? It is to be explained by the fear of the national bourgeoisie at the growth and the extent of the revolutionary working class movement and by the pressure exerted upon the national bourgeoisie by the imperialists in Shanghai. In this way the national bourgeoisie was lost for the revolution. Through this the revolution suffered a certain setback. As against this, however, the revolution entered into a higher phase of its development, into the phase of the agrarian revolution by drawing the masses of the peasantry into the revolutionary movement. That was a plus for the revolution.

Was the Kuomintang a mass organisation in the second part of the revolution? Certainly. It was without doubt more of a mass organisation than that it was in the first, the Canton stage of the revolution. Was Wuhan at that time the centre of the revolutionary movement? Undoubtedly. Only the blind could fail to see that. In any other case the territory under the control of Wuhan (Hupei, Hunan) could not have been the basis for the maximum development of the agrarian revolution which was led by the Communist Party. The policy of the Communists towards the Kuomintang at that time consisted in trying to force it to the left and to turn it into the kernel of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Did the possibility of such a development exist at that time? Yes. In any case, there was no reason to suppose that such a development was impossible. We said, however, quite plainly at the time that at least two conditions would be necessary for the transformation of a section of the Wuhan Kuomintang into the kernel of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasantry: a radical democratisation of the Kuomintang and the direct support of the agrarian revolution by the Kuomintang. It would have been very stupid on the part of the Communists to have abandoned all possibilities of such a development. What achievements have the Communists to point in this period? The Communist Party grew from a small party of 5 to 6 thousand members to a great, mass Party of 50 to 60 thousand members. The labour unions of the workers centralised themselves into a federation of three million members extending over the whole of China. The primitive organisations of the peasantry grew into great mass organisations embracing a score of millions. The agrarian movement of the peasantry attained immense dimensions and took the central position in the Chinese revolutionary movement. The Communist Party created for itself the possibility of openly organising the revo-

lution. The hegemony of the proletariat developed from a desire into a fact.

It is true, the Chinese Communist Party did not succeed in utilising all the possibilities of this period. It is true that in this period the Central Committee of the Party permitted a number of serious errors, but it would be ridiculous to suppose that the Chinese Communist Party could be transformed into a real bolshevist Party from one day to the other, so to speak, upon instructions from the Comintern. Let us recall the history of our own Party, the disruption, splits, and treachery which it suffered in order to grasp finally that real bolshevist parties do not spring up overnight.

From this it follows that the Comintern leadership was correct in this period also.

Has the Chinese proletariat allies to-day? Yes. Such allies are the peasantry and the poorer population of the towns. The present period is characterised by the defection of the Wuhan leadership of the Kuomintang into the camp of the counter-revolution, by the defection of the petty bourgeois intellectuals from the revolution. The explanation for this is: 1. the fear of the petty bourgeois intellectuals for the extension and the growth of the agrarian revolution and the pressure of the feudalists upon the leadership in Wuhan; 2. the pressure of the imperialists in the Tientsin district, who demand that the Kuomintang break with the Communists as the price of a free passage towards the north. The opposition doubts that remnants of feudalism are still present in China. It is however, clear to everyone now that such remnants and such traditions do not merely exist in China, but that in the present moment they are even proving themselves stronger than the revolution. The revolution has suffered a temporary defeat just because in China, at the moment, the imperialists and the feudalists have proved themselves the stronger. This time the petty bourgeois intellectuals were lost for the revolution. That is just the symptom for the temporary defeat of the revolution. As against this the revolution has mobilised the broad masses of the peasants and the poorer population in the towns nearer to the proletariat and thus formed the basis for the hegemony of the proletariat. That is a plus for the revolution.

The Opposition declares that the temporary defeat is the result of the policy of the Comintern. Only people can say this who have abandoned Marxism. Only those who have broken with Marxism can demand that a correct policy shall always and immediately lead to the defeat of the enemy. Was the policy of the Bolsheviks in 1905 correct? Undoubtedly. Why, then, did the revolution in 1905 suffer a defeat, although there were workers' councils formed and the policy of the Bolsheviks was correct? Because the feudalist remnants and absolutism were stronger then than the revolutionary movement of the workers. Was the policy of the Bolsheviks in July 1917 correct? Undoubtedly. Then why did the Bolsheviks suffer a defeat, although workers' councils existed and the policy of the Bolsheviks was correct? Because at that time Russian imperialism showed itself stronger than the revolutionary working class movement. A correct policy does not always lead immediately and in all circumstances to the defeat of the enemy. An immediate victory over the enemy is not only brought about by the correct policy, but above all and chiefly by the relation of class forces, by the obvious preponderance of forces on the side of the revolution, by the dissolution of the hostile camp and by a favourable international situation. Only in these circumstances can the correct policy bring the proletariat immediate victory.

There is, however, one demand which a correct policy must fulfil in all circumstances and at all times. The policy of the Party must increase the fighting capacity of the proletariat, strengthen its connections with the toiling masses, increase the authority of the proletariat amongst these toiling masses and secure the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution. Can it be said that in the period which has passed a maximum of favourable conditions for the victory of the Chinese revolution was present? No. Can it be said that the policy of the Communists in China did not increase the fighting capacity of the proletariat, strengthen its connections with the toiling masses, increase its authority amongst the latter? The answer is obvious, such a thing can not be said. Only the blind cannot see that in this period the proletariat has been successful in winning large masses of the peasantry away from the national bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeois intellectuals and under its own flag. In the first stage of the revolution the Communist Party

found itself in a bloc with the national bourgeoisie in Canton in order to enlarge the territory of the national revolution, to develop into a mass party, to create for itself the possibility of organising the proletariat openly and to open up the way to the peasants. In the second stage of the revolution the Communist Party formed a bloc with the petty bourgeois intellectuals of the Kuomintang in Wuhan in order to increase the forces of the Party, to extend the organisation of the proletariat, to win broad masses of the peasantry away from the leadership of the Kuomintang and to create the conditions for the hegemony of the proletariat. The national bourgeoisie went over into the ranks of the counter-revolution and lost its connection with the broad masses. The petty bourgeois intellectuals and the Wuhan leadership limped after the national bourgeoisie, because they were afraid of the agrarian revolution, and they thus discredited themselves in the eyes of the peasantry. Against this, however, the millions of peasants rallied still more closely to the proletariat in whom they observed their only reliable leader. Is it not clear that only a correct policy can lead to such results? Is it not obvious that only such a policy can raise the fighting capacity of the proletariat? Who apart from the "leaders" of the Opposition can doubt the correctness and the revolutionary nature of such a policy?

The Opposition declares that the defection of the Kuomintang leadership in Wuhan in the direction of the counter-revolution is a sign that the policy of a bloc with the Wuhan government which was followed by the Communists in the second stage of the revolution was false. Only people can talk like that who have forgotten the history of Bolshevism and who have cast off the last remnants of Leninism. Was the policy of the Bolsheviks in October, and beyond October into the Spring of 1918, of a revolutionary bloc with the social revolutionaries correct nor not? I don't think that any one has yet been found to doubt the correctness of this bloc policy. But how did this bloc end? It ended with the insurrection of the social revolutionaries against the soviet government. Can it be said that the policy of a bloc with the social revolutionaries was false on this ground? It is clear that this cannot be done. Was the policy of a revolutionary bloc with the Wuhan Kuomintang in the second stage of the Chinese revolution correct? I am of the opinion that no one will dare to say that such a policy during the second stage of the revolution was incorrect. The Opposition itself (April 1927) has corroborated the correctness of this bloc. How is it possible to say now, after the defection of the Wuhan Kuomintang into the camp of the counter-revolution, that the policy of a bloc with the Wuhan Kuomintang was false because of this defection? Must it be stressed that only characterless opponents can "argue" with such weapons? Did anyone ever say that the revolutionary bloc with the Wuhan Kuomintang was to last for ever? Are there such things as eternal blocs? Is it not obvious that the Opposition has grasped absolutely nothing concerning the second Leninist tactical principle of the revolutionary bloc of the proletariat with non-proletarian elements and groups?

Lenin formulated this tactical principle as follows:

"The more powerful opponent can only be defeated by a tremendous exertion of energy and upon condition that the least break in the front of the enemy is utilised obligatorily, carefully and cleverly, that every antagonism between the bourgeoisie of the various countries, between the various groups and kinds of the bourgeoisie inside the various countries is utilised, and that every possibility, even the slightest, is utilised to win mass allies, even if only temporarily, and even if these allies are hesitant, uncertain and unreliable. Who does not understand that knows nothing of Marxism and of modern scientific socialism. (My italics J. S.) Whoever has not proved in practice, during the course of a rather long time and in various political situations, his capacity to apply this truth, has not yet learned to assist the revolutionary class in its struggle for the emancipation of the whole of toiling humanity from exploitation. That applies both to the period before and after the seizure of political power by the proletariat." (Lenin: "Left-Wing Communism an infantile sickness.")

Is it not obvious that the policy of the Opposition is a policy of a breach with this tactical principle of Leninism? Is it not obvious on the other hand that the policy of the Com-

intern is the policy of unreservedly recognising this tactical principle?

*

Now to the third tactical principle of Leninism. It embraces the question of the change of slogans, the ways and the methods of this change, how slogans for the Party must be changed into slogans for the masses, how the masses are to be led to take up a revolutionary attitude so that they may be convinced by their own political experience of the correctness of the slogans of the Party. One cannot convince the masses by agitation and propaganda alone. The political experiences of the masses themselves are also necessary. It is necessary that the broad masses experience themselves the inevitability of, let us say, the overthrow of the existing government, the inevitability of the establishment of a new political and social order. It must be recognised that in April 1917 the leading group of the Party was already aware of the inevitability of the overthrow of the Miliukov-Kerensky provisional government; that however, was not enough in order to stand for the overthrow of the government and to put forward the slogan of the overthrow of the provisional government and the establishment of a soviet government as an immediate slogan. In order to turn the formula "All power to the Soviets!" from a perspective for the future into a slogan for the day, for immediate action, a still more decisive factor was necessary. It was necessary that the masses themselves should be convinced of the necessity and the correctness of this slogan, and that they should support the Party in one way or another in carrying it into practice. A distinction must be made between the formula as a perspective for the future and the formula as a slogan for immediate action. It was just for this reason that the Petrograd group of the Bolsheviks under comrade Bogdatyev went to pieces when they put forward too soon the slogan: "Down with the provisional government! All power to the Soviets!" Lenin publicly attacked the attempts of the group of Comrade Bogdatyev as dangerous adventurism. Why? Because the broad masses in the trenches and at home were not yet ripe for this slogan. Because this group had confused the formula "All power to the Soviets!" as a perspective for the future with the formula "All power to the Soviets!" as a slogan for immediate action. Because they acted too soon, and thus threatened to isolate the Party from the broad masses and from the soviets which at that time still believed in the revolutionary spirit of the provisional government.

Should the Chinese Communists have set up the slogan six months ago "Down with the leadership of the Kuomintang in Wuhan!"? No. For that would have been a very dangerous and precipitate step, and it would have rendered the approach to the masses more difficult for the communists, for the masses at that time still believed in the leadership of the Kuomintang, and this would have isolated the Communist Party from the peasantry. This would have been false because at that time the leadership of the Kuomintang in Wuhan had not yet achieved its highest point as a bourgeois-revolutionary government, and had not yet discredited itself in the eyes of the masses through its fight against the agrarian revolution and against the working class and by its defection to the counter-revolution. We always said that no attempt should be made to discredit and overthrow the leadership of the Kuomintang in Wuhan as long as it had not exhausted all possibilities as a bourgeois-revolutionary government, that in this sense it should be tolerated and that the question of a substitute should be raised later. Should the Chinese Communists now set up the slogan "Down with the leadership of the Kuomintang in Wuhan!"? Yes, of course they must. Now that the leadership of the Kuomintang has already discredited itself by its struggle against the revolution and has created hostile relations between itself and the masses of the workers and peasants, such a slogan will meet with tremendous response upon the part of the masses of the people. Now, every worker and peasant will see that the Communists are acting correctly when they leave the Wuhan government and the Central Committee of the Kuomintang in Wuhan and set up the slogan "Down with the Wuhan leadership of the Kuomintang!". The working and peasant masses are now faced with the choice: either the present leadership of the Kuomintang remains, and this means the abandonment of the most urgent demands of the masses and the abandonment of the agrarian revolution, or the carrying out of the agrarian revolution and a fundamental betterment of the situation of the working class. Then the slogan

for a change in the leadership of the Kuomintang government will become the slogan of the masses.

Those are the demands of the third tactical principle of Leninism in the question of the change of slogans and in the question of the ways and means to lead the broad masses to take up a new revolutionary attitude, in the question of acting so as to change at the right time the existing slogans and replace them by others understood by the masses, and assisting the masses to recognise the correctness of the policy of the Party from their own experience.

Lenin formulated this tactical principle as follows:

"One cannot be victorious with the advance-guard alone. To fling the advance-guard into a decisive struggle before the whole class has taken up an attitude either directly supporting the advance-guard or at least an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards the advance guard and the impossibility that the masses could support the opponent has been made clear, that would not only be stupid, it would be a crime. But to ensure that really the whole class, the broad masses of the toilers and those enslaved by capitalism take up the correct attitude, for this propaganda and agitation are not enough. The political experience of the masses themselves must also be added. That is the most fundamental law of all great revolutions, which is now being corroborated with surprising strength and clearness, not only by Russia, but also by Germany. Not only the masses of Russia, the illiterate masses of Russia with their low standard of culture, but also the literate masses of Germany with their high standard of culture must experience on their own bodies the whole characterlessness, helplessness, toadyism and meanness of the government of the knights of the Second International and the absolute inevitability of the dictatorship of the extreme reactionaries (Kornilov in Russia, Kapp in Germany) as the alternative to the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to turn decisively to the side of the Communists.

The next task of the conscious advance-guard of the international working class movement, i. e. the Communist Parties, groups and tendencies is to lead the masses who are still for the most part asleep, apathetic, buried in routine, slothful, conservative, to their new positions, or better said to lead not only the Party, but also the masses during their transition to new positions."

