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The British Trades Union Congress at Edinburgh.

Being an account of the Congress that broke with the Soviet Trade Unions and made an entente with the Bourgeoisie.

By R. Page Arnot (London).

Two years ago at Scarborough the Trades Union Congress formed the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council (A. R. J. C. A.) and resolved to work for international proletarian unity against the bourgeoisie. Last week at Edinburgh the same Congress broke the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council, and its action was hailed as a victory of the bourgeoisie against the cause of proletarian unity. Two years ago the Chairman's Address was full of the sound of victory, and the references to industrial harmony were references of scorn. Last week the chairman asked for joint friendly conferences between the trade unions and employers' federations.

What is the meaning of this seemingly complete volte-face? To answer that we must examine the place of the Trades Union Congress, and the circumstances of last week's decisions. The Trades Union Congress, now an old established British institution and at one time entirely under capitalist domination, has more and more in the last few years become a battle ground between the capitalists and the revolutionary workers. Accordingly the bourgeoisie nowadays prepare much more carefully for the Annual Congress of Trade Unions than for any national meeting of institutions over which they have

a secure control. The press is carefully tuned to exercise the maximum effect on the 646 delegates*). The Government refuses to allow Tomsky to come as fraternal delegate while it cordially grants a visa to Sassenbach. Just before the Congress met the Prime Minister makes a public appeal to the trade union leaders to do as he wishes. No effort is spared by the bourgeoisie to gain a victory in the Congress.

*) The delegates are from the bureaucracy of the Trade Unions with a sprinkling of rank and filers. The bureaucracy itself consists of two ranks: first the secretaries of the main unions or their representatives on the General Council, together with the leading national organisers; second, the district organisers and the secretaries of numerous smaller trade unions. The rank and file delegates obtain admittance to Congress in those cases where the Union takes an open ballot of its members as to who its representative is to be. Through such customs a small group of workmen still at the bench (such as Harry Pollitt, the leader of the Minority Movement) may be present at the Congress.

What does Baldwin ask? After fifteen months of furious attacks, after the betrayal-broken General Strike of May 1926, after the heroic seven-months struggle of the miners, after the war on the Chinese revolution, after the break with Soviet Russia as a prelude to war on the peasants and workers of the U. S. S. R. after the Trade Disputes and Trades Unions Act by which militant trade unionism is to be illegal, after a host of other lesser operations in this greatest and most sustained offensive of declining British capitalism against the working class, Baldwin now asks in the name of the bourgeoisie for final and complete capitulation on the part of trade union leaders to be expressed not simply in the failure to fight against imperialism, but in a most formal and public abandonment of any pretence at an anti-imperialist policy—with the obvious intention of using such capitulation by the bureaucracy as a means to harry and burn out the remaining elements of resistance in the working class movement.

To these demands by the bourgeoisie the response of the Congress was gratifying. The speech of the Chairman ranged widely, but contained a certain paragraph to which the fullest prominence was given by the capitalists. After urging that there should be preparation for the return of a labour government, Mr. George Hicks went on to say:

"We all know, — employers as well as trade unionists — that the vexatious, toilsome, and difficult period through which we are passing is a transitional period. Much fuller use can be made under these conditions of the machinery for joint consultation and negotiation between employers and employed. We have not reached the limits of possible development in this direction... There are many problems upon which joint discussion would prove of value at the present time... Discussion on these lines would bring both sides face to face with the hard realities of the present economic situation, and might yield results in showing how far and upon what terms co-operation is possible in a common endeavour to improve the efficiency of industry and to raise the workers' standard of life... We should not be deterred by allegations that in entering into such discussions we are surrendering some essential principle of trade unionism."

This passage of the speech was greeted with acclamation in the capitalist press. "This", said the *Daily Mail*, "is a welcome return to realities". It was doubly welcome because George Hicks had been one of the Left Wingers on the General Council.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald later in the week was able to refer to "My friend, Mr. Hicks, a moderate like myself". The other portions of the speech were dismissed by the press, the *Manchester Guardian* speaking of "occasional genuflections to the deity of class war".

The keynote of the Congress thus struck in the Presidential Address on Monday was carried forward on the Tuesday by the decision (carried by 3,746,000 votes to 148,000) to deny a voice to any trades council affiliated to the **Minority Movement** (the revolutionary members and branches of trade unions), and on Wednesday by the decision to **break with Soviet Russia**. The General Council recommended the break with the Soviet Trade Unions; and it received a vote of 2,551,000 for its recommendation and 620,000 against. Amongst those who would not vote for a break was the **National Union of Railwaymen**, though J. H. Thomas, their own Secretary, (in whose favour trade union customs are suspended) spoke on the opposite side. What was the attitude of the **Miners' Federation**? The **Miners' Federation**, let down by the General Council in May 1926, trapped and misled more than once thereafter during their lone struggle, supported steadily by the **Soviet Trade Unions** alone, given freely fifteen million roubles to help the starving women and children by the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia who organised collections and contributions, flagdays, every possible form of succour, heartened in the agony of their fight by the solidarity and fellowship of the one section of the world proletariat that had successfully come through an even greater agony, the **Miners' Federation** with all these memories, **decided not to vote**.

Congress followed up this decision by defeating a resolution put forward by the Amalgamated Engineering Union for a **World Conference** of all trade unions whatsoever to be

called jointly by the I. F. T. U. and the R. I. L. U. This was rejected by 2,211,000 votes to 1,068,000.

Again, Section 27 of the General Council's Report had given reasons at great length to shew that attempts at organisation by industry were impracticable at the present time. This reversal of the slow forward movement of trade unionism was carried by 2,062,000 to 1,809,000, shewing (as also in the previous case) but a small margin of victory for the bourgeoisie.

The General Council, however, have a peculiar outlook: and they would strenuously contend that none of these things were a victory for the bourgeoisie. Thus they say that the Chairman's appeal for industrial conferences with the capitalists was quite different from what the capitalists had been asking for — namely industrial peace. Lest there should be any doubt on this point they passed a resolution in which with the utmost dignity they rejected Baldwin's proffered olive branch. They would meet the capitalists themselves but not because the capitalists' government told them to. The Prime Minister will endure this "rebuff" with equanimity.

Similarly it would be held that the decision to break with the Soviet trade unions does not align the T. U. C. with the Tory Government. Lest there should be any doubt on this point, the Congress on the Friday "deeply deplores the step taken by the British Government in breaking off diplomatic relations with the U. S. S. R." "Sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander: and the goose will tell the gander so."

Similarly the disenfranchisement of Trades Councils who have the misfortune to agree with Harry Pollitt and Tom Mann rather than with J. H. Thomas and Ramsay MacDonald is, we are told, not a question of the trade union leaders denying democracy, not an example of the formularies of democracy vomiting their formule whenever it is likely to have inconvenient results. Lest there should be any doubt on this, the *Daily Herald* is assured that minority movement ideas, i. e. revolutionary policy, can still be put forward inside the Unions. But the worker is not told that in more than one union those who stand for the revolutionary policy are disenfranchised from office thereby.

Altogether these assertions and "proofs" on the part of the General Council that there is no alignment with the British Government made at this Trades Union Congress, will only convince the workers that the traditional hypocrisy of the British governing class is finding apt imitators amongst the trade union bureaucracy.

A truer picture is represented by the statement in the *Economist* that "It is said in the City that the proceedings at Edinburgh are largely responsible for the brighter tone of certain sections of the stock markets".

What is the significance of this Congress as compared with **Scarborough** two years before? At **Scarborough** the bureaucracy was divided within itself: and so the revolutionary elements could find expression and boil up through the fissure. But the strength of the reformist machine in the more compactly-owned Labour Party was shown at **Liverpool** a fortnight later when all Communists were expelled. This year, as at **Bournemouth**, the "Left Wing" was absorbed back into the general bloc, and though ultimately the position was thereby clarified for the workers who saw openly the fight between revolutionary and reformist, the immediate effect was that the bureaucracy of the Unions was consolidated, and was able to carry the Congress.

But amid the triumph of the General Council there were one or two disturbing facts that shewed how thin was the crust upon which they trod. A resolution on Unemployment, censuring the Labour representatives (Margaret Bondfield, Frank Hodges and A. E. Holmes) for signing the **Blanesburgh Report** was moved and, in spite of strong official defence, carried by 1,836,000 votes to 1,419,000. A resolution calling for a Delegation to be sent to **India** to investigate labour conditions there was opposed by the General Council on the grounds that the time was not opportune but was agreed to by Congress by 1,754,000 votes to 1,479,000.

Lastly the favour extended by the General Council to Mr. **Havelock Wilson's Seamens' Union** (which had subsidised strike-breaking organisations against the miners) contrasted so strongly with its denunciation of the **Minority Movement** (whose members have been foremost in the miners' struggle) as to disturb many supporters of the reactionaries; and though the matter was patched up in the familiar way the

impression thus made could not be entirely erased: while on the last day of Congress the hatred felt for A. J. Cook by his fellow trade union officials broke through the decorum of the Congress in a scene of furious shouts and brawlings. These resolutions and scenes reveal the anxiety with which the trade union bureaucracy, no less than the capitalists, are watching the growth of the revolution. Defeated at each Congress, the revolutionary policy is yet never silenced; because it represents the real interests of the British working class. Communism in Britain is a suppressed force of unknown potential; and the leaders live in a nightmare of its suddenly bursting forth.

Dykes must be built against it; and no precaution is too small for them to neglect — as witness the refusal of the Standing Orders Committee to allow discussion upon the pro-

posal of the Boot and Shoe Operatives that the Unions should not work the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act until there had been a General Election (i. e. illegal resistance); or witness the frightened refusal to accept a Reorganisation Commission; or the acceptance of the bankers' slogan that Europe should become an "economic entity". But above all, now that the solidarity of Trade Union officialdom is complete, they will seriously set about constructing the dyke against revolution, they will begin to construct a machine of administration and congress manipulation and minority-ostracism up to the same point of efficiency as has already been reached by the Labour Party headquarters, up to the point where they blithely split the working class movement. This gives a possible meaning to the phrase of the Congress Chairman — "We are just at the beginning of the constructive period of trade unionism".

To All the Workers of England and of the Soviet Union.

Appeal of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.

A telegraphic summary of this appeal has been already communicated to the Press. Ed.

At the last Congress of the English Trade Unions at Edinburgh the General Council succeeded in fully carrying out its intention to destroy the Anglo-Russian Committee. The Stock Exchange reacted joyfully to this "victory" of the General Council: On the day of the destruction of the Anglo-Russian Committee English securities rose. The whole of the bourgeois press, as well as the press of all the agents of capital, is triumphing. The ruling classes quite correctly estimate the break-up of the Anglo-Russian Committee by the leaders of the General Council as a victory for themselves.

The General Council carried out the whole procedure of the breach according to the model of the Notes of Austen Chamberlain. The breach was preceded by an "indictment" against the A. U. C. T. U., which in form and contents reflects the ultimata of the English government to the Soviet Union. In the period between the drawing up of the "indictment" and the breaking off of relations, the whole of the bourgeois press conducted a malicious campaign against the Soviet Union and against the Soviet trade unions. The tone and the attitude of the bourgeois press during the last few months reminded one of the tone of the same press in the months previous to the breaking off of diplomatic relations between England and the Soviet Union. The only difference is that in April and May the bourgeois press expressed the will and the decisions of the English Conservative government, whilst in July and August the bourgeois press dictated to the General Council the will of the bankers.