The basic mistake of the Opposition consists in the fact that it has not grasped the aim and the sense of this tactical principle of Leninism, that it does not recognise it and that it systematically violates it. The Opposition, (the Trotsky opposition) violated this tactical principle at the beginning of 1917, when it attempted to jump over the agrarian movement which had not yet concluded its development, "with a daring leap" (see Lenin). The Opposition (Trotsky and Zinoviev) violated this principle when it attempted to jump over the backwardness of the trades unions and refused to recognise the usefulness of the communist work in the reactionary unions, denying the necessity of a temporary bloc with them. The Opposition (Trotsky, Zinoviev, Radek) violated this principle when it attempted to "jump over" the national peculiarities of the Chinese revolutionary movement (Kuomintang) and over the backwardness of the masses of the Chinese people, when it demanded in April 1926 that the Communists should leave the Kuomintang and when, in April 1927, it put forward the slogan for the formation of workers councils in a situation in which the Kuomintang phase had not yet exhausted its full development.

The Opposition believes that it fully suffices when it has recognised the half measures, the vacillations and the unreliability of the Kuomintang leadership and the provisional and conditional character of the bloc with the Kuomintang (to recognise this ought not to have been difficult for any half-way qualified political functionary). As has been said, it believes that this is sufficient in order to begin "determined" actions against the Kuomintang and against the power of the Kuomintang, that this recognition is sufficient to ensure that the broad masses of the workers and peasants immediately support us in our "determined action". The opposition forgets that "our" recognition is by no means sufficient to ensure that the

masses of the Chinese workers and peasants will follow the Chinese Communists. The opposition forgets that beyond that it is necessary that the masses themselves experience the unreliability and the reactionary and counter-revolutionary nature of the Kuomintang leadership. The Opposition forgets that the revolution can not be "made" only by the leading groups, by individuals, even if "high" personalities, but that the revolution must be made by the masses of the people. It is remarkable that the Opposition forgets the state, the ideology and the preparedness of the masses of the people to act decisively.

Did we, the Party, Lenin, know in April 1917, that the Provisional government of Miliukov-Kerensky would have to be overthrown, that the existence of the provisional government was incompatible with the activity of the soviets, that power would have to go over into the hands of the proletariat? Of course we knew it. Why did Comrade Lenin expose the Petrograd Bolshevik group under the leadership of Comrade Bogdatyev as adventurers when they set up the slogan "Down with the provisional government, all power to the Soviets!" and actually tried to overthrow the government? Because the broad masses of the toilers, certain sections of the working class, the broad masses of the army and even the soviets themselves were not ripe to accept this slogan as one for immediate action; because the provisional government and the petty bourgeois parties of the social revolutionaries and the mensheviks had not yet exhausted all possibilities and had not discredited themselves sufficiently in the eyes of the proletariat; because Lenin knew that the recognition by the leading group of the proletariat, by the Party of the proletariat was not sufficient to overthrow the provisional government and to establish the soviet power, that it was necessary to show the masses from their own experience the correctness of such a policy; because for this it was necessary to experience the bacchanalia of the coalition, the treachery of the petty bourgeois parties in June, July and August 1917, the shameful retreat at the front in June 1917 and the "honest" coalition of the petty bourgeois parties with Kornilov and Miliukov and the Kornilov insurrection etc. All that was necessary in order to convince the millions of the toilers of the inevitability of the overthrow of the provisional government and the establishment of the soviet power. Because only in these circumstances can the formula of soviet power as a perspective for the future be changed into a slogan for immediate soviet power.

It is the misfortune of the Opposition that it continually makes the same mistake that the group of Bogdatyev made at that time, that it has left the policy of Comrade Lenin and prefers to go the way of Bogdatyev.

Did we, the Party, Lenin, know that the Constituent Assembly was irreconcilable with the system of soviet power when we took part in the elections for the Constituent Assembly and convened this assembly to take place in Petrograd? Of course we knew it. Why, then, did we call it? How could it possibly happen that the Bolsheviks, the enemies of parliamentarism, after the establishment of the soviet power, not only took part in elections for the Constituent Assembly, but actually convened the latter? Was that not a "tail-end policy", a lagging behind the events, a "pressing back of the masses", a violation of the tactic of the "broad aim"? No, of course it was not! The Bolsheviks took part in order to make it easier for the backward masses of the people to assure themselves of the uselessness of the Constituent Assembly and of its reactionary and counter-revolutionary character. Only in this way was it possible to draw over the great masses of the peasantry and facilitate the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly.

Lenin said the following about this:

"We took part in the elections to the bourgeois parliament of Russia, to the Constituent Assembly in September-November. Was our tactic correct or not? Had not we Russian Bolsheviks more reason than any of the western European communists to assume that parliamentarism in Russia was outlived politically? Of course we did, for it is not important how long or short bourgeois parliaments exist, it is important how well prepared (mentally, politically) the broad masses of the toilers are to recognise the soviet constitution and to drive the bourgeois democratic parliaments out of existence or to permit that driving out. That

in Russia in September-November 1917 the working class in the towns, the soldiers and the peasants were in consequence of a series of special circumstances prepared for the driving out of the democratic bourgeois parliament in a way that very seldom happens, that is a completely incontrovertible and firmly-established historical fact. And despite this the Bolsheviks did not boycott the Constituent Assembly, but took part in the elections both before and after the conquest of political power by the proletariat. From this a completely incontrovertible conclusion is reached: it is proved that even a few weeks before the victory of the Soviet Republic, even after such a victory, the participation in a bourgeois democratic parliament does not merely not damage the revolutionary proletariat, but even gives it the possibility of proving to the backward classes why such parliaments deserve to be driven out, why it facilitates the success of this driving out process and why it makes it easier to 'overcome politically' bourgeois parliamentarism."

The tactic of bolshevism must be applied in China in the same way, no matter whether it is a question of the agrarian revolution, the Kuomintang or the slogan of the soviets.

The Opposition apparently tends to the opinion that the revolution in China has collapsed completely. This is of course erroneous. That the revolution in China has suffered a temporary defeat, that it is a defeat which will last approximately as long as the of that there can be no doubt. The question is however: what sort of a defeat is that, and how deep is it? Is it possible that it is a defeat which will last approximately as long as the defeat in Russia in 1905, when the revolution was interrupted for twelve years in order to break out again with renewed force in February 1917, wipe out absolutism and prepare the way for the new, the soviet revolution? One cannot say that this perspective is out of the question. But that would be just as little a complete defeat as the defeat in 1905 was a complete defeat. It is not a complete defeat, because the basic tasks of the Chinese revolution in the present stage of development, the agrarian revolution, the revolutionary unification of China, its emancipation from the yoke of imperialism etc. are still awaiting their solution. If this perspective is correct, then there can be no question of the immediate formation of soviets of workers and peasants deputies, for soviets can only be formed and only develop in a situation of revolutionary advance. This perspective can, however, hardly be regarded as probable, at least there is no reason to suppose that it is so, for the counter-revolution has not united its forces and it will not do so for a long time, if it does so at all, because the war between the old militarists and the new has broken out again, and this war weakens the counter-revolution and at the same time ruins and embitters the peasants; because there does not yet exist any group or government in China which would carry out a land reform like that of Stolypin as a lightning conductor to protect the ruling group; because it would not be easy to hold millions of peasants in check who have already laid their hands on the large estates and because the authority of the proletariat in the eyes of the working masses is steadily growing and its forces are by no means destroyed.

It is possible that the defeat is similar to that suffered by the Bolsheviks in July 1917, when they were betrayed by the soviets and forced to go into illegality and when a few months later the revolution flooded the streets once again in order to sweep away the bourgeois government of Russia. The analogy here is of course conditional. It is only valid when the differences between the situation in Russia in 1917 and the situation in China today are taken into consideration. I only make such an analogy in order to discover the extent of the defeat in China approximately. I think that this perspective is probable. And if this perspective really becomes a fact, if in the near future, it need not necessarily be two months, it can be six months or a year, a new revolutionary wave becomes a fact, then the question of the formation of soviets of workers and peasant deputies as an immediate slogan against the bourgeois government can be placed on the agenda. Why? Because in a new advance of the revolution in the present stage of development, the question of the formation of soviets will be completely ripe. Yesterday, a few months ago, the Chinese communists could not put forward the slogan of the soviets because that would have been adventurism like the

adventurism of our Opposition, because the leadership of the Kuomintang had not yet discredited itself as an opponent of the revolution. If however (if!) in the near future a new revolutionary wave wells up, then the slogan for the formation of soviets can be a really revolutionary slogan. Therefore it is necessary now, side by side with the struggle to replace the present Kuomintang leadership by a revolutionary leadership, to conduct a campaign amongst the masses of the toilers to popularise the idea of the soviets, without rushing ahead of events and without attempting to organise soviets now, by keeping in mind that soviets can only be formed in a situation of powerful revolutionary advance.

Perhaps the Opposition will say that it said that first and that this is exactly what it means with the tactic of the "second aim".

That is however, not the case, my dear friends, that is quite wrong. That is not the tactic of the "second aim", but a tactic of vacillation, a tactic either of shooting beyond the aim or of never reaching it. When in April 1926 the Opposition demanded that the communists should leave the Kuomintang, that was **shooting beyond the aim**, for the Opposition was compelled to admit later that the communists should remain in the Kuomintang. When the Opposition declared that the Chinese revolution was a revolution for customs autonomy, that was a tactic which **did not reach the aim**, and later the Opposition was compelled to dissociate itself as silently as possible from its own formula. When in April 1927 the Opposition declared that the feudal remnants in China were exaggerated and forgot the existence of an agrarian mass movement, that was a tactic which **failed to reach the aim**, for later on the Opposition was compelled to admit silently its errors. When in April 1927 the Opposition put forward the slogan for the immediate formation of soviets, that was **shooting beyond the aim**, for the Opposition was compelled to admit the differences in its own camp, where one section (Comrade Trotsky) demanded a policy making for the overthrow of the Wuhan government, and the other section (Zinoviev) demanded the "all-round support" of the same Wuhan government. But since when is the tactic of vacillation, the tactic of shooting beyond the aim or of never reaching the aim, called the tactic of the "second aim"?

With regard to the soviets, it must be said that the Comintern in its documents raised the question of the soviets in China as a **perspective** long before the Opposition did. With regard to the soviets as an immediate slogan, which the Opposition set up as opposed to the revolutionary Kuomintang (the Kuomintang was revolutionary then, otherwise why did Comrade Zinoviev call for "all-round support" of the Kuomintang?), that was an adventure, a crying case of hurrying before the events themselves, just as the action of comrade Bogdatyev in April 1917. From the fact that the slogan of soviets in China can become an immediate slogan in the near future, does not follow that it was not a dangerous adventure when the Opposition put forward the slogan in the Spring of this year. Just as when Lenin in September 1917 recognised the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" (The well-known decision of the Central Committee relating to the insurrection) as correct and necessary, it did not mean that this was correct when comrade Bogdatyev put up the same slogan in April 1917 or that the latter was not a dangerous and damaging adventure. Comrade Bogdatyev might have said in September 1917 that he had been the "first" to speak of the soviets, having done so as early as April 1917. Does this mean however that comrade Lenin was wrong when he condemned the undertaking of comrade Bogdatyev as adventurous? It is obvious that the fame of comrade Bogdatyev is robbing our Oppositionals of their sleep at night.

The Opposition does not grasp the fact that it is by no means a question of who was "first" to speak of a certain thing by hurrying ahead of the events and damaging the cause of the revolution, but who said it at the **right time** and said it in such a manner that the masses can understand it and **translate it into fact**. These are the facts. The final result is deviation of the Opposition from the Leninist tactic and the ultra-left adventurism of their policy.

CHINA

Declaration of the Communist Party of China.

Moscow, 29th July 1927.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has published a declaration containing the following:

"The majority in the Kuomintang and the national government is injurious to the revolution. It is turning the Wuhan government into merely a new militarist grouping. The Communist Party can undertake no responsibility for such a policy and it has therefore decided to withdraw its representatives from the Wuhan government. The thousands of communists who have fallen in the struggles against the militarists form the best proof that the Communist Party will always be with the people even though the leadership of the Kuomintang and the national government desert the interests of the masses. The Communist Party will continue the struggle against the imperialists, the militarists and the feudalists without compromise until the complete victory of the revolution has been won. The Communist Party will fight and work for an alliance with the workers of the world, with the suppressed races and with the Soviet Union. The abandonment of the agrarian revolution means the abandonment of the struggle against feudalism. Without the destruction of feudalism the imperialists cannot be defeated.

The Communist Party will fight this struggle jointly with the really revolutionary members of the Kuomintang and with the masses of the Kuomintang. The communists have therefore no reason to leave the Kuomintang or to refuse to co-operate with it. As far as the leadership of the Kuomintang and the national government really pursue a policy of struggle against imperialism, militarism and feudalism and persecute the reaction, the Communist Party will support them in their struggle. However, the Communist Party places the interests of the masses and the interests of the revolution above everything else, above the interests of the maintenance of any political block. The Communist Party will not permit the Generals who have betrayed the revolution and the vacillating politicians to misuse the name of the Kuomintang and hide themselves under the banner of Sun Yat-sen."

The Presidium of the Political Bureau of the Kuomintang has published a declaration in reply in which the Communist Party is accused of "conspirative activity" against the Kuomintang. The declaration also states that now that the communists have left the national government which represents the highest executive organ of the Kuomintang, they must also leave all other governmental posts and institutions. In conclusion the declaration states that the Kuomintang will "continue to practice tolerance towards the communists".

RESCUE SACCO AND VANZETTI

Sacco and Vanzetti must be Freed!

By H. Shaw.

For nearly seven years the Sacco-Vanzetti case has been before the courts of Massachusetts. A long succession of disclosures of police corruption, and confession of false evidence, had aroused interests far beyond the boundaries of Massachusetts and even of the United States, until the case became one which has called forth the protest of the working class throughout the world. Not only of the working class, but of many liberals, radicals and the intelligentsia in every country. For nearly seven years two Italian workers, innocent of any crime, framed-up by the American police, have sat in the shadow of the electric chair. Through two trials, lasting several months, and through five appeals these two brave workers have maintained their courage and remained loyal to their class.

A brief review of the origin of the frame-up is necessary.

On the morning of May 3rd, 1920, Andrew Salsedo "fell" from the 14th storey of the Department of Justice in New York

City, where he had been secretly confined for about 8 weeks. Salsedo had been arrested during the "Red" Raids of Attorney General Palmer, carried out by the Federal Government in their wild attempt to stop the spread of revolutionary propaganda and agitation, which was meeting with a tremendous response from the American workers in the period immediately after the War. Hundreds of revolutionary workers were being arrested and deported. During the imprisonment of Salsedo, friends of his came together, aroused a protest against his illegal imprisonment, and raised funds for his defence. When Salsedo fell to his death — or was pushed out of the window of the Department of Justice to hide his murder, — the Department of Justice was embarrassed by the increasing agitation on his behalf. They forthwith arrested the principal leaders of the agitation, just as the first mass meeting to protest against Salsedo's death was to be held. These two leaders were Nicola Sacco and Bartolo Vanzetti, two working men with active strike records.

Vanzetti had been the most active person in the strike against the Plymouth Cordage Company. Sacco was a worker in a shoe factory.

Sacco and Vanzetti were held, as were hundreds of other foreign workers, on no charge except that of being "reds", but this time it became necessary for the police to find more definite charges. This was not difficult, there had been a series of hold-ups; pay-roll men carrying money to pay the wages of factories and mills had been held up and the money stolen. In one case, in Braintree, the cashier and his guard had been killed by two armed men and over \$ 15,000.— stolen. Sacco and Vanzetti were charged with the murder and put on trial in May, 1921. (Vanzetti had been meanwhile previously falsely convicted for another hold-up and sentenced to 15 years.) The United States Federal, Local and County Police had sufficient evidence to lead them to the arrest of the real criminals, the notorious Morelli gang. But the United States Government were not interested in criminals; they wished to remove two working class organisers, Sacco and Vanzetti, and here was the means at hand.

A score of witnesses testified that neither of the two was within miles of the place of murder when it occurred. The witnesses of the Prosecution were discredited and were shown to be criminal characters who were in the power of the Police. One witness testified under a false name because of his criminal record. Identifications were made in a scandalous manner, such as: "Do you identify this man?" "Yes." "Why?" "Because he ran like a foreigner."

On such evidence, given by witnesses in the power of the Police, Sacco and Vanzetti were condemned to death.

In 1925 the Defence secured evidence proving not only that Sacco and Vanzetti did not commit the murders, but also positively that a very notorious gang of professional criminals did commit them.

Celestino Madeiros, a young Portuguese with a bad criminal record, made a definite statement in jail confessing that he took part in the murder of the cashier and his guard, together with four other companions. On this evidence the Sacco Vanzetti defence demanded a new trial, but it was refused by the Supreme Court.

The international working class has correctly seen that the Sacco-Vanzetti case is not only a question of two working-class fighters facing death for a crime of which they are innocent, but a definite challenge on the part of the American bourgeoisie to the American and International working class.

The defence of Sacco and Vanzetti is an issue of the class struggle. They are not criminals, but standard bearers of the militant Labour Movement. The fight for Sacco-Vanzetti is the fight of the working class against provocation, frame-ups and all the measures used by the bourgeoisie against the active workers of the revolutionary movement. The protests of millions of workers, thousands of Trade Unions and other working class organisations, the campaign carried on by radical intellectuals, had compelled the American bourgeoisie to delay the execution. However, after the Supreme Court had refused a new trial despite the proofs which existed that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent, despite the confession of the actual murderer, despite the confession of at least three witnesses for the prosecution that they had committed perjury, Sacco and Vanzetti were condemned to be executed on July 10th. This aroused tremendous response from the indignant workers. Thousands of tele-

grams from working class organisations all over the world were poured into the Offices of the Governor of Massachusetts. Half a million workers in New York made an hours strike for Sacco and Vanzetti. In other parts of America strikes and protest demonstrations were the order of the day. In other countries, the workers, following the lead given by the International Red Aid, made demonstrations before the American embassies, and at meetings passed thousands of resolutions demanding the release of Sacco and Vanzetti. Hundreds of intellectuals, lawyers, professors and members of Parliament have joined in the demand. So strong was the wave of indignation, that the American Government was compelled to postpone the execution until August 10th and to appoint a Committee of Enquiry into the case. This Committee of Enquiry sits in secret; it is merely a bluff, an attempt to still the waves of protest until such time as Sacco and Vanzetti shall have been placed in the electric chair. Meanwhile, the victims of this torture, with this barbarous instrument ever in front of their eyes, write as follows:.... "We could have recourse to suicide, freeing in this way you and us from all sacrifices and all wretchedness. But we shall not do it, because suicide seems to us to be fleeing from our victorious enemy. If we die we shall die looking our enemy in the eye. May it never be said that we fled".

The latest news to hand is that the two prisoners have declared a hunger strike as a protest against the meetings of the so-called Committee of Enquiry being held in secret.

The millions of workers in every part of the world who have not ceased to fight for the cause of Sacco and Vanzetti, which has become the cause of the whole working class, must not be deluded by talk of a possibility of a commutation of the sentence. The workers who have thus far by their power and solidarity prevented the execution of the two rebels, must continue their great fight with even more determination. It must continue to fight forward with its million-armed power until this issue is settled with a great victory, the freedom of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The hearts of the Massachusetts executioners have not softened with kindness, and their desire to murder our comrades has not changed. On the contrary, they seek for new methods of torment. The working class must reply:

No chair of death, but life for Sacco and Vanzetti!

Not a living death in the vaults of a prison, but freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti!"

POLITICS

The Difficulties of Fascism and its Measures to Overcome Them.

A New Wave of Terror in Italy.

By Ercoli.

The fascist regime in Italy is faced with fresh difficulties. In order to overcome these difficulties, it is sweeping the whole country with a fresh wave of terror. In the last few weeks not a single industrial town of Italy has escaped the wave of fresh terror which the government has let loose. In Milan, in the course of one week, over 2000 persons were arrested, most of them workers. The same thing happened in Turin, Genoa, Sampierdarena, Trieste etc. In Pisa, which in fact is by no means an industrial town but one of the main strongholds of fascism, no less than 300 "insurrectionists" were imprisoned. Mass arrests were also carried out in the industrial towns of Toscana.

What is the reason for all these measures? Have not the fascist leaders and their chief repeatedly announced that in Italy all the forces of the opposition have died out, with the exception of the few hundred who have been banished? And have not the leaders of the old Opposition of Italy who have emigrated, Treves, Labriola etc., represented everything which the Communists say regarding the defence of the working class as being false and exaggerated? Who, then, are the hundreds and thousands of the newly arrested?

In the first place Communists. The Communist Party is in these days paying fresh tribute to the fascist police reaction. But the essential thing today is that the payment of this tribute is the result of its unwearied work of six months of reorganisation of its forces and the forces of the workers of Italy. This tribute is due to the fact that the enemy is forced to recognise that the activity of the Communist Party counts for something, that it is one of the elements of the situation which has to be taken into consideration.

Had the Communists in November 1926, acted like the leaders of the opposition parties of the "Aventino" and issued the slogan that "there is nothing to be done in Italy", then there would not be this tribute to pay today. If the Communist Party had acted in that manner, i. e. if in the last few months there had been lacking within the working class the active element represented by this advance-guard, then the situation today would be quite different. The crisis with which fascism finds itself confronted would be less serious, for it would have developed in face of a completely passive mass. The mass movements which we are able to record, would probably not have occurred. There would not have been strikes in Trieste, in Toscana, in the Parma district; in Turin there would not have been the excitement among the workers which compelled fascism to adopt demagogic measures, the results of which it will soon begin to feel.

Among the victims of fascist terror there are also Maximalists, Reformists and Republicans. Of course these do not include leaders, but workers and leading elements in the localities who, in the last six months, disregarding the discipline of their parties, firmly adopted the standpoint of the class united front and worked at organising the masses and reconstructing the trade unions on the basis of the decision of the trade Union Conference of February 20, last.

These elements are workers who have loyally worked together with the Communists. The persecution of these elements is a burning accusation against the leaders who, from their safety abroad, maintain that nothing can be done in Italy. It is always possible to do something in a country in which the workers are from time to time flung into prison wholesale, where the workers organise themselves, are active and carry out strikes.

In addition, the political importance of the wave of terror is increased by the great number of its victims. 2000 arrests in Milan, 1000 in Turin, 300 in Pisa, taken together, cannot represent 3300 members of an advance-guard belonging to political secret organisations. Here for the greater part it is a question of politically less active elements, factory workers, the masses of the proletariat, regarding whom Mussolini had to admit that they are hostile to fascism.

All this means that there is something new taking place in these masses, which forces fascism to concern itself with them again and again. That which is now taking place among the masses represents the most important thing in the political situation in Italy. The masses are stirring and beginning to fight again. The workers and peasants of Italy are today no longer the passive crowd which silently accepts the bludgeonings of the employers and the fascists. This mass is moving, is being roused to indignation, is entering on strikes. If the workers are today beginning to stir, to ask what is to be done, to go on strike, then it is certain that they are beginning to think seriously of the possibility of a way out of the present situation and to see this way out in the development of the class struggle, in the resumption of fighting activity in defence of their wages, and in defence of their interests generally. That is the way which must be followed.

Fascism realises that it is no longer possible to ignore this force of the masses; fascism knows that this force is capable of shattering its power, that it has already shaken it somewhat today. Hence the fresh wave of reaction.

What will be the results of this new wave of terror? For the moment they will be very serious. But nobody believes that the path which is to be pursued will be short and easy. Everyone must be convinced that fascism is not to be overthrown without a struggle, in which the situation prevailing in these last weeks will recur on a considerably higher stage. In the economic crises, which is becoming considerably more acute, the working masses will rise to defend their standard of living and will deal the regime such blows as are bound to overthrow it.

The Imperialist United Front against Syria.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

It is characteristic of the colonial adventures of the imperialists during the present epoch that the suppression of the movement for emancipation among the peoples has become exceedingly laborious and costly. The colonial peoples are extremely tenacious in their resistance, so that even armies equipped with the most up-to-date weapons, and much superior in every respect to the forces of the insurgents, are unable to make headway for months and years. The French have had this experience in Syria. On 24th July 1927 it will be two years since the Sultan Pascha el-Atlasch, with a small band of Druses, revolted against the French, and up to the present the French, despite numerous troops and continual efforts, have not succeeded in finally crushing the rebels.

The military operations of the rebels, however, came to an end some weeks ago, and their last divisions have been obliged to withdraw from Syria. But this is not so much due to the ability of the French generals as to the British Intervention.

From the beginning of the insurrection onwards, the British followed a policy of "loyal neutrality" towards the rebels. With the object of doing as much damage as possible to their French rivals in the Near East, the British authorities expressed their sympathy with the rebels, granted them right of asylum in the British mandate territory, and undertook action against them only when obliged to do so by urgent representations by the French. This "neutrality" was not merely dictated by the wish to discredit France, but by the anxiety to avoid provoking risings in the Arabian district under British dominion. As the whole attention of the Arabian national revolutionary movement has been concentrated on the Syrian insurrection, peace has reigned in the British territory.

A change has, however, been observable in British policy for some time. It became necessary to gain French agreement to joint action in various spheres of British interest (China, Egypt); and there is no doubt that one of the conditions imposed by the French minister for Foreign Affairs, in return for Franco-British co-operation, has been the united front for the suppression of the Arab national movement. Great Britain has also made skilful use of its opportunities during the last two years for the improvement of its position in Palestine (by splitting up the national movement) and in Transjordan (by pushing forward Emir Abdallah and his clique), that it need no longer fear a rebellion on its own territory through the agency of the revolutionary Druses.

The Syrian revolutionists concentrated in El-Asrak and on the El-Safa-Plateau were in a very difficult position: The French were successful in bribing some of the subordinate leaders of the Druses into betraying their countrymen. At the same time they stopped up the springs, so that the rebels were unable to obtain water. Then came the British attack in the rear. Threatened by threefold dangers; treason, death from thirst, and the British attack, the rebels retreated to Kiriath el Malh (desert country in the elevated districts of Ibn Saoud). The Supreme Council of the rebels has decided to await here the development of events in Syria.

The Syrian revolutionists, in their proclamations, lay special emphasis on the fact that though the British intervention has forced them to retreat, the Syrian revolution has by no means been thereby stamped out. During the rebellion the French mandatory government made many promises in the event of the cessation of the struggle. This eventuality has now come about. And now it is up to the French Head Commissary to carry out his obligations — the granting of a general amnesty, the convocation of the Constitutional Assembly, the establishment of Syrian unity — within the immediate future. What has been done so far — a partial amnesty for the deported political prisoners and the repeal of martial law in Damascus — is entirely inadequate.

Should, however, the French government again break its word, and should it again, rendered confident by the fact that, with the aid of British bayonets, Sultan el-Atlasch and his followers have been driven into the desert and that the French generals are masters in Damascus and Jebel Drus, attempt to carry on a policy of the "strong hand", instead of gran-

ting concessions to the Syrian nationalists, then the inevitable result will be the reawakening of the revolutionary forces of Syria.

Although the Syrian revolutionists have suffered a military defeat, their two years of heroic struggle against the military power of French imperialism, which was then aided by the British, remains a shining example of heroism and determination to the whole Arab population, and enriches them by many experiences invaluable to them in their further struggles for national emancipation.

What is the Truth Regarding the "Reactionary Countryside" around Vienna?

The Austrian Social Democracy excused the throttling of the struggle of the workers in Vienna by pointing to the isolation of revolutionary Vienna which is allegedly surrounded with a thoroughly reactionary province. The countryside around Vienna is represented by the leaders of the Austrian Social Democratic Party to be an absolutely solid *la Vendée*. On the 28th July the social democratic "Leipziger Volkszeitung" published an article by the social democratic Dr. Otto Stammer in Graz, which looks like a cautious attack upon the cowardly excuses of Otto Bauer and his friends. The version given by Stammer shows the countryside around Vienna in a very different light. The following contains the most important passages from the article of Dr. Otto Stammer. Ed.

For the average German, Austria consists of Vienna and the Tirol. Vienna is represented by the "Blue Danube Waltz", the fêtes and of course the K. and K. Infantry Regiments. Tirol, that is everything which is not Vienna, but nevertheless Austria. Although Vienna is red, it is for the sort of German mentioned, solely due to the Tirol peasants, famous since the days of Andreas Hofer, that Austria has a bourgeois government which is prepared, if necessary, to shoot down workers and which is able, thanks to the heroism of the peasant defence organisations, to settle any social democratic "rioting" in Vienna.

This conception of Austria is, however, for anyone really familiar with the complexity of politics in the province and with the class relations in the federated lands of this little State which has no justification for its separate existence, much the same as the remarks of Victor Auburtin in the "Berliner Tageblatt" recently. The gentleman in question was describing his travels and was startled to have found no mountains and no mountaineers' huts in Styria. The poor fellow had travelled from Graz to the Yugoslavian frontier in an automobile!