Our estimate of the "indictment" which we gave on the 30th of August last has proved to be entirely correct. This "indictment", according to its nature, pursued the same aims as the bandit raid upon the Arcos on 12th May this year and the breaking off of relations with the Soviet Union which followed on the 26th May.

The General Council have "honestly" fulfilled the mission of lackeys of the Conservative Government; they made it their task to help the English capitalists to isolate the first Workers' Republic in order to facilitate the preparation of military raids on it.

The breaking-up of the Anglo-Russian Committee was only a link in the chain of those measures which the General Council carried out at the recent Congress at Edinburgh. The General Council buried almost all motions and declarations of the local labour organisations which aimed at strengthening the workers' front against capital and against the reactionary government. The breaking-up of the Anglo-Russian Committee was preceded by a malicious campaign of incitement against the revolutionary minority of the English trade unions and against all honest proletarian elements who believe that it is

the task of the trade unions not to play the part of agents of the capitalists, but to defend the interests of the workers against capital.

The General Council have made use of the Congress, in order, in face of the furious offensive of capital, to preach industrial peace with the oppressors, to defend the hangmen's war against China and at the same time to convince the workers of the necessity of carrying out the penal law regarding the trade unions, which destroys all rights and all those liberties for which the English workers have fought for long decades.

Whilst the General Council on the one hand forced upon the Congress the break-up of the Anglo-Russian Committee, they took under their protection **Havelock Wilson** and his confederates who for years have made themselves notorious by the worst and most open black-legging activity.

The General Council will now refer to the will of those "millions" who are supposed to have supported its policy of breaking-up the Anglo-Russian Committee. This "democratic masquerade" will, however, not deceive anybody. Such "masquerades" are not new in England. When **Stanley Baldwin** and **Joynton Hicks** mobilised all the forces of English "society" to protect the band of mineowners against the miners and against the whole of the English proletariat, they likewise adopted the pose of protectors of "Democracy" against the proletarian "minority". But the workers of England and also the workers of the whole world recognised quite clearly that the **Baldwin** government had acted as the executive committee of the English mineowners.

No appeals to "democracy" can weaken the fact that the leaders of the General Council exposed themselves at the Congress at Edinburgh as enemies of the unity of the workers' movement, as open assistants of conservative reaction.

It is not the first time that the reactionary officials of the English trade unions are acting as open lackeys of capital, and for this purpose make use of the Trade Union Congress, which even to the present day is elected upon the basis of a statute which was drawn up by that shady character **Moudsly** in the year 1894. The reactionary English trade union bureaucracy held orgies in the years immediately following "Black Friday".

The present position of the English labour movement, however, differs sharply from that situation which we witnessed in the years after "Black Friday". The **Hickses** and **Citrines** will not be able to diminish the importance of the fact that a compact majority of the English railwaymen's delegation voted against the breach, although the delegation was led by such tried reactionaries as **Thomas** and **Cramp**. They will also not be able to belittle the importance of the fact that the miners' delegation, led by **Herbert Smith**, who at present represents in the **Miners' Federation** the policy of **Frank Hodges**, did not venture

to vote for the breach in order not to call forth the open indignation of the miners. Finally, the leaders of the General Council will not be able to conceal or belittle the importance of the fact that the representatives of the minority at the Edinburgh Congress possessed the mandate of a Conference attended by 700 delegates representing about a million workers, which stood for a ruthless fight against the reactionary policy of the General Council and for a fraternal alliance between the workers of England and of the Soviet Union.

All these facts prove one thing, namely, that the leaders of the General Council do not in the least represent the will and mood of the proletarian masses, but are carrying out the behests of the capitalists.

The Anglo-Russian Committee was created by the will of the workers of England and of the Soviet Union. It was destroyed not by the English workers nor by the workers of the Soviet Union, but by those counter-revolutionary officials of the English trade unions who quite rightly saw in the Anglo-Russian Committee an instrument for uniting the proletarian masses for the fight against the capitalist class.

The Anglo-Russian Committee was an offspring of proletarian solidarity — it was broken up by the same people who betrayed the General Strike on May 12th, 1926, in order afterwards by their sabotage to secure the victory of the counter-revolutionary government and the mineowners over the miners.

We knew and we know that the Anglo-Russian Committee met with the deepest sympathies not only of the proletarian masses of England and of the Soviet Union, but of the workers of the whole world. Its formation roused a joyful response in Europe, India and South Africa. The workers everywhere believed in it and hoped that the Anglo-Russian Committee would become an instrument for the creation of a real united proletarian front in the fight for those tasks which were so exactly formulated in the first declaration of that Conference at which the Anglo-Russian Committee was founded: Fight against the offensive of capital; fight against the danger of war; fight for a united militant International which unites the workers of all countries of the whole world.

The trade union movement remains split and divided. Capital is everywhere furiously attacking. War is a bloody reality; it breaks out in the military intervention of the imperialist Powers under the leadership of England against China. At the same time a counter-revolutionary war is being prepared against the First Socialist State, against the workers of the Soviet Union. In these circumstances and in this situation even the old counter-revolutionary officials of the English trade unions will no longer be able to divert the working masses from the way of class struggle to the way of supporting their worst enemies.

The whole history of the Anglo-Russian Committee was a proof of how vital and important those tasks are for the fulfilment of which it was created. The history of the Anglo-Russian Committee completely exposes the leaders of the General Council as true servants of the capitalists and wicked betrayers of the working masses.

The English general strike could have become a victorious chapter in the history of the labour movement if the General Council had not co-operated with the Conservative government in throttling the strike. The workers of all countries, and in the first place the workers of the Soviet Union, were prepared to help the English workers in their just struggle. The fraternal help which we offered was, however, rudely rejected by the leaders of the General Council.

Even after the betrayal of the General strike it would have been possible to ensure the victory of the miners. But the General Council sabotaged all the proposals of the delegates of the Soviet Union in the Anglo-Russian Committee, and preferred to work along with the Amsterdam leaders, with the mineowners and with the Baldwin government in organising the defeat of the miners.

The comradely efforts of the workers of the Soviet Union and of England, which met with a loud response among the workers of other countries, could have stayed the arm of the English hangmen who are throttling the Chinese revolution. The representatives of the General Council, however, rejected our proposals regarding a common fight against intervention in China, and preferred to confine themselves to resolutions

and declarations which in their nature have only helped the Conservative government to continue its predatory work.

After the treachery of 12th of May there were comrades in our circle who believed that we should take the initiative in dissolving the Anglo-Russian Committee. We have not followed this course; we preferred to remain in the Anglo-Russian Committee and persistently to bring forward our proposals and to expose the systematic sabotage and all the acts of treachery on the part of the representatives of the General Council. These tactics has proved to be fully and entirely correct. Our proposals and our support were rightly appreciated by the English workers. The whole hatred of the English capitalists and their confederates in the persons of Thomas, Purcell, Hicks and Citrine arose precisely from the fact that our delegation endeavoured during the entire existence of the Committee to defend the interests of the workers of Great Britain and of the whole world, and thereby aroused profound sympathy among the workers.

The reactionary policy of the General Council at the Edinburgh Congress under the leadership of George Hicks and Walter Citrine exposes the weaknesses of the reactionary bureaucracy in the same way as the fascist policy of Stanley Baldwin and Joynson Hicks reflects the decay and the rottenness of English imperialism. When English imperialism was in full bloom and in possession of all its forces, it was able to combine sops and the whip, repressions and concessions. In its declining days English imperialism is far too weak to make any concession to the English workers. It is attempting to maintain its power at the cost of the most cruel exploitation of the English workers and of the bloody suppression of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. We can observe a similar change in the policy of the servants of English imperialism, the officials who have got lifetime jobs in the English trade unions. At the time when they had influence among the workers, they skilfully combined the policy of serving capital with that of radical phrases. Today they are compelled to throw aside the mask and to come forward in the role of undisguised lackeys of imperialism.

In the name of the workers of the Soviet Union we send warm brotherly greetings to the English workers, who in the May days of 1926 gave an example in discipline and solidarity and by the example of the heroic and tenacious miners' struggle have proved that they knew how to fight against their oppressors.

We are profoundly convinced that the English working class will drive from its ranks the traitors and capitulators of the type of Thomas and Hicks and will continue to fight with all forces against the capitalist class.

We are profoundly convinced that the workers of England and of the Soviet Union will reply to the breaking up of the Anglo-Russian Committee by the betrayers of the working class by deepening and strengthening their brotherly alliance.

We are profoundly convinced that neither Hicks nor Thomas, neither Chamberlain nor Baldwin will succeed in tearing asunder this brotherly alliance between the workers of England and of the Soviet Union.

Long live the brotherly alliance of the working class of England and of the Soviet Union!

Long live the fight and the victory of the English workers against the capitalist class!

POLITICS

The Putsch in Lithuania.

By W. Mickiewicz-Kapsukas.

Moscow, 16th September, 1927.

Owing to the meagre telegraphic reports it is only with difficulty that one can reconstruct a complete picture of the events which occurred on the 9th of September in the town of **Taurogen** in Lithuania. There exists not the least doubt that a putsch has taken place, at the head of which there stood certain members of the Left Narodniki, the Social Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats. The Communists took no part in this action as they are opposed on principle to any putsch. The leaders of the putsch mentioned in the telegrams are: Major Majus, a supporter of the opposition party of the Narodniki; Mikulski, a social democrat and former member of the Sejm; Sultonas, a Left social revolutionary and high school teacher. According to the official reports the putsch was participated

in by some members of the oppositional petty bourgeois parties of the Narodniki, of the S. R. and of the social democrats. The town was in the hands of the insurgents for nearly a day, (from 4. a. m. to 2. a. m. the next day).

It was apparently intended to organise a putsch on a far broader scale. A telegraphic report dated 12th September states that the chief of the police in Kretingen has been murdered by the insurgents. At the same time the former social democratic deputies Pletchkajtis, Poplavski and Kedis are alleged to have attempted to initiate a revolt in the town of Olit, but without success. They fled over the Polish frontier.

We have no news of a revolutionary mass movement, of a mass struggle.

The news mentioned above is quite credible. There has been much talk of "revolts" in recent time in some circles in Lithuania. And not only in the circle of Left inclined petty bourgeois intellectuals, but also in government circles. Quite recently there was a thorough house to house search carried out in the little town of Olit. The government had apparently received news that something was afoot. Some newspaper reports even go so far as to say that in this whole putsch provocations on the part of the fascists play a certain role. Thus the draft of the composition of a new government, with Majus as Prime Minister and with the former Prime Minister Sleshevicius, the leader of the Narodniki as Foreign Minister, which is alleged to have been found on the occasion of the house searches, is obviously the work of provocateurs. The official communication of the Lithuanian Minister for War who represents the putsch of Tauriggen as a Communist revolt, also bears an obviously provocative character.

The fascist Lithuanian secret police has already had some experience in these matters. In order to justify the coup of 17th December 1926, the fascists concocted a "Communist conspiracy", and on the ground of this vile provocation shot the best leaders of the Lithuanian working class. Moreover, in March last the Lithuanian police liquidated the "conspiracy" of Pajauis, a member of the Sejm and of the Narodniki Party. It transpired in connection with this affair that the fascist secret police sent their agents to the inexperienced petty-bourgeois opponents of the government, which agents very eagerly prepared a putsch and then exposed the whole organisation. The fascist government made use of the trial of Pajauis in order to dissolve the Sejm, which exposed the obvious provocation in this matter and by a majority of votes expressed its lack of confidence in the government.

The fascist government of Lithuania apparently needs a putsch at the present time as it had to find a pretext in order to deal even more brutally with its opponents, before all with the Communists and the Left workers and peasants. In addition some sort of pretext had to be found for the complete thwarting of a referendum on the question of the change in the Constitution, regarding which so much has been spoken.

The fascist government of Lithuania has already taken advantage of the putsch in order to introduce a state of siege; mass arrests and executions have already commenced. The telegraph brings the news of the shooting of six persons and of five others being condemned to death. In Kovno searches were carried out on the premises of the Social Democratic Party and of the Social Democratic Youth League, in connection with which five former social democratic members of the Sejm were arrested. Five former Narodniki deputies were also arrested. This gives one reason to draw the conclusion that this putsch was necessary to the fascist government of Lithuania in order that it could better settle accounts with these parties and still more with the working class and its advance-guard the Communist Party.

The "left" leaders of the Narodniki, of the S. R. and social democrats of Lithuania are incapable of going to the masses and organising from below a broad, mass struggle against fascism. They avoid forming a united front with the Communists against the fascists. They are not even capable of breaking with their right leaders, these confederates of the fascists. The "Left" leaders are only capable of attempts at a putsch, which can bring nothing but harm to the working class and the poor peasants. Recently even the official paper of the fascists praised the leaders of the Lithuanian social democrats on account of their loyal attitude towards the fascist government. And now, when the shattering of the organisations of the social democrats and of the Narodniki and the executions have begun, the

leaders of these parties were not capable of anything else but to send a deputation to the War Minister and to the Archbishop with a "protest" against the arrests. They do not think of conducting any serious mass struggle.

A telegram states that the proletariat of Lithuania has replied to the terror of the government with the proclamation of the general strike. Even if this news is true, one must say that in the present situation such a strike can hardly meet with success. Although the discontent of the proletariat and the poor peasantry is great, the masses are still passive.

The Communist Party of Lithuania did not and does not give way to putschist moods, but it will draw broad masses of the workers and peasants into the active fight against the fascist dictatorship.

The Foreign Political Situation of Czechoslovakia and the Danger of War.

By Ludwig Freund (Prag).

Czechoslovakia is being drawn into the centre point of England's fight against the Soviet Union much more rapidly than it seemed a little while ago.

Lord Rothermere, the English press king who published that well-known article in which he advocated the revision of the Peace Treaty of Trianon, sent a letter to the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister Benes, in which he demanded of him an explanation regarding the charges raised against him, which he extended before all to the expropriation of the Hungarian big landed proprietors by the land reform. Benes replied in a very "restrained manner", whereupon Lord Rothermere, in a telegram to Benes, raised his accusations in an ever sharper form. In his second message Rothermere threatened that the foreign money market would refuse all loans to Czechoslovakia if this question were not solved in the sense of the revision of the peace treaty of Trianon. In this second message he characterised the Hungarian minorities in Czechoslovakia as a new Alsace Lorraine, and wrote in a tone which is quite unusual in a message from a private individual to a Foreign Minister.

From this "exchange of opinion", the tone in it which it was conducted and the fact that the Foreign Minister Benes replied to the letter, it is to be clearly seen that here it is not a question of an action of a private individual, but that definite plans are concealed behind it.

This is quite clear from the fact that this "exchange of opinion" was most exhaustively and seriously discussed in the whole world press. The attempt of the whole Czechoslovakian press, — with the exception of the Communist press —, as well as the press of the other States of the Little Entente, to represent the action of Lord Rothermere as a whim on the part of a private individual, is a deliberate attempt to deceive the working class of Czechoslovakia.

For this purpose the Czechish press made use of an article in the "Times" which spoke against the revision of the Trianon Peace Treaty and for a closer co-operation of the Succession States. Superficially regarded it seemed as if the action of Lord Rothermere had been thereby declared de facto by official English circles to be an action of a private individual, so that the bourgeois and social democratic press believed that the whole affair could be regarded as closed. In spite of this the discussion is still being continued in the world press, a fact which proves that the matter is by no means closed.

The question of the revision of the Peace Treaty of Trianon is closely bound up with the question of other peace treaties. As regards Austria, here it is firstly the question of the union of Austria with Germany, and secondly the question of forming a Danube Federation or eventually only an economic alliance of the Succession States. These foreign political questions of Austria occupied a prominent place in political discussions even before the recent events in Vienna. The big industrial circles in Austria, which had previously held aloof from the idea of Union with Germany, had declared in favour of the union, while the Socialist Party of Austria, on the other

hand, made it known through the mouth of **Otto Bauer** that it regarded union with Germany as impossible at the present moment.

Now France, just before the Vienna events, had made a serious attempt to solve the Austrian question by means of a close collaboration of the Succession States. At the **Joachimthal Conference** of the Foreign Ministers of the Little Entente agreements were arrived at in the sense of strengthening the economic collaboration of the Succession States as against their previous policy of hostile tariffs.

It is now also known that at the end of June last the French Ambassador in Vienna, Count **Chamboun**, was summoned to Paris in order to report on the question of Austria's union with Germany. Count Chamboun, who received instructions in Paris to work for an economic collaboration of the Succession States, first went to Prague, where he had a Conference with **Benes**. As a result of the pressure of Count Chamboun an agreement was suddenly arrived at in the negotiations for a commercial treaty, in which considerable concessions were made by Czechoslovakia.

Thus already before the Vienna events of 15th July sharp struggles had taken place behind the scenes regarding the foreign political questions of Austria. We can assume with tolerable certainty that here there was involved a struggle between **Downing Street** and the **Quai D'Orsay**, between British and French imperialism.

England endeavoured to align France, and with it Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia which are for the greater part still dependent on France, in the active anti-Soviet Bloc; while France was making counter moves although it has no objections to England's plans in themselves, if it can obtain adequate concessions in return. This is the sole explanation of the "opposing" standpoints of **Rothermere** and the "Times". England first shows France that it is inclined to solve the Central-European question against the interests of France, in order, after changing its attitude and making, so to speak, the concession of the affiliation of the Succession States, to align France in the anti-Soviet front.

At any rate it is clear that Czechoslovakia occupies a central position in the preparation for war against the Soviet Union. There are two very essential reasons for this. One reason for the sharpening of the foreign political situation of Czechoslovakia is simply its geographical situation. For it is clear that today when the Russian border States are almost all aligned in the anti-Soviet front, Czechoslovakia acquires enormous military importance. It would be easily possible for the Russians to break through the narrow connection between Poland and Roumania and destroy the front, so long as Czechoslovakia did not actively participate in the war against the Soviet Union.

The proletariat of Czechoslovakia, led by the Communist Party, is here confronted with great tasks. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia must make clear to the working masses what is really involved in these apparently confused foreign political manoeuvres. The Party must also realise that the political situation can become extremely acute over night. The relative strength of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is in any case a very important reason for connecting the foreign political orientation to the anti-Soviet bloc with the sharpest measures against the proletariat, with the shattering of the Communist Party and converting the trade unions into organs of the State. We must recognise and make clear to the broad masses that we can in the near future become the central point for the formation of the anti-Soviet front.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET UNION

The Case of Rakovsky — a Prelude to a Breach.

By M. C. (Paris).

It was decided in the French Ministerial Council to demand the recall of Comrade **Christian Rakovsky**. The decision was not officially made known. It has been agreed to hold the matter over until the return of the Foreign Minister, **M. Briand**, in order to settle finally the form of this provocative step against the Soviet Union. As a ridiculous pretext for the recall of **Rakovsky** there is put forward the signature which **Rakovsky**

placed to the declaration of the Opposition; for he gave this signature quite independent of his position as a representative of the Soviet Government abroad.

In actual fact this agitation for the recall of **Rakovsky** is a further step in the campaign against the Soviet Union which has been carried on for weeks past by the British and the French bourgeoisie and their kept press. During the last few days this campaign of incitement against the Soviet Union has grown more and more fierce. It is quite obvious that the bourgeois newspapers, that the French government are working in the interests of certain big capitalist groups, before all the big oil concern, the Royal Dutch Company. Sir **Henri W. A. Deterding**, the all-powerful president of the Royal Dutch, is somewhat annoyed at having been deprived of the control of Russian oil. He is using his utmost endeavours in order to bring about that the French imperialists shall follow the example of their British confreres and break off relations with the Soviet Union. A capitalist group like the Royal Dutch which in the year 1926 made no less than a milliard in profits, is in a position to expend enormous sums in order to corrupt the French politicians and journalists. The issue at stake is a tremendous one: it is a question of welding the anti-Soviet Bloc, of the campaign against the Soviet Union, as a result of which the oil magnates and the rest of the big capitalists hope to obtain not a milliard, but untold milliards of profits.

The last war was a war which brought in tremendous profits to all the metal industries. Now the oil magnates want their war, and their greedy eyes are turned in the first place towards the Soviet Union. At the same time hypocritical democracy is showing its true character as a tool of profit-hungry big capital.

The various trials of the document forgers and spies have shown what is being done in order to deceive the public and to influence feeling against the Soviet Union. As these gangs of criminals enjoy the direct support of the government, it is possible only in rare cases to put a stop to their machinations.

Step by step French imperialism is giving way to the pressure of British imperialism which is seeking to bring France into the anti-Soviet front. The difficulties which France raises are only intended as a means of obtaining greater concessions from England. Above all the Poincaré government wishes to prevent concessions being made to Germany, as this will be done at the cost of France. But it is quite prepared for the war against the Soviet Union in itself.

The French government would also very much like to prepare for the approaching elections in a manner similar to that of the British Conservatives at the last general election. It wishes to emulate the British Conservatives who achieved such success by means of an alleged **Zinoviev** letter. This is what lies behind the agitation against **Rakovsky**.

In order to work up public opinion the French government is making use of the most stupid calumnies. The Russian Embassy in Paris is said to be supplying the Communist Party of France with funds. The C. P. of France "receives its orders" from the Russian Embassy. The Russian Embassy is a nest of spies in which plans against the bourgeoisie are hatched. They even declare that **Rakovsky** is a spy in the service of Germany. In short a similar campaign of slander is being conducted as that which preceded **Joynson Hicks'** raid on the Arcos and the Trade Mission and the breaking off by the British government of relations with the Soviet Union.

De Monzie has openly declared that it is not a question of the Ambassador, who has behaved quite correctly, but of the Embassy, that is, it is a question of preparing a breach with the Soviet Union.

The French proletariat is quite able to estimate correctly all the stupid and provocative lies against **Rakovsky**. It must attentively follow the further development of the furious anti-Soviet campaign and must institute an energetic counter-campaign.

The attacks on **Rakovsky** are only a part of the preparation for the crusade of the imperialists against the Soviet Union. The next step will be the breaking off of relations. At the same time the persecution of the "red danger" at home will be increased and incitement against the Communists intensified.

In the present situation the French working class and the working class of the Western countries must come into action with all forces in order to defend the bulwark of the world revolution.

of the Trade Unions, no matter how eloquent its instructions and decrees. We admit that there are no trade unions anywhere which are not influenced or led by a political party. But we also know that the class organisations of the proletariat, the Trade Unions, can be led only by the class party of the proletariat. This the Chinese working class knows very well, and it will not allow any other class to assume the leadership of its trade unions. Not only separate individuals, but not even the whole party of the Kuomintang will succeed in diverting the Chinese labour movement from its class policy. Every "reorganisation" of the trade unions costs the Chinese working class scores and hundreds of heads of its best leaders, and retards the progress of the Revolution. The epidemic of "reorganisation" must cease.