Provincial Austria —, that is the federated countries of Upper and Lower Austria. In which, apart from widespread agrarian districts (in lower Austria there is large-scale farming) there is a powerful industry, particularly in Vienna Neustadt and in the Inn district. That is Styria with a population greater than that of Vienna and with the most varied economic forms and with a class-conscious industrial working class in Graz and in Upper Styria industrial districts plus a reactionary bourgeoisie in the capital, Graz. Then there is Kaernten with its predominant agrarian nationalist influences, but a heroic and staunch working class in the valleys. Then there is Salzburg with its almost 100% organised proletarian and semi-proletarian population which offers a counter-weight to the catholic-peasant influence. Then there is the Burgenland with its peasant handicraftsmen who are being forced more and more into the camp of the proletariat by the Magyar pressure. Finally there are the predominantly clerical-peasant countries of Tirol and Vorarlberg. The political influence of these districts is almost always over-estimated. The total population of these districts is no more than the population of one borough in Vienna.

The countryside around Vienna with its four million population is therefore by no means the centre of the clerical-peasant reaction as it is always given out to be by the German bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it is a countryside with sharply defined class lines which is shaken by fierce class struggles and where

the proletariat is even worse off than the proletariat in Vienna. The peasantry is culturally and politically backward and the nationalist cum Catholic pig-headedness of the bourgeoisie has found its most reactionary troops here.

The workers here laugh when people talk about 20,000 armed reactionaries in Styria and in Kaernten and thousands more in the Tirol who are alleged to have forced the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party in Vienna to capitulate. The reactionary newspapers which fear the workers have simply invented these fairy tales in order to encourage the Austrian bourgeoisie, which is rotten through and through, to extend its fascist formations, which during the recent "mobilisation" numbered hardly more than 2,000 almost completely drunken peasants.

Every Austrian social democrat is convinced that in a serious case, i. e., in case of a real revolutionary situation, the spectre of the armed peasants in the Austrian provinces would quickly vanish.

ECONOMICS

The Struggle for Soviet Russian Oil.

By H. E. (Berlin).

Sir Deterding, President of the Royal Dutch Shell, the greatest Anglo-Dutch oil concern, on receiving the news of the conclusion of oil agreements between the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate and American petroleum companies, published a furious declaration. In this declaration Deterding (who, it may be observed, is one of the chief organisers of an aggressive action against the Soviet Union) applies directly to the central company representing the Rockefeller petroleum interests, the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, in order to induce it to intervene against the agreements between American companies and the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate. The Standard Oil, in its reply, declares that it itself has no intention of entering into any business with the Soviet Union. The president of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, Walter Teagels, even declared himself prepared to go to London for the purpose of arranging a joint action with the Royal Dutch Shell against the Soviet Union.

At the same time, however, the Central Company confirmed at once the report that various of its affiliated companies, the Standard Oil of New York and the Vacuum Oil Company, had concluded agreements with the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate. It declared, however, that it has no influence over its daughter companies, these being "autonomous". George Whaley, President of the Vacuum Oil, likewise, in an interview dating from the same time, pointed to the autonomous position of his company and expressed his definite intention of keeping to the contracts made with the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate.

The actual agreements entered into between the American petroleum companies and the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate are as follows: Contracts to supply petrol to Egypt, already concluded two years ago, have now been prolonged. The Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate has been obliged to prolong this contract, not being in a position to sell its products in Egypt on its own account. Thanks to their predominant influence, the English oil concerns have hitherto prevented establishment of branch depots by the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate — the chief places concerned being the seaports and all oil bunker stations in the Mediterranean and Suez Canal. Hence the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate has been forced to endeavour to evade this ban on its oil, and for this reason entered into contract with the Vacuum Oil Company, which undertook the sale of Soviet Russian oil in Egypt, where the oil can be sold at especially competitive prices, on account of the short distance from the oil sources. The prolongation of this contract has now been accompanied by the conclusion of a fresh agreement with the Vacuum Oil Company for the supply of 100,000 tons of crude naphtha yearly.

The Standard Oil Company of New York has also made a contract with the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate. According to this agreement, the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate is to supply the tank fleet of the Standard Oil Company of New York, in the Mediterranean and in the Indian Ocean, with

fuel — bunker mazout — for the term of six years. On the part of Soviet Russia, the motives to bring about these and other contracts are the following: The Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate does not possess a tank fleet large enough to cope with the rapidly growing export of naphtha. The agreements with the American companies ensure the Syndicate the tank ships required for an extensive export of naphtha. Besides this, the boycott imposed on Soviet Russian oil by the English oil concerns compels the Naphtha Syndicate to look for other markets. These markets have now been secured by the Russian Syndicate in the agreements with the American companies. Soviet Russian oil will now be sold by American intermediation, in much greater quantities than before in the Mediterranean (Port Said), in Egypt, in India (Colombo), and in the Far East (Singapore). Finally the contracts with the Americans shall furnish the Soviet Russian industry with means for the reorganisation and expansion of its production. The Americans, in return for suitable compensation, are to erect a petroleum refining plant at Baku, and credits are to be granted, the first to the amount of ten million dollars, enabling the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate to finance various undertakings.

On the part of the Americans, the chief inducement to these contracts with the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate has probably been the attempts on the part of the English oil concerns to conclude advantageous agreements with the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate. Deterding's indignation at the American-Soviet Russian oil agreement has aroused in America the comment that this same Deterding has been exerting every effort for years to obtain from the Soviet government the monopoly of the sale of Soviet Russian oil. As late as 5. January of this year Deterding repeated his offer to the Soviet government. At this time Deterding not only offered to buy the whole of the exportable petroleum products of the Soviet Union, but even went so far as to declare his readiness to assist the Soviet Russian naphtha syndicate to obtain a loan of fifteen million dollars, provided that his group were accorded absolute control over the export of these petroleum products. These negotiations came to nothing, and their failure was the chief cause of the rupture of relations between England and the Soviet Union.

To all appearances, the Americans are resolved not to withdraw from their contracts with the Soviet Union. The Washington correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt" reported as follows on 27. July:

"I have reliable information to the effect that in the circles around the New Jersey Oil Group the policy of the Shell Co. is by no means unanimously approved (the contrary of this was formerly reported by the English side. H. E.) There rather exists an inclination to take sides with the New York Group (which has concluded the agreement with the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate), so that there is some likelihood of a rupture between New Jersey (Rockefeller's Central Company) and the Shell. In any case the New York Standard Oil group and the Vacuum Oil Company (both now directly contracting partners of the Soviet Russian Naphtha Syndicate. H. E.) are both determined to adopt offensive measures, should the Shell Co. force its way into their oriental and Asiatic markets (now being supplied with Soviet Russian oil). The New York group has ample capital in reserve, and can enter into competition with the Shell Co. even in Germany, England, Italy, and France, or even all over Europe. And I have been assured by a reliable source that it will not shrink from doing so if necessary."

This is significant news. This determination on the part of the Americans can only be explained in its connection with the events of the naval disarmament conference still sitting at Geneva. America has shown plainly enough at Geneva that it is resolved to fight with England for the domination of the seas, and with this for the domination of the world. The paramount importance of oil in international economics at the present time makes the idea of world domination entirely unthinkable without the control of the decisive oil districts. The Americans themselves are the greatest oil producers in the world, but they do not possess competitive oil fields in the vicinity of places of such international political importance as for instance the traffic routes to Asia. This is the sore point in American oil dominion, and it is this which forces the

Americans to negotiate with the economic organs of the Soviet power.

The Americans, of course, are playing a double game. America is waging an economic war against the Soviet Union, side by side with English capital, but at the same time it seizes upon the advantages offered it by the special economic war being carried on by England against the Soviet Union.

It is clear that the English oil concern will see through this double game of the Americans, and will not remain inactive. The double game will furnish the Deterdings with one pretext more for continuing and intensifying their policy of provocation against the Soviet Union, and may give them the opportunity of frustrating the American game by compelling the Americans, when faced by accomplished facts, especially by a provocation to war, to come into line everywhere in the fighting front against the Soviet Union.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Fight of the Breton Fishermen.

By J. Raveau (Paris).

The great fight of the Breton fishermen has ended in a defeat.

At the beginning of June 25,000 fishermen of Brittany and 10,000 working women in the sardine factories entered into a struggle with the group of employers in whose hands are combined the exploitation of the catch and the 120 factories for preserving fish on the whole of the French coast of the Atlantic Ocean.

The fight started in three harbours of the district of Penmarch in the South department of Finistère. The cause of the dispute was the sudden reduction of prices paid to the fishermen for the fish caught. For 100 kilogrammes sardines, for which between 1100 to 1200 Francs were paid in 1926, no more than 300 Francs were paid. This meant a reduction of the earnings of the fishermen by not less than 75 per cent.

At first 1500 fishermen went on strike in order to resist the attack of the fish-canning companies. But the employers, who are united in a powerful Federation ("Comptoir National D'Achat"), wished to dictate prices for the whole of the country. Hence the fishermen of the Breton coast, who were soon followed by the fishermen of the whole of the Atlantic coast, were compelled to enter on a struggle.

While the fishermen fought in the first place only against a reduction of their earnings, the employers aimed at the following objects: 1. rationalisation of the fishing industry, mainly by increasing profits at the cost of the earnings of the workers; 2. ousting of foreign competition in order to gain the monopoly of the French market; 3. to make use of the colonies, especially Morocco where very cheap labour is to be had; 4. systematic weeding out of small undertakings and small owners, who still play a certain role in the fishing industry; 5. fight against the Communists, whose hands are to be found mainly in the little fishing town of Douarnenez where the bourgmaster is a Communist.

The official figures show that the measures of the employers in the sardine industry have yielded the following results: the employers, in four months of the present year, have pocketed nine million Francs more in profits than during the whole of 1926. The import of foreign sardines has declined considerably; the export of French sardines has remained the same.

Now, when the employers can no longer derive advantage from the depreciation of the Franc, when they have to reduce their prices, they do so at the cost of the proletarian fishermen on the one hand, and by the more intense exploitation of the colonies on the other. In the colonies which lie nearest to France, in Algeria and Morocco, but also in the farther-lying colonies, new undertakings are arising everywhere and founding fishing companies, the purpose of which is to reduce the cost of production and thereby to exert pressure on the Breton fishermen. The fish-canning companies are also working at high pressure in order to transplant labour from the Atlantic coast of France to the colonies, before all to Algeria and Morocco. In France itself the workers are exposed to unemployment and

starvation in order to induce them to emigrate. A depopulation of the coastal department of Finistère has already set in.

The Breton fishermen were not yet aware of the wide aims of the attack of their masters. At first they fought with enthusiasm, but when at a certain point a victory, or at least a fairly acceptable compromise was in sight, they suddenly gave up the struggle. In addition it was Red Douarnenez, the town council of which is led by the Communists, which collapsed first. Seventy small fishing undertakings were capable of shattering the whole movement.

This result is due in no small measure to the very old and complicated organisation of the fishing industry: a sort of co-operative purchasing society for the most important raw materials required by the fishermen. This organisation of small fishermen was not capable of offering resistance to the big, firmly united national federation of the fish preservers. At the same time the big employers succeeded with the aid of a financial institution, the Credit Maritime, in gaining, by means of loans, ever increasing influence in the co-operatives of the small fishermen and in rendering tractable some of the leading people. Special attention was paid to the co-operative of Douarnenez; and with success. The women, who are still greatly under the influence of the Catholic priests, lost courage, and they were finally followed by the sea-fishers. Thus a vote was taken in Douarnenez, which put an end to the strike under unfavourable conditions. And when the colours were hauled down in the red harbour town the other harbours followed suit.

But the great conflict is not yet at an end. It is true the proletarians of the French coast have suffered a severe reverse in the class war; but at the same time they have received a serious object lesson. The role of the reactionary leaders of the co-operatives is now clearly recognised by the fishermen. In the coming fights — and these are unavoidable — they will no longer give them their confidence. They will also from now on work against disunity in the fight, which was also one of the causes of the defeat.

The next and most important task of the fishermen is to rally together again for the decisive fight against the employers. For this purpose they must build up a strong trade union, extending along the whole coast, which will be capable of capturing the fishermen's co-operatives and conducting them in the interests of fishermen.

THE PARIS CONGRESS OF THE AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL

The Indonesian Trade Unions to the Congress of the I. F. T. U. in Paris.

Comrades!

The Executive of the I.F.T.U. has invited to the Paris Conference our Indonesian trade unions amongst a number of other trade union organisations which are not affiliated to the Amsterdam International. The Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. are the only ones that are not invited.

The trade unions of the Russian proletariat which have consistently supported and support the struggle of the workers in all countries, of the oppressed peoples, the Chinese Revolution and the Indonesian revolutionaries are purposely kept away from the Congress. This fact alone suffices to show the real purpose of the I.F.T.U., i. e. to deceive the workers, to give the appearance of wanting to establish international trade union unity whereas in reality it is trying to split the Profintern and to isolate the Russian trade unions.

This is the same policy which the imperialists under the leadership of England are carrying on against the U.S.S.R., China and the oppressed peoples.

This policy of the I.F.T.U. is essentially the same as the policy of the White trade unions in Indonesia, which in the same manner helped the Dutch imperialists to oppress the Indonesian masses. During the railway strike in Java 1923, the White railwayworkers union — now affiliated to the I.F.T.U. — did strike-breaker service and actively helped to smash the struggle.

The Dutch reformist trade unions did nothing on an international scale and the I.F.T.U. took no steps to call these White trade unions to order, just as it did not raise a finger when Dutch imperialism in 1925 suppressed every activity of our Indonesian trade unions with all means in their power, imprisoned our leaders and finally forced our trade unions to go underground. Neither did the I.F.T.U. do anything when the Dutch Government in November 1926 and in January 1927 suppressed the just risings in Java and Sumatra and mowed down thousands of Indonesian workers and peasants, imprisoned and banished them to unhealthy districts.

At that time the I.F.T.U. was silent, at that time it did not bother about the Indonesian trade unions, when it was a question of putting into practice real international solidarity, at that time when there was a question of the class struggle and not of a miserable manoeuvre to isolate the Russian trade unions, the I.F.T.U. did not raise a finger.

Even after the rising the international solidarity of the Dutch reformists was difficult to find. They rejected every attempt both of the Indonesian and Dutch Communists to make a joint stand for the amnesty of thousands of political prisoners and banished revolutionaries. Only recently under the pressure of the Dutch workers do the Dutch reformists make a timid attempt to demand "amelioration" of the fate of the banished people. And even now more than six months after the rising these defenders of democracy refuse to support the campaign for the amnesty of political prisoners. We have not noticed that the I.F.T.U. has undertaken anything by way of condemnation of this support of the Dutch imperialists by the Dutch reformist trade unions, or that it has done anything in order to initiate, on an international scale, a campaign against the ruthless oppression of Dutch imperialism.

It is a very strange fact that now after Dutch imperialism has driven our trade unions into illegality, after the Executive of the I.F.T.U. failing to raise a finger either during or after the brave struggle of our Indonesian comrades, that this Executive should now invite our trade unions to the Congress. For, up to the present moment, the leaders of the I.F.T.U. have never shown that they wanted actually to support the struggle of the oppressed peoples but everywhere and always both in oppressed countries and in countries where White Terror prevails they have helped the oppressors against the oppressed.

We therefore decline to participate in the Paris Congress. This does not signify that we do not wish to enter into friendly relations with our White class comrades. On the contrary, the Indonesian workers just like all workers of oppressed countries are firmly convinced that imperialism and capitalism and every kind of exploitation can only be overcome by the united forces of the entire world proletariat.

We are for the Russian trade unions which for years have supported a real united trade union international and which have attempted to prepare such a trade union international, an attempt which has been systematically sabotaged by the Executive of the I.F.T.U.

We are in favour of the Russian trade unions whose revolutionary practice guarantees us that they are pointing to us a correct way in the struggle of the proletariat against imminent war danger, a way which can prevent the proletariat of Europe in the next world war from fighting again on the side of their bourgeoisie as they did during the last world war under the leadership of the present leaders of the I.F.T.U. In case of a new struggle for liberation they will not follow the same chauvinist policy in respect of the coloured masses as was pursued in the last war when millions of workers were rushed into jaws of death and when the reformists allowed thousands of revolutionary workers to be slain in the war.

Together with the Russian trade unions and the Profintern of which the Indonesian trade unions are a Section, we support a congress of all trade unions of the world in preparation for a united trade union international.

Long live international trade union unity!

Long live the struggle of the oppressed peoples!

Long live the world revolution!

On behalf of the Confederation of Trade
Unions of Indonesia.

The Representative of the Federation at
the Profintern.

Cemaon.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The 12th Congress of the Co-operative Alliance at Stockholm.

By E. Varyasch (Moscow).

The XII. International Co-operative Congress will take place at Stockholm in the middle of August. 500 to 600 delegates, sent by 50 million members from 34 countries are expected. The British co-operatives intend sending over 100 delegates to Stockholm, and large delegations are expected from Germany, France, Finland, etc. The Co-operatives of the Soviet Union will be represented by over 50 delegates.

The Report submitted to the Congress by the Central Committee gives an opportunity for the discussion of a number of important questions before this wide forum. The main points of the report are: Neutrality, Communist Propaganda, the Policy of the Alliance, the World Economic Conference, the Situation in Italy, and the Trade Union Internationals.

The first point to be discussed will be the untenability of the dogma of "political neutrality". We put forward the demand for general proletarian solidarity. The attacks on the communists, and on the Co-operatives of the Soviet Union, will doubtless be met by an effective defence. The policy and standpoint of the Alliance with regard to Fascism will receive severe criticism from us, and we shall ruthlessly stigmatize its pacifist hypocrisy. The sabotage of the decisions of the Ghent Congress three years ago in the matter of co-operation with both the trade union internationals (R. I. L. U. and the I. F. T. U.) must be pilloried. We must expose the illusion of the policy of collaboration with the League of Nations.

The chairman of the Swedish Co-operative Union, Johansson, will give a report on "Modern Co-operative Problems". He regards the co-operatives as integral parts of capitalist economics, and is of the opinion that they can be further developed by the improvement of their commercial methods and by the rationalisation of co-operative undertakings. The rationalisation of co-operative commercial activities is to follow in the same path as the rationalisation of capitalist undertakings: reductions of wages, longer working hours etc.

During the period of the rise of capitalism, when the capitalists were furiously competing with one another in the home markets, it was possible for the Co-operatives to develop with some success. But matters are now fundamentally changed. We no longer have to do with a capitalism split up by competition, but with monopolist capitalism. The trusts, syndicates, and commercial combines, which at one time took no interest in retail business, are now striving to get this too into their clutches. The trading concerns are organising a network of multiple shops, provision stores, etc., and do not even despise street-trading.

The Co-operatives are to-day no longer able, by developing their working methods, to compete successfully with the growing power of the trading concerns, trusts etc. The vital interests of the Co-operatives will compel them to form a united front with the other labour organisations, and to join with these in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, to the end that socialist economics may be built up on the basis of political power.

The Report on the "Relations between the Agricultural Co-operatives and the Consumers' Co-operatives" will afford us the possibility of subjecting this question to a broad discussion. The report, which is to be delivered by Jaeggi (Switzerland), represents the standpoint that this question can be settled by means of a direct exchange of goods between these branches of co-operative activity, and by the fixing of fair prices. Without denying the usefulness of a direct exchange of goods between the two branches of the co-operative movement — the advantages of dispensing with middlemen being obvious — we maintain the standpoint that the antagonisms existing between the worker as consumer, and the peasant as producer, cannot be bridged over under the capitalist system. The idea that "fair prices" can be fixed by means of direct exchange of goods between agricultural co-operatives and consumers' co-operative

societies, is an illusion. This question cannot be solved in a capitalist order of society.

The question of the fight against the danger of imperialist war must occupy a leading place at the Congress. The British Co-operative Congress, held in Cheltenham in July, passed a resolution on this subject which will be submitted to the Stockholm Congress. This resolution demands that the co-operative organisations, in pursuance of their traditional peace policy, have to express decisive opposition to war, and must maintain a consistently hostile attitude to any military or economic policy which might provoke war. "Every organisation must be prepared to offer energetic resistance to every declaration of war and every act of war."

The question of imperialist war danger must be discussed in its fullest scope. The broad masses must be enlightened from the platform of the Congress as to the preparations for war being made by the imperialist Powers, and must be mobilised for the fight against fresh armaments, against attempts at encircling the Soviet Union, and against the suppression of the Chinese revolution. The pacifist hypocrisy of the social democrats must be ruthlessly unmasked. It is not sufficient to pass a resolution against war, but real methods of fighting must be laid down for the actual fight against war armaments, and a general plan of action drawn up both for the period of war preparation and for the eventuality of a declaration of war or a war already begun. The imperialists are endeavouring to destroy the Workers' and Peasants' state of the Soviet Union. They will exert their utmost efforts to throttle the Chinese revolution, to crush the labour movement, and to intensify their exploitation of the workers.

Our slogans for the Stockholm Congress are as follows: Increased activity of the Alliance, positive measures against the danger of war, close co-operation between the Alliance and both Trade Union Internationals, international solidarity of labour, defence of the workers standard of living.

The tasks confronting the Co-operative Movement at the present time are extremely great. Every effort must be made to place the Alliance in the service of the labour movement.

Three Motions to be Submitted to the International Co-operative Congress.

The International Co-operative Alliance publishes the following three motions submitted in writing to the XII. World Congress at Stockholm.

The British Co-operative Union, London, proposes the following motion with reference to a world war:

"The Congress, in view of the fundamental object of the co-operative movement — the founding of a co-operative community without distinction of colour, race, or creed, in trade and industry, on the basis of the abolition of profits and the establishment of the social life of the peoples upon a foundation of fraternity and mutual aid — will use its influence in the movement all over the world for the promotion, by all available means, of free intercourse between the peoples of all countries, and the establishment of the closest economic relations upon those lines of reciprocal support which have been laid down by the Rochdale pioneers.

The Congress, holding in view the destructive effects of war upon all these relations, and recognizing the extreme necessity, in the interests of the co-operative movement, of the cessation of war, and of the concentration of the whole influence of the peoples on peace, demands in accordance with the traditional policy of world peace pursued by the International Co-operative Alliance that all co-operative organisations declare themselves determinedly opposed to war, proclaim to the world and especially to the national governments their inflexible hostility to any economic or militarist policy leading to war, or throwing obstacles in the way of the realisation of the co-operative programme, and hold themselves in readiness to offer absolute resistance, in the interests of the undisturbed progress of their ideals, to the declaration and prosecution of war."

The "Centrosoyus", Moscow, proposes the following resolution to the Congress, On the future programme of activity of the International Co-operative Alliance.

"The experience gained by the co-operative movement in all countries has shown the co-operatives to be closely bound up with and dependent on the struggle of the working class. In all cases where the co-operative movement has supported the workers' struggle against capitalism, this co-partnership has brought with it positive results both for the co-operative movement and the labour movement. And, on the other hand, where the co-operatives have stood apart from the workers' struggles, the results have been disastrous for the co-operative movement, and have only served capitalist interests.

The Congress is of the opinion that the International Co-operative Alliance, in its capacity of international organ of the co-operative movement, must deal with all the problems arising out of the necessity of defending the interests of the working class, and insists on the necessity of drawing up a programme expressing a proletarian policy. This programme must serve as guide for the activities of our movement, and must emphasise the necessity of a systematic fight against high prices, as well as against those taxes and duties which lower the workers' standard of living. Further, the programme must give expression to the necessity of the fight against the danger of an imperialist war and against Fascism. The programme must lay stress on the identity of interests existing between the international co-operative movement and the general labour movement, and insist upon a close collaboration of all political, trade union, and economic organisations of the working class, as a medium for securing fighting capacity against the forces of capitalism.

The Congress appoint a special commission, consisting of five members, to draw up such a programme as the above, based on the principle of the international solidarity of the working class. This commission to submit the draft of the programme to the next session of the Executive. The final confirmation of the draft to rest with the Central Committee."

The "Centrosoyus", Moscow, submits the following motion to the Congress with reference to collaboration with the Trade Union Internationals:

"The present epoch is characterised by an intensified attack on the part of capital on the standard of living of the working class, and by the feverish rate at which war preparations are being carried on. Capital is doing everything to thrust the entire burden of the economic crisis on to the shoulders of the working class, and at the same time to prepare for a fresh war. The offensive of capital, the preparations for war, and the destructive acts of Fascism, have been furthered by the divisions in the labour movement.

If the Co-operatives join with the trade unions in devoting themselves entirely to the service of the struggle against capitalism, then they will be able the better to utilise the gigantic powers latent within them for the defence of the vital interests of the working masses, and thereby secure great advantages for the Co-operative movement itself.

The present Congress, with the object of following up the steps already taken at the Ghent Congress in 1924, commissions the Central Committee to enter into immediate relations with the Trade Union Internationals (the International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam, and the Red International of Labour Unions, Moscow), in order that all questions concerning both the International Co-operative Movement and the Trade Union Movement may be regulated by mutual support and by the joint action of the Alliance and the Trade Union Internationals.

The Congress calls upon both Trade Union Internationals to form a joint committee of representatives of the Alliance and of both the Trade Union Internationals, in order to prepare resolutions on all questions arising from time to time concerning the interests of both movements, and to submit these to the corresponding Executives for decision. The decisions resolved upon by the Committee are to come into force after being confirmed by the Executives of the organisations mentioned."

WORKERS' SPORT MOVEMENT

A United Front in the Fight against Fascism.

To the Workers of All Countries.

Comrades,

A Congress of the Lucerne Sport International will meet on August 6th at Helsingfors (Finland). The leaders of that organisation have put upon the agenda of the Congress the question of the fight against fascism.

The Red International of Labour Unions expresses its gratification that the workers belonging to the Lucerne Sport International have decided to put before the Congress at Helsingfors the question of organising the fight against the fascist peril. Fascism is becoming more and more openly the weapon of the general offensive of the capitalists against the working class. The bourgeoisie, in ever more arrogant form, is taking advantage of the fascist organisations for the suppression of the discontent of the workers. The recent events in Vienna demonstrate quite obviously this fact. The Austrian bourgeoisie, firing volleys into workers' demonstrations, takes under its benevolent wing the black organisations of the fascists. At the same time, in face of the fresh graves of scores of Viennese workers brutally shot down, it should be remembered that a considerable share of the guilt for the blood that has been shed in the proletarian fight against reaction, lies with the leaders of international social-democracy. Thanks to their tactics of splitting the movement, the tactics of compromising with the bourgeoisie and forsaking the interests of the working class, the bloody suppression of the workers is becoming ever more possible.

The leaders of the Lucerne International, who took up the question of fascism under pressure from the workers, have already demonstrated on numerous occasions that they have failed to take up the course of the struggle which is vitally urgent to the proletariat. Instead of uniting in the fight against fascism with organisations standing upon the basis of the class struggle, the reformist leaders are practically shirking from the fight, compromising with bourgeois and semi-bourgeois organisations like the International Anti-Fascist Committee, the German Alliance of so-called Republicans, the organisations of the bourgeois Italian emigrants, and so on. At the same time they obstruct the united front with such proletarian organisations as the Workers' Anti-Fascist Committee of Italy, the Union of Ex-service Men in France, the Union of Red Ex-service Men in Germany, etc.

Workers of Finland! The Red International of Labour Unions appeals to you, during the days of the Congress, to organise wide demonstrations under the common banners of the determined fight against international fascism.

Workers of all countries! Expose before the masses of the workers the opportunistic tactics of the leaders, who prefer to form an alliance with the bourgeoisie rather than with all the workers' organisations regardless of their political views.

On the day when the Congress is opened, you must put the question point-blank to the leaders: **with whom are they?**

At the present moment of furious onslaught by capitalism, there ought to be no room in the workers' ranks for passive onlookers of the grapple between the two classes.

Long live the united front of the proletariat!

Long live the determined fight against world fascism!

The Executive of the Red International of Labour Unions.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

4th August 1914 — 4th August 1927.

Manifesto of the E. C. of the Y. C. I.

To young workers and peasants! To young soldiers and sailors in the capitalist armies and navies!

Comrades,

Thirteen years after the commencement of the world war, which according to the capitalists and their lackeys, headed by the Social Democrats, was to represent the necessary sacrifice to end war, and nine years after the close of that war we are living in a new atmosphere of war.

Direct intervention in China by European and American troops and the indirect intervention of imperialism by militarist generals and traitors is already a partial war.

The threat of an armed attack on the U.S.S.R. by a coalition of capitalist States under the leadership of Great Britain is becoming more concrete. After the provocation of Peking and London, the assassination of Comrade Voikov, the attacks and plots financed and organised by Great Britain constitute already a form of intervention against the first Workers' and Peasants' Republic, which this year celebrates its 10th anniversary and its march onwards to Socialist construction.

All the "pacifist" phrases of the League of Nations about disarmament are meant simply to deceive the workers. As a matter of fact all the capitalist States are arming and preparing for war.