We call upon the workers and trade unions of the Pacific countries and of the whole world to lend their utmost support to the Chinese proletariat in its great and difficult struggle.

Hankow, July 25th, 1927.

Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat.

The IV. Congress of the Chinese Trade Unions.

The following Theses were adopted at the All-Chinese Trade Unions Congress held at Wuhan in June last.

The Political Tasks of the Chinese Labour Movement.

After the big bourgeoisie turned away from the revolutionary front, after the overthrow of Chiang Kai-Shek, the national revolution in China entered on a new era. The burden of the revolution now rests on the shoulders of the petty bourgeoisie, the peasants and workers. Our responsibility has thus increased.

At the time of the 1st Trade Union Congress we were still under the yoke of the reactionary militarists. The yoke only contributed to the consolidating of our organisation and the strengthening our movement. Our influence has begun to make itself noticeable throughout the world.

As a result of the events which happened on May 30th 1925, the 2nd Congress was of greater importance. Strikes broke out in Canton and Hongkong, and the masses of workers entered on the phase of direct conflicts with the imperialists. This gave rise to a deep-reaching anti-militarist and anti-imperialist movement throughout the country which was a serious blow dealt at the foreign exploiters and militarists in China.

At the time of the 3rd Congress, counter-revolutionary actions had been successfully suppressed and the foundation of the national government firmly established. This facilitated the expedition to the North. When the expedition to the North began, we, the workers, played an active part in it. Those workers who were within the territory of our enemies, undertook everything in their power to support the revolutionary movement.

Critical period. The revolution is now entering on a critical period. The majority of the peasant population of the country has become conscious of the necessity of shaking off the yoke and is urgently demanding that the agrarian question be solved.

Although the revolutionary movement did achieve success, reaction on its part also prospered. The large bourgeoisie turned away from the revolutionary fighting front. The imperialists sent troops to the North of China. The economic blockade of the province of Wuhan, the rebellion of Chiang-Kai-Shek, Li Ti Syang, Yang Sen, Syah Duh Ing, Yuh Syuh Chung, Chang Lien Sheng and Su Kai Syang and the persecutions to which the peasants and workers are exposed, have created an atmosphere of white terror throughout the country. A general attack was made on the revolution in order to extinguish it completely.

Although the second expedition to the North is proceeding with remarkable success, actions of suppression on the part of the counter-revolutionary troops have not ceased. Facts prove that, on the contrary, they are persecuting the masses of workers with even greater vehemence.

Eight problems. In view of existing conditions, we consider it absolutely necessary that the following tasks should be carried out without delay:

1. We must make the greatest efforts in order to annihilate the minor local authorities, the Centries and feudal forces of the village opposed to us, to solve the agrarian problem, to establish a democratic power in the provinces and firmly to establish the foundations of revolution.

2. We must in every way contribute towards establishing a worker, peasant and petty bourgeois union for the purpose of carrying on in common an offensive against counter-revolution; we must lay before the Government our proposal that it should adopt suitable measures in order to purge the domain of the national government of all reactionary elements and to suppress the White Terror which is at present extending throughout the country.

3. The union of proletarians of the whole world must be consolidated and a fight carried on for the unity of the international trade union movement. We must establish a firm alliance with the workers in the countries bordering on the Pacific so as to carry on in common with them an offensive against the imperialists to prevent imperialist troops being despatched to North China, to prevent these troops joining the predatory capitalists and militarists, to fight against the economic blockade of Wuhan and frustrate the offensive of the imperialists against the Soviet Union, in order that a fresh world war may be avoided.

4. The criminal intentions of the employers with regard to the workers must be exposed and measures taken to liberate the small businessman from the economic yoke. The proletariat must have its share in political power and lead the revolutionary masses into the fight and to fresh victories.

5. The petty bourgeoisie must be enlightened as to the fact that it is being oppressed by the imperialists and the large bourgeoisie and that it must unite with all the other victims of these oppressors.

6. Measures must be taken for the purpose of taking an active share in politics and to enforce the passing of a law concerning the protection of labour, factory councils and social insurance.

7. The consolidation of workers' organisations and the establishment of a uniform method of control of production are further of vital importance. Committees for the control of factories should be organised, which shall take part in the supervision of all nationalised factories and support the trade unions in their work. These committees should concern themselves above all with the trade union organisations and the settling of labour disputes. In addition to this, it is imperative that increasing numbers of non-organised workers should be enlisted in the unions. The Chinese trade unions now have a membership of 2,800,000.

8. Propaganda must be carried on everywhere for a military training of the workers. The workers should be sent to serve in the armies so as to become acquainted with military life, enter into friendly relations with the soldiers and keep up such relations. The soldiers must be enlightened as to the necessity of their proceeding in common with the working masses.

It is clearly evident, from the points set out above, that many tasks brooking no delay are demanding solution. These tasks form the object for which this Congress was called. The tasks by which the 4th Congress is faced are incomparably more important than the questions on the tapis at former congresses and we, the workers of China, ought to devote special attention to this congress. We hope that we shall be supported by the world proletariat; we hope that we shall, in the future, continue our fight for freedom under its lead.

Protection of the Workers in Industrial and Commercial Concerns.

Industry is comparatively feebly developed in China. With the exception of Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin and some places in the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Honan and Chili, where there are factories and where mining is developed, small undertakings prevail. Workers employed in the workshops of tradesmen form the overwhelming majority of the Chinese workers.

These workers, as well as the commercial employees, have a miserable existence. The relation between employers and workers is exactly what it was at the times of feudalism. The

employers are lords and masters, the workers are menials and slaves.

In the measure as the economic invasion of imperialism, as the system of compradores and capitalism advances, trade is approaching bankruptcy. As regards the workers in small undertakings, conditions of work are becoming worse from day to day.

The employers and the medium and small merchants are still under the influence of this atmosphere and treat their workers exactly as they might have done at the time of feudalism. They still hold the view that they cannot carry on their business unless they exploit the workers.

In doing so they are shutting their eyes to an important fact. They do not realise that the decline of trade results from the exploitation practised by capitalists and imperialists, and that the sole hope for them lies in bringing about a united front with the workers and in common efforts to overthrow the capitalists, the compradores and imperialists.

Even for the traders themselves, their exploitation of the workers is an absurd policy. Should this policy be continued, the living conditions of the workers cannot be improved; but worse still, the foundations of the backward, reactionary order of society are even more strongly secured and the success already achieved by the democratic revolutionary movement endangered. The imperialists will thus be helped in their economic penetration of China and the capitalists be offered vast possibilities of exploiting the working masses. Instead of promoting the national revolution, this procedure will hamper its progress.

The idea which the public at large has of the alliance between the workers and the small employers, is essentially wrong. They think that the workers aim at bringing about this alliance in order to force the employers to comply with their demands.

In reality, the alliance between the workers and small employers is a pillar of revolution. This alliance will help in imparting increased vigour to the common fight the object of which is to overthrow the large capitalists, the corrupt officials, militarists and imperialists. Furthermore this alliance will help in protecting the interests of the workers and small traders.

The demands of the workers in respect of an improvement of their living conditions represent the minimum, regarded from the revolutionary point of view. In any case it is out of the question that they might be detrimental to the interests of the alliance between the workers and small tradesmen.

The interests of the small employers are not to increase exploitation nor to cut down wages. The interests of the small employers are also endangered by the large capitalists, bureaucrats and imperialists.

It is not true that the workers must make sacrifices, it is true however that they must withdraw all unreasonable demands in order to consolidate the united front of workers and small tradesmen.

The following is necessary:

1. It is necessary to strengthen the workers in their economic fight if the living conditions of the workers, occupied in workshops are to be improved throughout the country.

2. In order to help the revolution to succeed it is necessary for the workers of China occupied in small concerns to carry on a vigorous economic fight against the feudal system. In the immediate future, the economic fight of the workers occupied in small concerns will become an important factor in the labour movement of China.

On the grounds of what has been expounded above, the 4th Congress of the Trade Unions of China raises the following fundamental demands for the workers in small concerns:

1. Hours of work should not be extended to more than ten hours daily and the workers should have an uninterrupted period of rest for 24 hours per week.

2. Minimum wages should be fixed at a level ensuring a possibility of existence to the workers in accordance with the economic conditions in the place where they are living.

3. Revision of apprenticeship.

a) The period of apprenticeship must not exceed three years;

b) children under thirteen must not be employed as apprentices; an apprentice who has served his time of apprenticeship must be regarded as an adult worker.

c) The wages of an apprentice must amount to one fifth of the minimum wages of an adult worker in the

first year of his apprenticeship, to two-fifths in the second year, to a half in the third year and to the full minimum wages in the fourth year. In cases in which an apprentice does the work of an adult person, he should receive the same pay.

d) Hours of work of apprentices should not be more than eight hours daily.

e) Except within the hours of work, apprentices should enjoy complete freedom.

f) Corporal punishment and ill-treatment of apprentices on the part of employers and foremen should be strictly forbidden; neither must apprentices be employed for services of a private nature.

4. Factory owners must bear the cost of the treatment of workers who fall sick. The workers should receive full pay in time of illness. In case of death caused by their work, the dependents of the deceased must receive relief for funeral expenses and a pension in conformity with the following regulations:

The surviving relatives whose supporter was employed for less than a year receive relief to the amount of one month's wages; after the death of the head of a family who was employed for one to two years, the survivors should receive two months' wages; the relatives of one who worked for two to three years, four months' wages; for three to four years, six months' wages; eight months' wages for those whose supporter was employed for five to six years. Relatives of workers who worked for more than ten years should receive a year's wages.

5. Employers must not dismiss workers without sufficient motivation.

6. The workers must be informed of the terms of agreements by which the conditions of work of a group of workers under the management of one employer are fixed.

7. Workers in small works must come under State insurance.

8. Workers should be employed on the basis of a contract which is concluded when they are engaged and in which the duties and rights both of the workers and employers are laid down.

The Government should be called upon to issue immediately a law dealing with the protection of workers employed in commercial and trading concerns.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Class Struggle in Australia

By T. W.

The struggle of the Australian Railway workers against the Labour Government of Queensland, leading to the lock-out of Sept. 3rd. is of great significance. It is an indication of the growing discontent with the reformism of Labour Party leaders and the system of Industrial Arbitration which have long sapped the vitality of Australia's Trade Union Organizations.

The Labour Party, to which a majority of the Trade Unions are affiliated, has a majority in 5 of the 6 State Parliaments of Australia. In the State of Queensland it has formed the Government continuously for the past 12 years.

Of the 128,000 trade unionists of Queensland 60,000 are members of the Australian Workers' Union. This Union with a total of 130,000 members in Australia is the classic example of "Arbitration" unionism. It is a composite organisation covering all kinds of rural workers, road and railway construction workers, metal miners, etc. The form of organisation gives no opportunity for effective rank and file expression, the bureaucracy is firmly entrenched. The Union has a large staff of "organisers" who act as political agents for the bureaucracy. So powerful is this bureaucracy that it has become one with the Queensland Government numbering in its ranks the Premier Mac Cormack and many of his Ministers.

The A. W. U. acts through the Capitalist Arbitration Courts exclusively having a multiplicity of awards for the various occupations of its members. Strikes are condemned as impermissible under any circumstances.