The example of Austria shows that the reactionary governments are always ready to intervene with armed forces against any serious movement of the workers in another country, not only in China, but in Europe itself. It also shows that the least incident now-a-days, even the slightest, can raise the question of armed intervention and of war which could develop into a general war.

The leaders of the Social Democrats, both Right and Left, the heroes of August 4th, the directors of the Socialist International and its sections, betray today and will betray tomorrow again the cause of the workers. Once again they support the bourgeoisie of the various countries in their predatory war, the proof of their treachery may be found in their attitude in France, in Great Britain, in Germany, in Austria and in all countries. But the workers, even those who up till now have followed the Socialist leaders understand that war is being contemplated against their interests, and are instinctively against imperialist war. All workers — especially young workers — must unite for the revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war, for the defence of the U.S.S.R. and of China. A single and invincible united front must be formed below amongst the masses, and against the chiefs who oppose this.

Young soldiers and sailors!

Solidarise with your brothers of the U.S.S.R. and of China. Solidarise with the workers and peasants of your country who are fighting against war and capitalist oppression, without forgetting your immediate demands. Fraternise with those whom your officers point out as the "enemy".

Young workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors!

Do not forget the declaration of war and the treachery of the Social Democrats on August 4, 1914. Fight against the agitation by demonstrations, strikes, general strikes, against imperialist war, against white terror, against Fascism.

In this month the 20th anniversary of the Stuttgart Conference will be celebrated which recalls the beginning of international organised work against war, against militarism by the revolutionary youth. By participating in large numbers in the demonstrations organised by the Y.C.I. and its Sections, you will also be struggling against war.

But remember that capitalism is war, that only the establishment of Socialism will guarantee peace, only the overthrow of capitalism will prevent war.

If, in spite of your struggle imperialist war should break out, then transform it into a civil war against capitalism.

Down with imperialist war!

For the defence of the U. S. S. R. and the Chinese Revolution!

For the united front of the proletariat!

Forward young people in the struggle against imperialist war!

Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

Resolution of the Plenum of the Y. C. I. on the Y. C. I. and the Struggle Against the Imperialist War.

1. Imperialist War and the Youth.

The warnings of the C.I. and the Y.C.I. concerning the imperialist war menace are vindicated by recent events. The imperialist powers are already making war on the Chinese people which is fighting for its freedom. And now, after prolonged preparations, the attack on the fatherland of the workers of the world — the Soviet Union, has also begun. Chang Tso-lin's raid in Peking was followed by the breaking off of relations with the Soviet Union by the Tory Government, which was a signal for the assassination in Warsaw and a number of criminal schemes carried out in the Soviet Union by counter-revolutionary-imperialist elements. To-day the imperialists use against the Soviet Union the language of isolated assassinations and bombs; to-morrow armies and fleets will be put into motion against the first workers' State. Although it is as yet impossible to predict exactly when it will come to a warlike attack on the Soviet Union, one should be certainly already prepared for the worst. We are at the beginning of a big imperialist war which has started in China, which is threatening now also the Soviet Union, and which will cause a conflagration throughout the world.

2. Struggle against Imperialist War and Militarism and Defence of the Russian and Chinese Revolution is therefore the Main Task of the Y. C. I. at the Present Juncture. This is so not only for general reasons, but also because the Youth play a very special role in this question. To-day the Youth constitute the majority of the armies and of the mass liable to be called up for military service. It is the youth who will be the first to be called to the colours and who will be the most numerous war victims. But the mass of the present youth were not directly involved in the last imperialist war, and therefore do not know what an imperialist war really is. This makes them particularly amenable to the imperialist and militarist agitation of the bourgeoisie, which was never as strong as at present in the preparation of coming wars. The problem is made even more acute by the bourgeois military reforms, as a result of which compulsory military, or at least mass military training of the youth is introduced in an increasing number of countries. Liebknecht's saying "Those who have the youth have the army" is more applicable to-day than ever before.

The Y. C. I. must do its utmost to get the working youth away from the influence of the bourgeoisie and to mobilise them for struggle against imperialist war and militarism. All Y. C. I. must fully and clearly realise that at the present juncture struggle against imperialist war and militarism is our main task. In accordance with this they must reorganise their entire work, adapting it to conditions prevailing in their respective countries.

3. On the eve and at the beginning of new big wars, the Y. C. I. declares together with all its Sections, that they will work with all their might for the slogan "war against war and transformation of the imperialist war into civil war" for the overthrow of capitalism, and that they will defend to the last drop of blood the Soviet Union and the Chinese Revolution. They will do their utmost to mobilise the mass of the working youth side by side with the adult workers, and to prevent by revolutionary mass actions, strikes, general strike, etc., further imperialist attacks on the Soviet Union and China, fighting at the same time energetically against any imperialist war menace. In the event of war, Young Communists will be for the defeat of their own imperialist governments, and at the same time they will work with the utmost energy for the victory of the revolutionary armies of the Soviet Union, of China and of the oppressed colonial peoples. They will carry into the ranks of the soldiers and sailors at the imperialist front the slogan of fraternisation and of siding with the armies of revolution. They will bring to the masses of young workers in the factories and in the fields of the rear and to the young workers in the belligerent armies the message of revolutionary class struggle against the bourgeoisie of their own country, the message of revolution

for the purpose of putting an end to the detestable imperialist war and the domination of capitalism. The action of the Youth International, which has profited by its experiences and actions in 1914-18, will be repeated by the Y. C. I. with increased energy and on a larger scale.

Progress and Defects in the Anti-Militarist Work of the Y. C. I.

4. The anti-militarist work of the Y. C. I. has been **considerably strengthened** lately on an international scale and in a number of the most important countries. First and foremost in **France**, where our League has developed a complete system of activity in this sphere which is working admirably. Next comes **Great Britain** where our League, although not very strong, has carried on real Bolshevik anti-militarist work prior to and during the general strike, and also recently in the struggle against intervention in China. Moreover, the work has also been given an impetus on an **international scale** (as is witnessed, e. g. by the anti-militarist action during the visit of the British fleet in the Baltic). In the course of this activity, we have greatly improved and developed the methods of our anti-militarist work.

But in spite of its enormous importance, particularly just at present, the problem of struggle against militarism (work in the army) and imperialist war has hitherto been solved in a satisfactory manner only by a certain number of Y. C. I. sections, whereas it has been **badly neglected** by most Sections. Some Sections, and particularly those in **Central Europe** (Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia) and part of the Scandinavian (Norway) Leagues have utterly under-estimated the importance of this question. This is due partly to the fact that, quite erroneously, they did not think themselves closely affected by the war peril, and partly because of a certain "national limitation", i. e. they showed themselves incapable to link up international events with the life and struggle of the working class of their respective countries. The work in **Germany**, however, has been improved since, and particularly so since the Congress of the League in Hamburg, and an active mass campaign has been launched against the war danger. Also in **Sweden** the League carried on among the masses a campaign against the menace of war and has utilised it well to strengthen its organisation. Some Leagues did not observe the international anti-war week (March 10th to 17th) because they had to attend to "more important" tasks in "their own" country. This caused the anti-war week to give in general no satisfactory results, except in **Great Britain, France and Italy**.

Other Leagues again limited themselves to general propaganda, but omitted the **most important thing** — practical and regular work in the army and navy. This is a gross error which must be energetically remedied. Moreover, there is still a great confusion of ideas among the members of a good many Leagues in regard to our fundamental principles in the question of militarism and war, and this has led to a series of gross errors, particularly in the direction of **pacifism**.

In spite of the warnings of the last Enlarged Executive, the anti-war and anti-militarist activity of the Y. C. I. of America is still of a dangerous pacifist character. For the elections it issued the Social Democratic demand: "Reduction of armaments" and it also carried on its otherwise correct campaign against participation in the military training camps, in a purely pacifist tone; on the other hand, it does very little anti-militarist work, and its anti-imperialist work in the army and its struggle against the war in China is insufficient.

The **Latvian League** adopted in its agitation the same pacifist tone against the "soldiers murder" profession in general.

Similar phraseology can be found in other Leagues.

The dangerous and erroneous slogan put forward by certain comrades at the **Czech Congress** of the working youth: "Without us war is impossible and we refuse to go to war!" deserves strong condemnation. This slogan is contrary to the most elementary principles of Leninism that "the boycott of war is a senseless phrase", that Communists and workers must participate in war in order to convert it into civil war. A similar attitude can be found also in various other Leagues.

Erroneous was also the slogan supported by the Y. C. I. of **Austria** for a democratic "peoples militia" embracing all classes. Some comrades accompanied this slogan with the declaration that it is essential to defend the **Austrian democratic republic** against any possible attacks on the part of Fascist Hungary and Italy. It is of the utmost importance to expose these sophisms circulated by the Social Democrats and to show that Austria,

too, is only a factor in the game of the imperialist powers, and that the arming of the proletariat and the conquest of power by the proletariat in Austria represent the necessary guarantee against all attacks by the Fascist States.

An error of a different kind has been committed by some **Italian comrades** who foresee that the result of a war will be the collapse of Fascism and the ushering in of revolution, and who therefore do not want to stir a finger against the war preparations. Such fatalism is utterly incorrect. It is only by energetic resistance to imperialist war and militarism now in time of peace, through mass actions as well as through work in the army, and also during the war, that imperialist war can be converted into civil war and into victorious revolution. The Central Committee of the Italian League has energetically combated such tendencies.

There is also confusion of ideas among **Japanese comrades** in regard to militarism and military training of the youth, and the Japanese League has neglected work in the army.

Side by side with the great enlightenment and mobilisation campaign which we have to carry on among the working youth, the Plenum declares that it is essential to carry on an intensive enlightenment and educational campaign on the principles and methods of our attitude on the question of War and militarism also in the ranks of **our own members**, in order to overcome all errors, particularly pacifist errors and in order to put an end to the under-estimation of practical work in the army.

Y. C. I. Tasks.

5. The Plenum of the Y. C. I. identifies itself with the theses of the C. I. on war against the imperialist war adopted at the last Plenum of the E. C. C. I. These theses indicate also the **general lines for the activity of the Y. C. I. against imperialist war and militarism and in defence of the Chinese and Russian Revolution**.

6. The immediate task of the Y. C. I. is the development of a big and active solidarity campaign for the Soviet Union and the Chinese Revolution. This campaign should be carried on from day to day on the basis of concrete events, and it should be adapted to the situation prevailing in every country. In this campaign the Leagues in **Poland** and in the **Border States** play a particularly important role. The aim of the campaign should be:

a) Spreading enlightenment among the mass of the working youth and counteracting Social Democratic and bourgeois propaganda and sophisms (including explanation and popularisation of the character of the Red Army and of the national revolutionary Chinese Army).

b) Mobilising the mass of the working youth for active mass actions in conjunction with the adult workers: mass meetings, demonstrations, formation of committees of action, protest strikes, fraternisation with troops, prevention of the dispatch of troops and munition transports of the imperialist powers through strikes and other means, agitation and preparation for the general strike for the purpose of preventing further attacks, propaganda on the necessity of bringing about the defeat of one's own imperialist bourgeoisie and of the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war.

c) Strengthening work among the armed forces of imperialism in the "metropolis" and in the colonies and China, bringing about fraternisation between the soldiers and sailors of the capitalist armies and the revolutionary soldiers and armies and at the right moment also the going over of the latter to the side of the revolution.

7. The Plenum pointed out that the most important task of Y. C. I. Leagues in the entire sphere of struggle against imperialist war and the defence of the Chinese and Russian Revolution is **work in the army and navy**. This work must be carried on systematically, and for this purpose a well-organised apparatus and an illegal organisation must be established within the army. One nucleus within an army section is more useful than many leaflets. Leagues which do not as yet possess an apparatus and an organisation for this work must consider it their **foremost task** after this Plenum to establish such an apparatus. Any delay and any negligence in regard to this question means an offence against our fundamental task in our struggle against war and would have serious consequences for our future practical work.

This work should cover the entire activity among the armed forces, from the military training of the youth, via the recruits to the standing army and navy and down to the demobilised soldiers and reservists, the gendarmerie and the police of the type

of the "Schutzpolizei" and certain Fascist organisations (the Stahlhelm type). It should be carried out jointly by the Party and the Y. C. L.

Every League must have a programme of concrete partial demands for the members of the armed forces (army, navy, air-fleet). This programme should contain demands in regard to the political and economic rights of soldiers, their juridical and economic position, and details of the military regime. It should also contain demands for the national minorities and colonial troops. Connected with these partial demands and the struggle for the soldiers' trade union and political rights, is agitation for the formation and recognition of delegates and committees of soldiers, sailors and reservists (barrack committees, ship committees, etc.). The latter are, of course, something different from soldiers' councils, which are to be formed only in connection with the formation of workers' and peasants' councils. The political basis of our work is: connecting the struggle for soldiers' and sailors' partial demands with our agitation for general slogans such as: fraternisation and the general political slogans of the Party and the Y. C. L. on the one hand, and of the struggle for soldiers' demands and slogans in the army with the struggle of the working class outside the army on the other hand. Such is the basis for the disintegration of the imperialist army and its winning over for the revolution.

The Plenum of the C. I. adopted a special resolution for practical work among the armed forces which the Plenum of the Y. C. I. adopts on this question, and it puts forward that resolution as a direction for the work of the Leagues.

8. Y. C. L.s should carry on an energetic struggle against the introduction of obligatory military training of the youth. This struggle should begin already in school. But they should not approach this struggle from a pacifist standpoint, they should expose the class character of this measure and its role as a contributing factor to the armaments for imperialist war, setting against it voluntary military self-training of the workers (Red Jungsturm, Jeunes Gardes, Anti-Fascistes, etc.). Just such campaigns the Y. C. L. should carry on against the voluntary military training of the youth, taking at the same time steps to disintegrate it from within. Where military training of the youth is a compulsory part of the imperialist army system, our attitude to it and our work in it is analogous to our work in the army itself, i. e. we must go into it and learn the military profession in order to utilise it in the service of the proletariat and to disintegrate and revolutionise this part of the army system. Just as in the army the Y. C. L. put forward partial demands for those doing obligatory military service, such as a better regime, continuation of pay, free Sundays, etc. Moreover, the military training of the youth gives us even wider opportunities for work than the army itself.