During the past few years the Labour Government has openly fought the workers on many occasions. The Government by protecting strike breakers aided in the defeat of the **Water-side Workers strike**, in 1925. In the same year it fought the railway workers who successfully enforced wage demands by strike action. During the fight of Building workers for the 40 hour working week, in February 1927, the Government was most bitter in its attacks on the workers and was mainly responsible for their defeat.

The **Communist Party of Australia** since its formation in 1920 has led the fight against the Labour Party bureaucracy. As a consequence all the weapons available to the unscrupulous reactionaries have been used against the Party in all of the States. In 1923 many members of the Communist Party were active within the Labour Party and in one State — New South Wales — the Labour Party Executive Committee contained two Communists. Since then the bureaucracy has used all its power to drive Communists out of the Labour Party, many were expelled and new rules have been added to the Labour Party Constitution which debar Communists from joining Electoral Branches of the Labour Party or from representing their trade unions at Labour Party Conferences. At the time of the expulsion of Communists, seventy affiliated trade unions and Electoral Branches of the Labour Party protested against the expulsions, but without effect on the bureaucracy who have a stranglehold on the Labour Party machinery.

The **Queensland Branch of the Australian Railway Union** has played a creditable part in the war against the Labour Party bureaucracy. The Railway Workers' Leaders have been savagely attacked at the same time as other militant workers and members of the Communist Party. At the Triennial Conference of the Queensland Branch of the Labour Party, held in February 1926, the Railway Workers' representatives, six in number, were branded as Communists and expelled from the Labour Party. Attempts were made by the bureaucracy to smash the Railway Union and to organise in its place a section of the Australian Workers' Union.

The present struggle has its origin in the influx of Italian immigrants to the sugar growing districts. This led to increased unemployment and gave to the employers an opportunity to practice victimisation by refusing to re-employ Australian Workers who had been active in the fights for better conditions. The **sugar mill workers went on strike** against the victimisation policy of the employers. The sugar mill workers are members of the Australian Workers Union, the officials of which endeavoured without success to prevent the strike and then endeavoured to control the strike by giving it some official sanction. One good feature of the strike is the solidarity of the Italian workers who have given support to the strikers, they have shown that they are prepared to fight side by side with the Australian workers against the employers.

The Government endeavoured without success to coerce the sugar workers into submission to arbitration.

The refusal of the Railway Workers' Union to transport sugar worked by the blacklegs who have replaced the striking sugar workers greatly increases the magnitude and political significance of the struggle. It is in Queensland that the Labour Party Government have given effect to most of its "Programme" and reached the point of open desertion of the proletariat and union with the bourgeoisie. According to the English "Observer" of September 4th it stated that "unless there is a speedy settlement Mr. Mc. Cormack will possibly form a coalition government". While this development is not considered likely yet the press statement is a clear indication of how the capitalists regard the "Queensland Labour Government". It is natural then that Queensland workers should show signs of disillusionment before workers in other states (12 years of parliamentary "socialism" have served only to strengthen Capitalist domination and to weaken organisationally the working class movement). There are many indications, however, of growing discontent in other states and we may anticipate a reproduction of the Queensland events on an inter-state scale. After many years of stagnation the Australian labour movement approaches a new orientation.

An impetus to the new development in the Australian labour movement is provided by the ending of the period when Australian Industry sheltered by protective tariffs could afford comparatively good conditions to the workers. A period of struggle with world competition has commenced for Australian

Industry and reformist Labour Politicians and Capitalist Arbitration Courts can no longer give satisfaction to the workers. This development has already destroyed much of the national exclusiveness previously characterising the Australian trade unions and questions of the International working class movement now receive close attention at Trade Union Congresses. The Australian trade unions have declared in favour of a world trade union congress for the formation of a single International, they were also the initiators of the recent Pan-Pacific Congress held in China. The development of the Australian trade union movement is of world significance. Situated in the Pacific, the centre of the contradictions of Imperialism, the working class of Australia must play an important part in the coming struggle.

The Communist Party of Australia is faced with many important tasks demanding intensified activity. The Labour Governments are submissive to British imperialism and even cooperate with it at a time when the workers should be preparing for a life and death struggle against it. In answer the Communist Party must intensify the struggle for a complete break with British imperialism and the establishment of a real labour government without Parliaments — the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Trade Union Movement in Greece.

By R....os (Athens).

The trade union movement in Greece is only in its initial stage. Out of 400,000 to 425,000 workers only about 25% belong to the unions, of which a large number do not fulfil their union obligations.

This large group of unorganised workers has its influence both on the economic and political struggle of the working class. Moreover, the position of unorganised workers is much worse than that of union members. Thus, the average wages of union men fluctuates between 60 and 75 drachm (20 drachm equals 1 shilling).

The following table will show the percentage of union members in the main industries:

Industry	Total No. of workers	No. organised
Tobacco	40,000	40,000
Building	76,000	10,000
Food	40,000	12,000
Seamen	25,000	3,000
Metal	12,000	2,500
Electric	6,500	5,000
Railway	12,500	4,500
Printers	6,000	3,500
Textile	50,000	2,500
Private Employment	45,000	4,000

This is by no means a complete picture. It is safe to say that the workers in such industries as the chemical, textile and mining are either not organised at all or extremely feebly organised. This is why the Greek Communist Party has broadcast the slogan: **all workers into the trade unions and increased activity in the trade unions.**

A metal workers' trade union is in the offing; up to the present there has been no union on a national scale, which explains the dispersed character of the metal and other industries. There are local metalworkers' unions in various towns such as **Pirea, Vopo, Salonika** and others but they are very small and so far have taken up no struggle.

The textile workers, miners and chemical workers also have no union on a national scale. It should be added that 75% of the textile workers are women. Among the miners it is chiefly those of the Lavrion pits (near Athens) who are organised.

The reformists are sabotaging the organisation of the workers, finding that the latter tend to follow the revolutionary wing which is leading them in the struggle for increased wages, the eight-hour day and other clear-cut demands. To support the slogan "All Workers into the Trade Unions" would

mean for them to go against their own policy of softening down the working class struggle and to hasten their own end.

Parallel with the organisation of the workers a struggle is going on in all the trade unions for the convocation of a Fourth All-Greek Congress of trade unions which should rid their administration of the reformists and make it possible to get the working class back into the old revolutionary paths.

The campaign for organising the workers in the trade unions is already showing results. So far the builders, who not so long ago had hardly any members, have begun to join the union. The same is true of the food workers.

The entry of the unorganised into the trade unions should also lead to their liberation from the influence of the bourgeois parties, which have so far exploited the unorganised toiling masses during elections.

THE WHITE TERROR

Appeal of the International Red Aid against the Lithuanian Hangmen.

The Executive Committee of I. R. A. has addressed to the workers, peasants and intellectuals of all countries an appeal which takes up an attitude to the fresh blows of the bloody fascist government of Smetona and Woldemara at the Lithuanian working class. This government has made use of the attempted revolt of the democratic oppositional groups against the fascist regime as a welcome pretext for sharpening the fascist dictatorship all along the line.

The first measure in this direction was the pronouncement and carrying out of six death sentences; further death sentences have already been pronounced and can be carried out at any moment. There have been over 2000 arrests in the whole country. Workers' newspapers are prohibited. Martial law has been imposed over the whole of Lithuania. The Lithuanian working class has proclaimed a general strike.

The bloody persecutions are directed against popular socialist, social democratic and Communist workers, peasants and students. A monstrous blood bath is being prepared among the Lithuanian working class.

When the present fascist government came into power on the 17th December 1926 by a coup and demonstrated its character before the whole public by the execution of four labour leaders and by measures of terror against workers' parties and trade unions, the international proletariat succeeded, by means of immediate and powerful protest, in preventing further bloody deeds.

The Lithuanian government now shows itself to be again determined to follow to the last consequences the example of Zankov and Mussolini and to exterminate to the very roots not only the revolutionary, but also every reformist workers' movement.

The Lithuanian government, which exists thanks only to the favour of Great Britain, knows that it is certain of the support of Great Britain in these endeavours. It lies in the hands of the Great Powers to hold back the Lithuanian hangmen. They must therefore be made jointly responsible for all further bloodshed.

The European working class must shatter the plan to choke the Lithuanian labour movement in blood. The workers of all countries have shown in the fight for Sacco and Vanzetti how strongly the idea of international solidarity lives within them. They must hasten to the aid of their Lithuanian brothers by powerful protests.

As the terror in Lithuania is directed against all workers' organisations, against social democrats, Communists and even against the advanced bourgeois elements, the protest and relief action in other countries must therefore be conducted by social democrats, communists and all right-thinking people in a common front.

The appeal calls upon the workers to send deputations of workers and intellectuals to the Lithuanian diplomatic representatives abroad and to send telegrams of protest to the Lithuanian government.

The appeal concludes with the words:

Fight for the unrestricted right of asylum for Lithuanian political refugees!

Organise Red Aid for the victims!

Demand:

Immediate cessation of the executions!

Release of the thousands of political prisoners!

Abolition of martial law and of courts martial!

Restoration of freedom of organisation, of press and meetings!

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The International Conference of the Women's Co-operative Guilds in Stockholm.

By Hertha Sturm (Moscow).

Immediately before the congress of the International Co-operative Alliance in Stockholm there was held the Conference of the International Women's Co-operative Guild. The International Guild, which was founded six years ago in Basle and which was recently affiliated officially, upon a resolution of its executive, to the Co-operative Alliance, purposes to represent the female members of the co-operative societies. The conference, however, showed that the guild by no means yet reflects the whole movement of those organised in the co-operative societies, nor even the masses of women capable of being organised.

This was to be seen from the distribution of the delegates of the various countries. England, the only country with a strong guild organisation rooted in the masses of proletarian women, had 15 delegates with 20 votes. This delegation was clearly one of the centres of the conference. The Swedish, Norwegian and Austrian women's guilds were also relatively well represented. Scotland, Ireland, Belgium and Poland had one delegate each. On the other hand, Germany with its strong co-operative movement is not in the guild and was only represented by a fraternal delegate. France, which, according to the report, has some sort of women's guild, did not send a delegate. The Czechoslovak co-operatives, which were affiliated to the International Guild shortly before the conference, had only three delegates; the German co-operative movement of that country had only an unofficial visitor. America and the whole of the East were unrepresented. Finally, the co-operatives of the Soviet Union, which for the time being are associated with the guild only through a female representative in a consultative capacity on the central committee, had eight delegates but only one determining vote, although the female membership of this co-operative organisation far exceeds that of any other national co-operative movement.

The political character of the conference was just as uneven as its composition. The small minority, which on every regular item on the agenda and at every special motion represented the standpoint of the class-conscious proletarian co-operative movement, brought a new note into the conference. The delegates were attentive and the presidium was extremely uneasy. In spite of the most sophisticated handling of business on the part of the Austro-Marxian female president of the guild, Emmi Freundlich, and despite unscrupulous violation of all democratic congress laws and usages for the purpose of silencing the opposition, the inner contradiction of the conference was manifest.

Even before the agenda came to be dealt with the spirit of antagonism was disclosed. The officially invited representative of the Women's Secretariat of the Communist International was categorically denied the right to address the conference, in spite of a motion to this end made from the midst of the conference. The second collision took place at the reading of the guild report, which among other things lauded the activity of the guild towards promoting peace in sending disarmament petitions to the League of Nations and congratulated the president of the guild upon her activity as a member com-

CHINA

The Chinese Trade Unions and the New Reaction.