9. The application of the united front in the struggle against the imperialist war and in defence of the Russian and Chinese Revolution deserves special attention. The Young Socialist International as a fighting factor against imperialist war has suffered a complete fiasco even before the war had actually started. Whilst remaining inactive itself it has placed all the responsibility and the tasks in this sphere on the Second International. Politically, however, it shares with the latter its worst machinations for the ideological justification of the imperialist war and the attacks on the Soviet Union and China. This was particularly evident at its last year's Congress in Amsterdam when Fascism, and Bolshevism were placed on a par. The policy of the leaders in the various countries is the same as the policy of the Social Democrats. The so-called "Left" sections, such as the British, Austrian, etc., which certainly expressed their sympathy for China and Soviet Russia in so many words, are mostly concerned about pacifist propaganda, and are thereby contributing to the disintegration of the working class, and are thus actually helping the bourgeoisie. Still it is precisely in the ranks of the Young Socialist Leagues that the treacherous policy of the Social Democrats in regard to war has called forth particular opposition, as for instance in France, Great Britain and Germany. The opposition groups work partly on revolutionary and partly still on pacifist lines. However, this confused idea of pacifism prevailing among the rank and file of the working youth (for instance of Guilds of Youth, of the British Independent Labour Party, which demand at the same time against war, the united front with the Y. C. L. and the Y. S. L. and individual refusal to do military service), which has its origin in the sincere desire to struggle against imperialist war, cannot be placed on a par with the conscious

bourgeois pacifism of the Social Democratic leaders. The Y. C. L. must struggle against the pacifist illusions of the masses by patient work of enlightenment.

The situation demands more energetic application of united front tactics and at the same time more determined exposure of Social Democratic propaganda and of the sophism and pacifism of the leaders in regard to war. In practice this means that in view of the utter treachery of the Y. S. I. and its attitude to the united front with the Communists, we cannot reckon with an international united front between the Y. C. I. and this organisation. Moreover, we have to concentrate on the united front from below, whereas the united front with the leading organs on a national scale in connection with the question of war can only be contemplated on rare occasions, and even then for very limited tasks. But matters are different in regard to the opposition (local, district or national) organisations. In regard to them, united front tactics must be fully applied. At the same time the errors on the half-measures of the opposition, especially in the question of war and pacifism, must be combatted openly.

It appears now, in the light of the new situation, that the recent plenum solved in the right and proper manner also the questions of permanent unity committees, whose business it is to carry on the struggle of the working youth in general (whereas united front committees are formed only for limited tasks and for the duration of a definite campaign), namely that such permanent committees are to be formed only on a factory and local scale, on the basis of a mass movement occasionally on a district scale, and never on a central scale.

United front with pacifist bourgeois organisations can be contemplated only in exceptional cases, for instance, in America on a local scale and for very definite tasks (for instance campaign against voluntary preliminary military training), care being taken that there should be complete dissociation from the pacifist standpoint and energetic struggle against it. Even this should take place only where such organisations embrace large numbers of workers. Otherwise and generally speaking, united front tactics with these organisations should not be applied.

10. It is essential to reorganise the organisations of the Y. C. L. in accordance with the outlined tasks. For instance, it is of the utmost importance to carry on special recruiting and organisation work, and to acquire and build up strong organisations in war industry centres and in ports. We must also be fully prepared for a more energetic offensive and persecutions on the part of the bourgeoisie, which will certainly endeavour to drive the Y. C. L. underground. Our Leagues must be prepared for this and should not delay reorganising themselves for this contingency. The plenum specially stresses this task.

11. Special importance attaches to systematic work in trade unions, particularly in those connected with heavy industry and transport, where our economic trade union and also our political work must be strengthened. The trade unions should maintain contact with their members who join the army through institutions as "sous des soldats" (Soldiers financial aid), etc.

Another particularly important branch of work is in the factories themselves.

The decisions of the Y. C. I. on the necessity of securing a firm footing in factories and on the reorganisation of our organisations on a factory group basis acquire particular importance in connection with the struggle against the imperialist war and the new situation which is being created. Therefore our Leagues must endeavour to put them into practice with the utmost energy and as soon as possible.

International Collaboration.

12. Closest international collaboration is essential for the struggle against the imperialist war menace and for work in the imperialist armies. This collaboration must be established between two or more Leagues affected by a conflict (Morocco, China, attack on the U. S. S. R., Italy, Yugo-Slavia), or by an imperialist movement (for instance, visits by fleets, expeditionary and occupation corps), and there should be establishment of direct connection and leadership through the Y. C. I. Joint work against imperialist war is also necessary between the Y. C. L. and the revolutionary organisations of

the struggling colonial peoples and China, since only in this manner does the slogan of fraternisation get a real basis. In this sense the work of the Executive of the Y. C. I. itself must be directed primarily towards the struggle against the imperialist war.

Resolution on the British Young Communist League.

1. The decline of British capitalism continues. There are no prospects of a permanent revival. The British bourgeoisie continue their endeavours to stabilise their system by means of the offensive against the working class, the war on China and preparations for war on Soviet Russia.

In Great Britain the attack proceeds, not only against hours and wages and conditions, but also against the democratic rights won after many years of struggle and sacrifice. The Trade Union Bill, which is intended to cripple the unions and render strike action illegal, is the highest point of the capitalist offensive yet reached. The Baldwin Government has other measures for the curtailment of the powers of the local authorities and for the strengthening of the central government apparatus, particularly the House of Lords. This shows a development towards Fascism.

2. This situation presses with great severity on the shoulders of the young workers. They can see no prospects of betterment in the future, but only of new capitalist attacks. It is the young workers who are being specially singled out for attack in industry. The benefits of the Young Unemployed are to be drastically reduced according to the provisions of the **Blanesburgh Report**. It is the young workers who will be mercilessly sacrificed in the wars of the imperialists.

The awakening of masses of young workers to class consciousness continues as is also shown by their activity in the Trade Unions. The attempts of the reformist leaders to control this growing consciousness and to divert it into reformist organisation have so far failed, as is shown by the chronic weakness of the Labour Party youth sections, the decline of the Guild of Youth, the development of a strong Left wing and the acceptance of the Y. C. L. policy, on very important issues at the last Guild Conference. This situation, which basically arises from the continued decline of British capitalism, clearly shows that reformism has little attraction for the young workers in Great Britain. Whether reformism will continue to be unable to extend its influence on the masses of young workers and to form a mass reformist youth movement depends to a considerable extent on the activity and struggle of the Y. C. L.

The influence of the Y. C. L. continues to increase and its activity shows that it is the real leader of the young workers.

3. Since the last Plenum of the Y. C. L., the **British League** has pursued a correct political line and in particular was correct in advocating the General Strike as a means of smashing the Trade Union Bill and overthrowing the Baldwin government. In the struggle against the war on China the League has carried on real Bolshevik anti-militarist work.

The League has not succeeded in consolidating all of the gains it made during the General Strike and mining lockout. It is to be noted, however, that the League has recovered from the wave of depression which followed the defeat of the miners and that the membership is now on the upgrade. More attention must be given to the strengthening of the local and district organisation and the formation of pit and factory groups, particularly the early reorganisation of mining districts on a pit group basis.

The growth of the League has presented many new and difficult problems and increasing work which by reason of the absence of the traditions of a youth movement, are very difficult to solve. Consequently there are many weaknesses which must be overcome. The foremost is the big difference between the influence of the League and its actual organisational strength. Then there is the small cadre of leading members and the theoretical weakness of the membership as a whole. An extremely important task is the development of a strong cadre of leading members in the districts as well as at the centre.

Consequently the educational work must now be put in the foreground and vigorously intensified. This means training groups in every branch, district schools, a national school, and the brightening of League life.

The solution to the problem of the weakness of the organisational apparatus largely depends on the successful carrying through of the above task.

4. The British League has the task of finding revolutionary expression in various forms for the masses of the young workers who are being aroused from the indifference to politics and class struggle. This means the enrolment of the youth in the trade unions and an active participation in the work of the unions. Entrance into the **Labour Party** in order to strengthen the struggle for the interests of the working youth and to intensify the fight against the bureaucracy and for the Left wing. The building of a mass workers sports movement, and a mass Y. C. L. which will be developed by these means.

5. The central task of the Y. C. L. is to fulfil its role as the leader of the youth in the struggle against imperialist war, a struggle which must be linked up with the fight against the capitalist offensive, based on concrete and practical leads, care being taken to guard against the use of mere general phrases.

a) The breach with Soviet Russia demands the carrying on of an energetic and widespread campaign and in intensification of the anti-militarist work which must be extended to the ports, munition factories and transport centres. Every effort must be made to expound the Leninist policy on the question of war and overcome the pacifist illusions of the masses. The dangerous pacifist policy of the I. L. P. and the Guild of Youth must be vigorously combatted. The open treachery of the leaders of the Labour Party and General Council, particularly the sabotage of the Anglo-Russian Committee by the latter must be persistently exposed.

b) The policy of the united front in relation to the reformist youth movement has been successfully pursued and great success has been achieved in the I. L. P. Guild of Youth. Arising out of the decisions of the last Guild conference the Y. C. L. must strengthen its united front work and support the building up of the Left wing, endeavouring to bring it always more closer to the Y. C. L. The local and district united front committees must carry on their activities on the basis of specified concrete issues.

c) The Y. C. L. of Great Britain has carried on very good economic trade union work and has succeeded in building up a firm foothold in the trade unions. The continued capitalist decline and threatening capitalist attacks in the engineering, mining and textile industries makes the development of this work of great importance. The programmes drawn up for the various industries must be popularised and their official endorsement by the unions concerned aimed at. The campaign for the 100% trade union organisation of young workers must continue together with the campaign for full rights and youth representation on all trade union committees. Some successes have already been achieved in this direction particularly in the miners' organisation. A significant development during recent months has been the internal youth conferences within different trade unions and the setting up of special youth committees. This form of youth conferences and youth committees must be extended and developed. Conferences on a factory basis must also be aimed at. The formation of a youth department in the Minority Movement will greatly assist the League, providing it really functions and actually leads the work in the M. M. The League must secure the support of the M. M. for all of its industrial campaigns and activities and do its utmost to strengthen the organisation and consolidate the influence of the M. M.

This co-operation with the M. M. has a special importance in connection with the differentiation going on within the trade unions and the campaign which the bureaucracy is leading against the Communists and the Minority Movement. It is the task of the League to rally the young trade unionists against the now consolidated bureaucracy and for a new leadership in the trade unions and Labour Party.

d) It is imperative to develop the colonial work. Co-operation with the Y. C. L. in the colonies and dominions is essential, and practical steps must be worked out in order to secure this so that the British League may be able to give concrete assistance in the struggle of the colonial workers and peasants against British imperialism, particularly in India and Egypt.

e) The "Young Worker" must be improved and strenuous efforts made to increase the circulation. Especially is it necessary to avoid the use of stereotyped articles and dullness.

f) The campaign for the **workers' sports movement** is now finding a good response and it is important to push ahead with the campaign for organisational preparations. The inter-change of football teams between Britain and Russia must be arranged, as it will give a big impetus to this campaign.

g) The special need for the Young Comrades League is the training of the section leaders, whose theoretical backwardness is one of the outstanding features of the **Childrens' Movement**.

All of the activities outlined above must be combined with a **vigorous recruiting activity**. The growth of the influence of the League and the extension of its work into many organisations make a big increase in the membership essential. Especially is it necessary to recruit in the engineering, railway and textile industries. A much larger membership is essential for the shouldering of the heavy tasks which are facing the **British League**.

5. The activity of the Y. C. L. of Great Britain, as the **League operating in the centre of imperialism**, plays a very important role and imposes very big tasks on the League and makes necessary the active help of the Y. C. I. The Y. C. I. will also assist in achieving the co-operation of the Y. C. L. of Great Britain with the Y. C. L. of the Soviet Union, the Chinese League and other Leagues in the fight against militarism and the war danger. Heavy struggles lie ahead which require a resolute Bolshevik determination and fearlessness. The past work of the League is the guarantee of its future success. In the coming struggles a mass League will be forged.

TEN YEARS AGO

Still "War to a Victorious Conclusion" . . .

Petrograd, 1st August. (Report of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Terestchenko, has sent a circular telegram to the Russian diplomatic representatives with the governments of the Allies, containing the following passage:

Fully conscious of the difficulties of our task, Russia has undertaken the burden of an active leadership of the military operations during the reconstruction of the army and of public authority. The offensive made necessary for our armies by the strategic situation encountered insuperable obstacles, both at the front and in the chaos at home. The criminal propaganda of irresponsible elements, employed as tools by the agents of the enemy, caused the insurrection at Petrograd. At the same time a part of the front troops, influenced by the same propaganda, forgot their duty and enabled the enemy to break through our front. . . .

The insurrection has been suppressed, its originators delivered up to justice. All necessary measures have been taken at the front for the restoration of the fighting powers of the army. Russia will not permit itself to be restrained by any difficulty from its irrevocable resolution to carry on the war until the final triumph of the principles proclaimed by the Russian revolution. . . .

...but Defeat at the Front is Preferred by the Bourgeoisie to the Strengthening of the Bolsheviks.

Stockholm. Beginning of August. The "Foreign Pravda" reports that the Russian Prime Minister, Prince Lwow, a few days before his resignation, made the following declaration to Petrograd journalists:

"My estimate of Russia's position is entirely optimistic. My optimism is based in the first place on the events in the interior of the country. Our deep breach through the Lenin front is, I am fully convinced, of very much greater importance for Russia than the breach made by the Germans through our South Western front."

The "Pravda" designates this as the Versailles standpoint of the ruling classes in Russia. At the patriotic concerts they played a comedy, pretending that the Kaiser and his victory were the terror of terror for them. But it suffices for the masses of the workers and soldiers to arise and threaten their rule, and their whole alarm with regard to the Kaiser's victory vanishes. The triumphant utterances of prince Lwow

on the victory gained in the country itself are not merely the expression of a personal perversity of the Prime Minister, but reveal the attitude of the landowners and bourgeoisie who, however unwilling to pay an indemnity to Germany, would rather do so than hand over the land and capital to the workers. If today they find that a victory over Lenin — the calumination of Lenin as German agent and the shooting down of the storm troops of the revolution — is of more value than the defeat of the foreign enemy, then the formation of the alleged broken Lenin front into a fresh offensive would convert them tomorrow into adherents of a separate peace with Germany.

The Bourgeoisie Calls for an Open Dictatorship against the Proletariat.