On May 21st, there took place in the capital of the Hunan Province a military coup which ended with the destruction of the labour and peasants' organisations in Changsha and throughout the province. The Nationalist Government raised no finger against the counter-revolutionaries responsible for the coup. The General sent by the Wuhan Government to "investigate" (a few weeks too late — when there was nothing more to investigate or to do than to count the number of workers' and peasants' corpses...), instead of proceeding against the counter-revolutionists, started diplomatic negotiations with them and himself joined the counter-revolutionary organisation, the so-called "Committee for Saving the Party" (!). Finally, after the insistent demand on the part of many mass organisations that the Nationalist Government do something, another General, this time Tan Shen Chi, was sent to Hunan to "investigate".

Of course it was not surprising to anyone that during the month of the delayed and protracted "investigations" the reactionary forces in Hunan extended and intensified their campaign of extermination of the labour and peasant leaders and of the organisations of the workers and peasants in that province. And the result of the generalissimo investigation? What a revelation: the parties guilty of all the crimes, according to the telegraphic report of General Tan Shen Chi, were none other than the leaders of the workers and peasants themselves (!)... The trades and peasants' unions, discovered this worthy General, were not really in favour of a united front of workers, peasants, merchants, students and soldiers (!)... On the contrary, they were encouraging the class struggle and mutual hatred. Shortly after his telegraphic communication to the Wuhan Government of his findings, General Tan Shen Chi telegraphed his "proposals" for "clearing up" situation by "reorganising" the labour and peasant movements. The term "reorganise" occupies a weighty place in the history of the Chinese labour movement — in connection with the numerous attempts of the numerous Generals, and Generalissimos to bring the Trade Unions under their thumb. In this respect, it seems, there is very little if anything to distinguish the Generals and Generalissimos of the counter-revolutionary camp from the Generals and Generalissimos of the Nationalist Government.

In his analysis of the causes of the Changsha Massacre, General Tan Shen Chi points to two sources of evil: 1) the lack of efficient leaders of the workers' and peasants' organisations; 2) deficient organisation of the Trade and Peasants' Unions. Then the General indulges in an ingenious bit of sophistry: Because of the lack of efficient leaders, says he, the workers' and peasants' organisations are deficient; and because the organisations themselves are deficient, there is a lack of efficient leadership... But what the General cannot forgive the trade unions and peasants' unions is the fact that they are specific class organisations pursuing their specific class aims. Here is another bit of sophistry which verges already on cynicism: As long as the people (which people?) are not yet accustomed to the present forms of organisation, says General Tan, the Unions can easily be taken advantage of by "undesirable elements":

And the panacea to all these "ills"? "Reorganisation"! General Tan "proposes" (his "proposals" come after he has already issued orders to that effect) to reorganise the trade unions and peasants' organisations in such a manner that they are actually transformed into departments of the Kuomintang. Lest we forget — just a "detail": The Labour and Peasants Department of the Provincial Kuomintang, which consisted of people known to be Lefts, was dissolved and also "reorganised"...

Another telegram from General Tan to the Nationalist Government. This time with concrete proposals for the reorganisation of the labour and peasants movements. 1) A Provincial General Union shall be formed (by whom?) which shall have the task of opening a school for training efficient leaders of the labour movement; 2) Wherever there is a large number of workers in the districts, District Unions may be formed; 3) no trade union branches are to be formed in the various

localities until such time as there shall be a sufficient number of efficient leaders...

The labour movement in the various countries of the world has decades of history and experience behind it. But nowhere and at no time did any trade union movement start or develop on the incubator scheme as proposed by the Hunan General Tan; nowhere did the movement wait until it had full-fledged graduated leaders before it started its activities. The best school for training and developing leaders are the Trade Unions themselves; the struggle, the mass movement are the most reliable schools and trainers of proletarian leaders.

On the day after the publication of General Tan Shen Chi's telegrams, the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang issued a declaration dealing with the labour and peasants' problems. It is noteworthy that this declaration is almost a verbatim repetition of the famous "proposals" of General Tan. In this declaration of the K. M. T. we find such pearls as: "At the present moment when the mass of the workers and peasants are illiterate, it is not surprising when their organisations fall into the hands of individuals who misuse them to their own ends"... Jupiter! What a typically intellectual expression of contempt for the "illiterate mass" which in the opinion of those petty bourgeois intellectuals who have received a veneer of education can be led or misled by anyone anywhere. This declaration, mind you, was issued only a few days after the closing of the IV. All-China T. U. Congress. To sugar-coat this bitter pill of a declaration, a completely irrelevant sentence is attached to it to the effect that the labour and peasant movements shall in future suffer no disturbance or hindrance. (The closing down of nearly all the trade unions in Wuhan and the terrorisation of the trade union leaders by the soldiery now in control of the capital — gives the lie to these empty promises which cost little to the giver).

We thus see that at a time when the Chinese Revolution is developing along the lines of an intensified class struggle and a deep differentiation of the social forces, at a time when the mass movement is acquiring unprecedented volume and momentum, the vain-glorious generals who are pulling the Kuomintang to the Right, towards a compromise with the militarists and the counter-revolutionaries, assume the pose of "Saviours of the Party" and "Defenders of the Revolution", and in the guise of "reorganisers" they proceed to destroy the labour organisations, to arrest, kill or drive out the most loyal and energetic elements of the working class. Now it is clear to everybody that the new offensive launched against the labour organisations on the territory of the Nationalist Government is the reflection of the struggle of the Chinese bourgeoisie against the workers and peasants, a struggle which assumed keener forms after the occupation of the Yangtze Valley and of Shanghai by the nationalist forces. The Chinese bourgeoisie then broke definitely with the Revolution, and the question of the hegemony in the Revolution, i. e. the problem of which class or classes shall play the leading role in the Revolution, became the burning issue of the day.

It is the fear of losing their class privileges, it is the fear of revolution that dictates the new attacks on the labour movement by the scared generals who are socially rooted in the bourgeoisie, and the spineless petty-bourgeois leaders who ally themselves with these generals. But no "reorganisation" manoeuvres, and no decreed leadership can stop the growth and development of the organised mass movement; no sophistry of any general or "generalissimo" can halt the class struggle.

The military and petty-bourgeois intellectual authors of such declarations and decrees as mentioned above, strive to devalue the trade unions of their class essence; they also try to erase the class nature of the Kuomintang. They refuse to admit, and they are ready to punish those who insist that the Trade Unions represent and defend the interests of a definite class — the working class. They refuse to admit that a party like the Kuomintang, which is controlled and directed by petty bourgeois leaders, cannot possibly lead the class organisation of the proletariat — the Trade Unions. They could only do so if there were no class struggle within the Kuomintang. But no telegram of any general, nor any government decree, can do away with or ignore the sharp class struggle which is actually going on. It is clear to everyone who wants to see, that a party like the Kuomintang which comprises workers, peasants, merchants and students, cannot assume the leadership

missioned by the Austrian Government, of the preparatory committee of the Geneva World Economic Conference. When the Czechoslovak delegate **Vobecka** criticised the pacifist illusions of the guild leaders and their collaboration with the bourgeoisie, when she pointed out that the masses themselves, the great united front of the co-operative societies with the trade unions and all other organisations of the workers, must carry on the fight against imperialist war, when she demanded greater initiative and activity on the part of the Women's Guild in opposing Fascism, in supporting the workers' fights, in the campaign against price appreciation and extortionate taxation, the president stifled this, for her, disquieting discussion of these most vital questions for working women with the provoking excuse that these questions were not in the report and not on the agenda.

The discussion of prices and dividends, of family washing and the quality of foodstuffs proceeded outwardly at least, more quietly. The spirit of reformism and opportunism which animated the leaders in these questions, too was illustrated by a discussion speech, evidently inspired by the platform of the conference, and by an admission made by Emmi Freundlich after the conference to the following effect:

"Why is it that certain delegates, and especially those from Soviet Russia, cannot treat any question without dragging in the class war? We are here to see to very different things; we must create small, concrete, practical advantages for the women."

The chief political interest of the conference centred around two special motions: the questions of **Sacco-Vanzetti** and of the danger of war. It was only on the very eve of the conference that the central committee decided to place these questions on the agenda at all, and it only gave way to the initiative of the Russian consulting members in the Guild under the pressure of the delegates' sentiments. But these sentiments were so undefined, the pressure so lacking in energy, that the presidium was permitted to deprive both questions of their political significance. The Sacco-Vanzetti resolution protested "in the name of justice" against the execution. The anti-war resolution culminated in a demand for the representation of women in the League of Nations for the purpose of preserving peace. In addition to the texts drawn up by the office there were counter drafts from the proletarian opposition. But these proposed amendments were not even mentioned by the presidium to the conference. In spite of assurance to the contrary given before the conference, no discussion of the question of war was permitted, and the speech in support of the amendment was cut off in the middle. The presidium prevented the reading of a declaration from the Soviet delegation as to why it withheld its vote from the resolution worded by the office. It was only by means of such methods of suppression, including the prevention, curtailing and distorting of translations, that the presidium was able to carry its resolutions.

There are two facts which characterise the different wings of the conference and help to estimate future development. The leader of the Norwegian Women's Guild, who had on several occasions given expression to her anti-Soviet attitude, described the result of the conference as follows: The Communists are beginning to be a serious danger to our Women's Guild movement. It is high time to start a sharp fight against them. The Soviet consulting member of the International Guild must be refused a seat, so that at future conferences the women representatives of the Russian Co-operatives need not be admitted. On the other hand, leading representatives of the British delegation were interested in getting the Russian representatives admitted to the International Guild, in order that, as regular members, they might give due weight to the significance of the co-operative movement of the Soviet Union. Without doubt, the course of the conference opened the eyes of the left-wing elements to the necessity of strengthening the class-conscious proletarian nucleus within the International Guild against the leaders, and created and deepened their desire for a closer collaboration with the women co-operators of the Soviet Union.

This marks a fresh step in the development of the Co-operative Women's Guild movement. The class antagonism between the leaders and the proletarian members will become more pronounced than it has been in the past, when healthy class instinct of not inconsiderable strata of female co-operative

members from England and of small circles from other national guilds lacked a definite objective and firm support. The leaders of the guild will in future have more difficulty in sailing under the false colours of political neutrality. Even in the appraisal of the conference in the various countries and in carrying out its resolutions, the fundamental political divisions of opinion concerning aims and methods of a proletarian co-operative movement must be thrashed out. The measure in which it will be possible further to build on the achievements of the conference, to bring to the consciousness of broader masses of women co-operators the class-war tasks of the co-operative societies and to set them in motion for these ends will depend upon the political clarity, consistency and activity of the proletarian opposition under the leadership of the Communists, as also upon the systematic, adroit exploitation of all possibilities afforded by the guild organisations to weld together all revolutionary forces both nationally and internationally.

TEN YEARS AGO

Kerensky Follows in the Footsteps of the Defeated Kornilov.

Moscow, 16th September (Socialdemocrat): "The liquidation of the conspiracy is being conducted in quite a definite direction. Kornilov is to be removed but the Korniloviad is to remain. Hence the fight against Kornilov is impossible without a fight against the government. The government will always screen him. The Korniloviad is now no longer to be sought in Moscow but in Petrograd, and its leader is a well-known personality — Kerensky."

Kerensky Takes Kornilov under his Protection.

Basle, 21st September. Havas reports from Paris: According to a Petrograd report of the "Journal", Kerensky declared that Kornilov has acted from purely patriotic reasons, so that the government will not countenance the court proceedings instituted against Kornilov. There is even talk of the possibility of a reconciliation between Kerensky and Kornilov.

* * *

Amsterdam, 21st September (T. U.): The "Times" correspondent in Petrograd reports that after the Kornilov crisis Petrograd is now breathing freely again. In the next few weeks representatives of the Soviets will meet together from all parts of Russia. Great interest prevails in this so-called "Democratic Conference". The provinces are already actively engaged in the election of the deputies to the Conference. At a meeting of the workers' Council in Moscow drastic action was demanded against Kornilov and his friends. The General is kept a prisoner in the hotel in which his headquarters are situated. In government circles there is inclination not to treat Kornilov too harshly, as he acted from honest motives. The government intends to bring the various tendencies into harmony with one another without letting it come to a breach with the Soviet.

The Agents of Foreign Imperialism.

Under the title: "The Agents of Foreign Imperialism", the "Social Democrat" publishes a number of facts as to how the "allies" are working together with Kornilov, who at one time was on friendly terms with Kaiser Wilhelm. "And this most honourable company is proceeding according to a united plan against the Russian Revolution. Enough! Messrs. Buchanan and comrades must be driven out of Russia and the relations with the allies and also the secret treaties must be dissolved."

(For this article the Provisional Government brought the responsible editor of "Socialdemocrat" Sokolov before the court. Ed. Inprecorr.)

The Provisional Government Rejects the Demands of the Railway workers.

Petrograd, 18th September. The Minister for Transport reported to the government regarding the demands of the railway workers, who are asking for immediate approval of the

wages tariff drawn up by them. The government decided to entrust a special commission with the investigation of the demands of the railway workers. In the event of the railway workers allowing it to come to unrest and disturbances, the government decided to declare martial law over the railways.

Persecution of the Revolutionary Soldiers.

Petrograd, 19th September. (Report of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) In Kiev, Minsk and some other towns proceedings have commenced against soldiers belonging to the Maximalist social democratic party who are accused of having fraternised with the Germans or refused to obey orders in face of the enemy. At a similar trial in Pskov 35 soldiers have been condemned to terms of compulsory labour from six to ten years.

The Government Prevents Lenin's Participation in the "Democratic Conference".

London, 19th September The Bolsheviki demanded of the government that it guarantee Lenin free participation in the "Democratic Conference". The government replied that Lenin's immunity from arrest would only apply to the meeting hall, but that he would be arrested outside of the hall. As a result the Bolsheviki decided that Lenin should not attend the Conference.

NEW RISE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAVE.

The Petrograd Soviet under the Leadership of the Bolsheviki.

Petrograd, 19th September. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) In view of the decision of the Maximalists, which was adopted by the full meeting of the workers and soldiers council, who put forward the demand that power be taken over by the Soviets, the whole bureau of workers and soldiers council have resigned. These are, the chairman Cheidse, the deputy chairman Anissimov, further Skobelev, Tseretelli and Chernov. The new election of the Bureau will take place at the next meeting.

Bolshevik Victory in the Moscow Soviet.

Moscow, 18th September. The political situation was discussed in the meeting of the Moscow Soviet. The Bolshevik resolution was adopted by 355 votes against 254.

All Power to the Soviets!

Petrograd, 16th September. (Rabotchi.) The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies have in the last few days received telegrams from 126 Soviets demanding the taking over of power by the Soviets.

The Masses Stream into the Bolshevik Party.

Petrograd, 19th September. ("Rabotchi Put.") Reports from a whole number of Russian towns state that the Party of the Bolsheviki has grown very much in recent times. What is still more important, however, is the growth of our influence among the broadest strata of the masses. No Party can compare with ours in this respect. The reports show that the provinces are far in advance of the capital, where the vacillations of the organs of "revolutionary" democracy are still going on.

Red Guard in Moscow.

Moscow, 16th September. The Joint Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies considered the question of organising a Red Guard in Moscow. The resolution adopted on the matter is to the following effect:

1. The Red Guard is founded for defending the achievements of the revolution and to preserve order in the town.
2. The actions of the Red Guard are under the lead of the Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet of workers and soldiers deputies.
3. The staff of the Red Guard consists of representatives of the Soviet Executive, of representatives of the Trade Union Central and of the leaders of the workers' fellowships.

The resolution lays down the character and organisation of the fellowships. Weapons are only to be given out for drill purposes and in the event of action being decided upon.

Convocation of the "Democratic Conference".

Petrograd, 16th September. ("Isvestya.") The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets has decided to invite the representatives of all democratic organisations to a Conference to be held at Petrograd on 25th September, and has already sent telegrams to a number of organisations. The Central Executive Committee are allowed 100 Delegates; the local committees of the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies 50 delegates; the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Peasant Deputies 100 delegates; the local committees of the Soviets of Peasant Deputies 50 delegates; the Co-operatives 150; the trade unions 100; the war organisations 84; the railwaymen's union 20; the commercial and industrial employees 20; the postal and telegraphic employees' union 10; the teachers' unions 15, the clerks' and other committees 2; the druggists 1, the doctors 2; journalists 2; lawyers 2; engineers 2; architects 1; the Semstvo 50; the national groups 59; the Peasants' League 10 delegates.

THE BOLSHEVIK FRACTION OF THE SOVIET EXECUTIVE CALLS THE OPPORTUNISTS TO ACCOUNT.

The Bolshevik Fraction submitted on the 23rd September the following interpellation to the Bureau of the Soviet Executive:

The undersigned members of the Soviet Executive consider it necessary and urgent to call the attention of the Bureau of the Executive to the reports and exposures appearing in the press relating to the activity of the members and agents of the Provisional Government in connection with the preparation of a military conspiracy in headquarters against the revolution, its institutions and achievements.

The essence of these documents and exposures which have been published is the following: The former Minister for War Savinkov, acting apparently in the name of Kerensky, made three proposals to General Kornilov to set up a dictatorship, in which the participation of Kornilov, Savinkov, Filonenko and Kerensky was spoken of in various combinations. The declaration of the dictatorship of one or several persons should coincide with the imposition of a state of siege in Petrograd, and with a ruthless shattering of the Petrograd revolutionary organisations and the persecution of the working masses under the pretext of suppressing a bolshevist conspiracy.

In view of the fact that these reports and exposures are having a tremendous effect on the workers in Petrograd and on the entire population of the country, we propose that, without waiting for the results of the work of the committee of investigation, steps should be taken to clear up the political side of the matter. We therefore consider it necessary to call upon the former chairmen of the Soviet and members of the government: Skobelev, Aksentiev, and Chernov to report to the Bureau of the Central Executive as to what they know regarding the facts forming the subject of the above exposures.

Trotsky, Kamenev.

OPENING OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE.

The Bolsheviki Accuse Kerensky.

Petrograd, September 27th. Tcheidse opened the Democratic Conference by a speech dealing with the situation in connection with the war. He said that there are two tendencies in the country, one of them endeavouring to turn the war to account for imperialist purposes, the other wanting to quench the flames of capitalist war by social world revolution. The power of the State has been almost paralysed by the struggle going on between these two tendencies. "The result was the coalition between Hindenburg and Kornilov — The country needs a strong power — The establishment of this power is to be the platform of the Moscow conference."

Kerensky's speech roused tempestuous protest among the Left elements present at the Conference, as did especially his explanation of the Kornilov revolt.

Chernov defended the plan of forming a coalition.

Comrade Kamenev spoke for the Bolsheviki. He accused Kerensky and the Government of directly betraying the revolution and supporting Kornilov. He pictured the economic ruin,

the collapse of the revolutionary achievements, the predominance of traitors to the people in the State apparatus and pronounced himself in favour of the Soviets taking over power.

* * *

Petrograd, September 27th. The Bolshevik fraction resolved to send, in the place of Lenin and Zinoviev — the delegates who had originally been appointed — two other representatives to the Democratic Conference. They proclaim that the appointment of Lenin and Zinoviev had had a purely demonstrative significance.

Petrograd, September 28th. The Bolshevik delegates to the Democratic Conference developed their plan, which is to oppose any coalition and to start organising the seizure of the power by the Soviets.

Petrograd, September 28th. The delegates of the factory committees to the Democratic Conference considered the question of power. There was no discussion, as all members of the delegation are Bolsheviks.

Petrograd, September 28th. The trade union delegates to the Democratic Conference rejected the proposal of a coalition by 73 to 8 votes; 53 votes were in favour of the Soviets taking over the power, 73 in favour of the power being organised by the Democratic Conference. In view of these expressions of opinion, Grinevitch, the representative of the All-Russian Trade Union Soviet resigned his position as representative

Resistance to the Coalition Government

Petrograd, October 2nd. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.)

At the evening session of the Democratic Conference, speeches were made by representatives of the local Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets, the majority of them expressing themselves against collaboration with bourgeois elements. In the course of the sitting, a delegation of 200 workers of both sexes accompanied by soldiers tried to force their way into the council-room, declaring that they were the spokesmen of 500,000 workers of Petrograd who had delegated them in order that they should raise a protest against the principle of coalition, and that they should demand immediate peace, abolition of private property and should lay before the Conference other wishes such as had recently been expressed in the Maximalist resolution of the Petrograd Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet. After prolonged negotiations, six members of the delegation were admitted to the Conference in order to explain their wishes.

Petrograd, October 2nd. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.)

When the list of speakers was exhausted, Tcheidse, the chairman, declared that the Conference would first have to decide by voting as to the formula pro or contra coalition which should be adopted, then as to two other formulae, i. e. whether the coalition should be one with the Cadet party or only with the representatives of the Cadet party. The Democratic Conference declared itself in favour of coalition by 766 against 688 votes. As, however, there was no majority on a subvote with regard to the mode of collaboration with the Cadets, the plan of forming a coalition was altogether rejected by 813 to 180 votes on a second vote being taken.

* * *

According to the report of the "Daily Mail", the Democratic Conference removed from the agenda by 610 to 585 votes the motion of the Maximalists suggesting that a demonstration for immediately entering on peace negotiations be held.

Basle, October 3rd. According to a Petrograd Havas report received by the "Börsenzeitung", negotiations between Kerensky and the representatives of the Moscow industrial and commercial world have led to a perfect understanding.

Twilight of Kerensky.

Copenhagen, October 1st. As has been wired from Petrograd by way of supplementing the official report on the opening of the Democratic Conference, the course of negotiations showed with great clearness how the number of Kerensky's partisans is decreasing in an alarming way. Kerensky was constantly interrupted in his speech by scornful shouts addressed to him on all sides. In response to remarks made by the Bolsheviks, he declared that he was not isolated in his policy. If, on the other hand, they should in any way

attempt to cross his plans, they would soon discover that they are isolated and especially that the support of the soldiers would fail them. These words did not make any greater impression than what he had previously said, but were only greeted by the Bolsheviks with fresh shouts and derisive laughter. Kamenev, the representative of the Bolsheviks, stated that his party had no confidence in a government headed by Kerensky. He maintained that it was only thanks to the Bolsheviks that Kornilov's putsch was defeated.

The Petrograd Soviet Passes the Bolshevik Resolution Regarding the Democratic Conference.

Petrograd, September 24th. As the first point on the agenda, the Petrograd Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies dealt with the question of the "Democratic Conference".