Petrograd, August 3. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The provisional committee of the Russian Duma has issued to the population a proclamation which states:

An army of men of doubtful honour, seized with cowardly alarm, has taken to flight. That which has happened in the army is an echo of what is happening all over Russia. This state of affairs has originated in the organisation of irresponsible parties, who have assumed the rights of government, and in the dualism of the central power. The disaster at home will bring with it the ruin of the army, which is synonymous with the ruin of Russia. There is only one possible way of escape, and that is the exercise of force, firm and powerful, demanding inexorably from each and everyone that he does his duty. The government must remain firm in its unanimity, and pursue as its sole aim the defence of our great Fatherland against the deadly danger of dismemberment. The revolutionary government is the immediate organisation of a regular system of just administration, for without this there can be no realisation of any of the reforms planned by the government. Until the Constituent Assembly has been convened, all legislative action is impermissible which overthrows, by radical methods, the system of government and of society, and which brings even greater confusion into the conceptions held by the population regarding their rights.

Kornilov — Commander-in-Chief.

Petrograd, August 1. (Reuter.) Brussilov has offered his resignation to the Provisional Government. Kornilov has been appointed Commander-in-chief of the Russian army. Cheremissov, who has hitherto had the command of the 8th army, has been made Commander-in-chief at the South West front.

Signs of a New Revolutionary Wave.

The Peasants Will not Wait.

Petrograd, August 2. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The new Minister of the Interior, Zeretelli, has sent a circular telegram to all the government commissaries of the provinces, calling upon these to resist energetically any partial solution of the agrarian question by the peasantry before the convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

A Maltreater of Soldiers Shot.

Petrograd, August 3. (Reuter.) The "Börsenzeitung" reports that General Erdely, Commander of the 11th army, has been shot from behind.

From Dual Power to the Sole Rule of the Bourgeoisie.

Kerensky's Resignation Manoeuvre.

Petrograd, 4th August. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The Prime Minister Kerensky has sent the following letter to his deputy Nekrasov:

"In view of the impossibility, in spite of all the measures I have taken, of reorganising the Provisional Government in a manner suitable to the necessities of the extraordinary histo-

rical moment through which the country is now passing, I can no longer undertake the responsibility to the State, and beg the Provisional Government to release me from all my offices."

The Provisional Government, after a consultation held that same evening with leading political personalities, members of the provisional committee of the Duma, and of the committees of the workers' and soldiers' council and of the peasants' council, decided not to accept Kerensky's resignation.

The Bourgeoisie Demands that the Soviets Be Deprived of all Power.

Petrograd, 4th August. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) At the joint session of the government and the party leaders, a declaration was submitted by the five most important political parties, that is, the democratic socialists, the revolutionary socialists, the radical democrats, the United Labour Party, and the cadets' party, to the effect that these parties are prepared to entrust Kerensky with the reorganisation of the government, on the basis of two conditions:

The first of these conditions is put by the socialist party, and demands that the new government remains faithful to the government declaration of 21. July; the second is put by the cadets, and demands that the government shall enjoy complete liberty for its whole policy, and shall be entirely independent of the influence or pressure of the political parties (this refers chiefly to the Soviets, Ed.).

The Will of the Bourgeoisie is Sacred to the Opportunist Leaders of the Soviets.

Petrograd, 4th August. A joint meeting of the Executive Committees of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet with the Peasants' League, after taking cognisance of the debates of the Conference at the Winter Palace, and in spite of the objections raised by the Bolsheviks, passed a resolution, by 147 to 46 votes and 42 abstentions, in favour of entrusting Kerensky with the formation of the cabinet.

The New Government....

Petrograd, 7th August. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The cabinet has been formed as follows: Prime minister, minister for war and navy: **Kerensky**; business manager in the ministry for war: **Savinkov**; business manager in the ministry for the navy: **Lebedev**; finance: **Nekrasov**, who is commissioned to represent the Prime Minister when absent; business manager in the ministry for finances: **Professor Bernatzky**; home department: **Avksentiev**; foreign affairs: **Terestschenko**; trade and industry: **Prokopovitsch**; agriculture: **Chernov**; ministry for labour: **Skobelev**; food supplies: **Peschehonov**; post and telegraph: **Nikitin**; public schools: the academician **Oldenburg**; justice: **Zarudny**; public welfare: **Ilfremov**; state controller: **Kokoschin**; public works: **Yurenev**; procurator of the Holy Synod: **Kartashev**.

.... a Government of the Imperialist War and Workers' Persecutions.

Stockholm, 7th August. It is probable, and is assumed here, that the new Russian government will continue the recent war policy, and will carry on the measures being taken against the Bolsheviks. Savinkov, who assists in the ministry for war, is a well-known writer of political novels, who writes under the name of Ropschin; he is an old social revolutionary, and belonged to the terrorists under the Tsar. He was last army commissary, and ordered the cannons to be directed against the deserters.

The Growing Resistance of the Masses against Counter-revolution.

Petrograd, 8th August. The Bolshevik newspaper "Rabotschi i Soldat" (Worker and Soldier) publishes a resolution passed by a meeting of representatives of the whole of the regimental and company committees of the 26. army corps. The resolution demands, among other points, the immediate publication of the secret treaties, the immediate conclusion of peace, the immediate confiscation of capital, the replacing of the capitalist ministers, the dissolution of the State Duma and the State Council, the immediate abolition of censorship, legal proceedings against the former ministers of the Tsar, control of the treatment accorded to the Tsar in conjunction with the soldiers' committees, etc. Point 8 of the resolution is as follows:

We declare to the proletariat of the world that we shall support their revolutions unconditionally.

The Masses Rally round the Bolsheviks.

Petrograd, 10th August. (Rabotschi i Soldat.) At the elections to the Duma held in Krassnoyarsk in the middle of July, we revolutionary social democrats gained a conspicuous victory. Out of the 18,200 votes cast, the Bolsheviks and the internationalists joining with them received 9000 votes. This victory is the more remarkable as we have carried on the struggle as an openly acknowledged class struggle, definitely emphasising our internationalism, and drawing a decided line between us and all social patriots. We received more votes than the S. R. and the Cadets together. Of the 83 mandates 40/41 will fall to us.

The Beginning of Bonapartism.

By N. Lenin.

(Published in the Bolshevik newspaper "Rabotchi i Soldat" (Worker and Soldier), 11. August, 1917).

The greatest and most disastrous error which the Marxists could now commit, after the formation of the government of Kerensky, Nekrassov, Avksentyev & Co., would be to take a deceptive semblance for reality, or indeed to take it seriously at all.

Let us leave this occupation to the Mensheviks and social revolutionaries, who in any case play the rôle of jesters at the court of the Bonapartist Kerensky. For it is truly a game for jesters when Kerensky, obviously under the dictatorship of the Cadets, sets up a sort of Directory, consisting of himself, Nekrassov, Terestschenko, and Savinkov; that he neither mentions the Constituent Assembly nor the declaration of 21. July in his manifesto to the population, that he proclaims sacred unity between the classes, and that he makes an agreement, on terms entirely unknown to anyone, with Kornilov who has just pronounced his impudent ultimatum; while Chernov, Avksentyev, Zeretelli, and the rest, accomplish nothing beyond phrases and poses.

Is it not a game for jesters, when Chernov occupies himself, at such a time, in challenging Milyukov before a court of arbitration, when Avksentyev declaims on the futility of a narrow-minded class standpoint, when Zeretelli and Dan induce the Central Executives of the Soviets to pass resolutions composed of empty and purportless phrases, reminding us of the worst periods of impotence shown by the first Cadet Duma against Tsarism.

In 1926 the Cadets prostituted the first assembly of the representatives of the Russian people, and degraded it, in face of growing Tsarist counter-revolution, to a mere concourse of twaddlers, and in the same manner the Mensheviks and the S. R., in 1917, have prostituted the Soviets, and degraded them, in the face of growing Bonapartist counter-revolution, again to a miserable assemblage of twaddlers.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Kerensky government is a government which is taking the first steps towards Bonapartism.

We have before us one of the most important historical symptoms of Bonapartism: a manoeuvring on the part of a state power relying on the soldiery, forming the worst elements of the army, between two hostile classes and forces more or less maintaining a balance between each other.

The class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has reached its acutest point: Both on 3rd and 4th May, and on 16th to 18th July, the country was only a hair's breadth away from civil war. Is not this social and economic premise a classical soil for Bonapartism? And other similar premises may be added: The bourgeoisie shrieks death and destruction against the Soviets. But still it has not yet the power to disperse them. The Soviets, on the other hand, prostituted by Messrs Zeretelli, Chernov & Co., are already too powerless to offer serious resistance to the bourgeoisie.

The landowners and the peasantry, too, are living under the conditions characteristic of the eve of civil war: The peasants demand land and liberty. Only a Bonapartist government which is capable of promising everything to all classes and which does not keep any promise at all, can bridle them — if it is possible to do this at all.

When we further take into account that we are living in a period of military defeats brought about by offensive adventures, in which phrases are being widely circulated on the necessity of saving the country (phrases merely concealing the wish to save the imperialist programme of the bourgeoisie), then we have before us the complete picture of the social and political prerequisites of Bonapartism.

We must not permit ourselves to be deceived by phrases. We must not let ourselves be confused by the fact that it is only the first step towards Bonapartism which we observe. It is precisely the first steps which we must learn to recognise, if we are not to fall into the ridiculous rôle of a dull-witted Philistine, who cries out at the second step, although he helped to take the first.

If anyone still cherishes constitutional illusions today, this can only be attributed to Philistine dull-wittedness. The illusion, for instance, that the present government is in any degree more Left than former ones (see "Isvestiya"), or that the benevolent criticism by the Soviets could correct the errors of the government, or that the arbitrary arrests and prohibitions of newspapers are only isolated cases, not likely to occur again, or that Sarudny (minister of justice in the Kerensky government, and responsible for the persecution of the revolutionary leaders. Ed.) is an honest man, and that a just court of law, at which every citizen must appear, is possible in republican democratic Russia, etc.

The stupidity of these Philistine constitutional illusions is so obvious, that it is not worth while to dispel them in detail.

The struggle against bourgeois counter-revolution demands careful thought, and the capacity for observing and speaking the truth.

Bonapartism in Russia is not an accident, but a natural product of the development of the class struggle in a petty bourgeois country with a fairly developed capitalism and a revolutionary proletariat. Such historical landmarks as those of 3. to 4. May, the 19. May, the 22. and 23. June, the 1. and 2. July, and the 16. to 18. July, show plainly the extent to which Bonapartism has developed. It would be the gravest of errors to suppose that democratic conditions exclude the possibility of Bonapartism. On the contrary, it is out of these conditions (as the history of France has confirmed twice), given certain relations between the classes and their struggle, that Bonapartism arises.

The recognition of the inevitability of Bonapartism does not mean, however, that we are to forget the inevitability of its collapse.

Were we to go no further than to say that counter-revolution is triumphant in Russia for the moment, these would be empty words.

But when we analyse the origin of Bonapartism, and look the truth fearlessly in the face; when we tell the working class and the whole people that the beginning of Bonapartism is an actual fact; then we create the basis for an earnest and tenacious struggle, carried forward on a broad political scale, and supported by powerful class interests, for the overthrow of Bonapartism.

The Russian Bonapartism of 1917 differs in several respects from the beginning of French Bonapartism in 1799 and 1849, for instance in the fact that up to now no single fundamental task of revolution has been solved. The struggle for the solution of the national and agrarian questions is just beginning.

Kerensky and the counter-revolutionary Cadets, in whose hands he is merely a tool, can neither convene the Constituent Assembly at the time agreed upon, nor can they postpone its convocation, without intensifying the revolution in either case. Meanwhile the catastrophe made imminent by the prolongation of the imperialist war approaches nearer and nearer, with increasing force and speed.

The vanguard of the Russian proletariat has succeeded in undergoing our June and July days without mass bloodshed. The Party of the proletariat is fully able to choose its tactics, and the form or forms of its organisation, in such a manner that the sudden (apparently sudden) persecutions of the Bonapartists cannot under any circumstances lead to the destruction of the Party, and to preventing the Party from appealing systematically to the people by speech and writing.

The Party must proclaim the full truth to the people, openly and loudly. It must tell them that Bonapartism is beginning, that the new government of Kerensky, Avksentyev &

Co. is merely a sign board for the counter-revolutionary cadets and the military clique, in whose hands the power really lies, that the people will get no peace, the peasants no land, the workers no eight hour day, the starving no bread, until the counter-revolution has been completely liquidated. The Party must state this openly, and every step in the development of events will show the Party to be in the right.

Russia has passed with remarkable speed through a whole epoch in which the majority of the people have put their faith in the petty bourgeois parties, in the S.R. and the Mensheviks. majority of the working population must pay a bitter penalty. And now there is already beginning the epoch in which the for this misplaced confidence.

All signs go to show that events will continue to develop at the same rapid speed, and that the country is approaching the next epoch, in which the majority of the workers will be compelled to place their fate in the hands of the revolutionary proletariat. The revolutionary proletariat will seize power, it will begin the socialist revolution, it will — despite all difficulties and despite possible reverses in development — draw the proletarians of all advanced countries into the socialist revolution, and vanquish both war and capitalism.

Chronicle of Events.

July 28.

The following telegram has been sent to all army commanders:

"The head committee of the officers' union requests a list, by wire, of the Bolshevik officers, with statement of regiment in which they serve, in order that they may be exposed."

Opening of the Russian Railwaymen's Congress at Moscow.

July 29.

At a consultation in the military headquarters, Denekin demands the cancelling of the "Declaration on the rights of the soldiers", the gradual disbanding of the soldiers' committees, the restoration of discipline "including its external forms", and death penalty even in the interior of the country.

Disbandment of a battalion of the Siberian Rifle Regiment for disobedience; 17 soldiers arrested.

Prohibition of the Helsingfors Bolshevik newspaper, arrest of several Bolshevik leaders.

July 30.

Destruction of the printing offices of the Vassiliostrov district Soviet by "Knights of St. George" and junkers.

Destruction of the premises of several district committees of the Bolsheviks.

Kornilov telegraphs to Kerensky that he is prepared to take over the command of the army only if there is to be no interference with his dispositions, appointment of chief commanders, etc.

Kornilov appointed Commander-in-chief, and Savinkov Secretary of State for War.

Kornilov commands:

1. All meetings in the neighbourhood of the fighting army are prohibited. Those failing to obey this command are to be dispersed by force of arms. 2. This command is a military order, and is subject to no discussion — not even by the soldiers' committees.

August 1.

Execution of the Chairman and Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Workers' committees at the South West Front.

August 2.

Resignation of the "social revolutionary" Minister for Agriculture, Chernow.

August 3.

The Public Prosecutor brings a charge against Comrades Lenin, Raskolnikov, Zinoviev, Kollontai etc. of having committed treason and organised an armed insurrection.

Kerensky's resignation is not accepted by the government.