Kamenev spoke in the name of the Bolshevik fraction. Among other things, he said:

"The Democratic Conference is called by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet with a view to deciding the question of power. It is evident that the Central Executive Committee alone is not in a position to solve the crisis of power. In order to solve this crisis, the democracy of the whole country must be called upon.

The Kornilov conspiracy was a conspiracy of the whole of the Russian counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. Whose fault is it that revolutionary democracy proved too weak to prevent this conspiracy? It is the fault of revolutionary democracy itself, as it has left the power in the hands of the Provisional Government... We allowed the bourgeoisie to remain in power and it used the whole apparatus of State against the soldiers and workers. Such are the results of a policy of coalition...

The question is then: In whose hands should be the apparatus of State? Coalition has led to complete bankruptcy. In our confidence, we left the most important posts in the charge of persons who betrayed us... If we want to save Russia, we must say that the power should be handed over to us, to the Soviets, the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates.

Our programme must consist of the following points:

1. Russia should immediately propose peace to all belligerent Powers on the basis of the formula: "Peace without annexations and contributions."
2. The Government should abolish private ownership of land and hand over the land to the Land Committees for distribution.
3. The Government should, without delay, introduce the control of production by the workers.
4. The overwhelming bulk of the taxes should be laid on the shoulders of the possessing classes.

After Kamenev, Dan spoke and defended the coalition by saying that the working class in Russia was much too insignificant, that the peasantry was not socialist in its views, that Russia as a whole was a backward country. He proposed a resolution to that effect.

Trotsky refuted Dan's arguments. Among other things, he said: "There are two possibilities, either to restore the fighting power of the army and suppress the revolution by means of capital punishment and other repressive measures, or to satisfy the demands of the broad masses..." On the vote being taken, the Bolshevik resolution (for the wording see below) was adopted.

The Bolsheviks delegated the following members to the Democratic Conference: Lenin, Zinoviev and Sadovsky; the fraction of the S.R.: Seiman and Boldirev; the Mensheviks: Skvortzov.

The Radicalisation of the Masses Compels the Opportunist Soviet Leaders to Resign.

Petrograd, September 22nd. The Petrograd Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies considered the question of electing a new presidium. Tcheidse declared that the Presidents Zeretelli, Chernov, Gotz, Liber, Dan and Skobeliev were determined to resign their mandates for the reason that, at the last meeting of the Soviet, the Bolshevik resolution, which the Presidium rejects on principle, had been adopted.

Kamenev declared in the name of the Bolshevist fraction that the Petrograd Soviet must have a presidium corresponding to the proportion of forces of the parties in the Soviet. He pointed out that the Bolsheviki and the Internationalists had hitherto not been represented in the presidium. Brontzov, Martov and Trotzky, who made his first speech in the Soviet after his return from prison, supported Kamenev.

Kamenev's resolution was passed by 519 votes against 414, 67 abstaining from voting.

The resolution was as follows:

"We propose that the presidium should be elected on the system of proportional election, i. e. that the existing presidium should be supplemented by an adequate number of members of fractions which are not represented in it."

Arming of the Workers!

Petrograd, September 21st. The Labour Section of the Petrograd Soviet considered the question of providing the workers with arms. In reference to this point, Tcheidse stated that some workers' organisations had already, of their own accord, resorted to the measure of arming themselves. The Soviet is planning to arm 8000 men, the idea being that every workers' organisation and the revolutionary "Committee for the Fight against Counter-revolution" should take part in the Soviet Executive.

Petrograd, September 21st. The war organisation of the Moscow Committee of the Bolsheviki held a meeting in Moscow. Among other things, the motion was put that the war organisation should take an active share in the formation of the Red Guard.

Petrograd, September 27th. "Rjetch" writes: The formation of the Red Guard of the Petrograd Soviet may already be regarded as a completed matter. Steps are being taken to procure about 12,000 rifles, a number of machine guns and ammunition for the same.

Measures against Famine in Petrograd.

Petrograd, September 21st. In a meeting held by the workers' section of the Petrograd Soviet, Sacharov made a report to the effect that as many as 500,000 men of the population of Petrograd will be evacuated in such a way that 7000 men are removed from the town every day.

Unrest and Insurrectionary Movements in the Country.

Petrograd, September 27th. "Novaja Shisn" writes that reports are received in Petrograd as to unrest and revolts in various parts of Russia. "In the Koslovsk district about twenty estates have been destroyed. In Tambov many shops have been plundered. Great riots occurred in Kiev and Shitomir. Serious popular insurrections in Astrachan, Orlo etc."

The Bolsheviki Must Seize Power.

Letter to the C. C., to the Petrograd and Moscow Committees of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party.

(Written in the days of the "Democratic Conference".)

By N. Lenin.

The Bolsheviki having succeeded in gaining the majority in the Soviets of both capital towns, they can and must take power of the State into their hands.

They are in a position to do so, for the active majority of the revolutionary elements of the people of both towns is enough to attract the masses and to overcome the resistance of the enemy, to defeat him, to seize power by force and to maintain it. If we propose a democratic peace at once, if we immediately distribute the land among the peasants, if we establish democratic institutions and freedom which have been destroyed and crushed underfoot by Kerensky, we, the Bolsheviki shall be able to establish a government which no one will have the power to overthrow.

The majority of the people is with us. This has been proved by the long and difficult road from May 6th to August 31st and to September 12th. Our majority in the Soviets of the capital towns is the fruit of the people's development towards our side. The same is proved by the vacillations of the S. R. and the Mensheviki and by the increasing number of Internationalists among them.

The Democratic Conference does not represent the majority of the revolutionary people but only the compromising upper strata of the petty bourgeoisie. We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by election results, for it is not the elections which matter. Only compare the elections in Moscow and the strike in Moscow on the 12th of August; there you have the objective data about the majority of the revolutionary elements who lead the masses.

The Democratic Conference is deceiving the peasantry, for it gives them neither peace nor land.

The Bolshevist Government alone satisfies the peasantry.

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Why must the Bolsheviki seize power just at the present moment?

For the reason that the imminent surrender of Petrograd worsens our chances a hundred times.

We shall not however be able to prevent the surrender of Petrograd by an army led by Kerensky & Co.

Neither are we in a position to "wait" for the Constituent Assembly, as Kerensky and his consorts may prevent it ever being held, if the said surrender of Petrograd becomes a fact. Our party alone, if it takes the power into its hands, can ensure that the Constituent Assembly is called; when it takes the power into its hands, it will accuse the other parties of carrying on a policy of obstructionism and will prove its accusation.

We must prevent a separate peace being concluded between English and German imperialism, and we are in a position to prevent it if we act quickly.

The people is tired of the vacillations of the Mensheviki and S. R. Nothing but our victory in the chief towns will lead the peasantry towards us.

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It is not, in the strict sense, a question as to what "day" or what "moment" revolution should begin. This question can only be decided by the common voice of those who proceed in unanimity with the workers and soldiers, with the masses.

The important thing is, on the contrary, that at the present Democratic Conference, our party is, in reality, holding its congress and that this congress must (whether it wants to or not it simply must) decide the fate of the revolution.

The important thing is that the Party clearly faces its task; that of armed revolt in Petrograd and Moscow (and the surrounding places), the fight for power and for the overthrow of the government be placed on the agenda; it is necessary to reflect how propaganda may be made for these aims without expressing it in this way in the Press.

We should recall Marx' words concerning insurrection and reflect on them: "Insurrection is an art" etc.

It would be naive were we to wait until the Bolsheviki are in the "formal" majority; no revolution waits for that. Kerensky and his consorts themselves do not wait for that, but are preparing to surrender Petrograd. It is just the unfortunate vacillations of the "Democratic Conference" which must and will make the workers of Petrograd and Moscow lose patience. History will not forgive us if we fail to seize power at the present moment.

Is there no apparatus? Indeed, there is an apparatus: the Soviet and the democratic organisations. Just at the present moment, before the conclusion of a separate peace between England and Germany, the international situation is in our favour. A proposal of peace made to the peoples at the present moment — means victory.

We have only to seize the power at the same time both in Moscow and in Petrograd (it is unimportant where we begin;

it is even quite possible that Moscow will start first) and there is not the slightest doubt, it is an absolute certainty, that we shall be victorious.

RESOLUTION OF THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE OF THE BOLSHEVIKI.

(Passed by the Petrograd Soviet on September 24th, 1917.)

1. The policy of compromise and coalition with the Cadets, the largest, and best organised party of the bourgeoisie, prevented the revolution fulfilling its tasks in the political, agricultural, industrial and financial fields. This policy created a situation in which the imperialist bourgeoisie and the landed proprietors proceeded systematically against all revolutionary achievements and succeeded in actually ruling the central apparatus of the State. By helping in the preparations for Kornilov's counter-revolutionary conspiracy, they assumed a direct offensive against the revolution, their aim being an open seizure of power.

2. The policy of reprisals exercised against broad strata of workers and soldiers under the direct influence of the Cadet party, the frustration of necessary and urgent reforms was carried on with the intention of causing the broad masses to be disillusioned with the revolution and of creating conditions which would be favourable for the establishment of a bourgeois dictatorship in the country and of an autocratic rule of the generals at the front.

3. In the process of liquidating the revolt of the generals, the Provisional Government not only took no measures for decisively suppressing the conspiracy but, instead of combating counter-revolution, it entered on the path towards forming a coalition with the conspirators.

The only force which was prepared to fight against the counter-revolutionary insurrection, was the mass of workers and soldiers, under whose pressure the majority of the Soviets took a number of measures for parrying Kornilov's attack.

And wherever the Soviets took decisive measures to combat the conspiracy, they came into conflict with the Provisional Government and were compelled to break with the policy of coalition.

4. In spite of the fact that the frustration of this first direct attack by counter-revolution, was a blow to the regime of the Bourgeois dictatorship, the whole apparatus of State is, up to the present, actually in the hands of the agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie, so that the irresoluteness and policy of compromise of the Central Executive Committee led to the establishment of the irresponsible "Council of Five" with Kerensky at its head.

In its endeavours to carry on a policy of compromise even after the Kornilov conspiracy and in opposition to the wishes of the revolutionary soldiers and workers which had been clearly expressed, the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets is calling a democratic conference, hoping that, with the help of the large number of representatives of the urban self administrative organs, with the help of the Semstvos and cooperatives and, above all, in view of the inadequate representation of the Soviets, the soldiers' organisations, the trade union leagues and factory committees, they should win its assent to their policy which is disastrous to the revolution.

The Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik Party states this and declares that nothing but an immediate breaking with the policy of compromise and taking over of responsibility can save the revolution and the country from the reign of terror of counter-revolution and complete economic ruin. It is demanded that a power be established which relies on the proletariat and the poor peasants and rules under the direct supervision of the bodies which are in function until the Constituent Assembly is called; this power should be directly responsible to the said bodies which are the organisations of the revolutionary classes of the country. The activity of this power should be founded on:

1. The immediate proposal of democratic peace to all belligerent Powers.

2. Immediate abolition of the private ownership of feudal landed property and handing over of the land to the Peasant Committees.

3. Organisation of a workers' control of production and distribution of the products throughout the country.

4. Merciless taxation of capital and war profits.

The Petrograd Committee expresses itself in favour of attending the "Democratic Conference", in order on the one hand, relentlessly to criticise the policy of those who wish for a compromise, a policy which is absolutely wrecked, and in order on the other hand, to rally the really revolutionary elements for the fight for power. The Petrograd Committee calls upon the revolutionary proletariat and the garrison to pass a resolution and appoint delegates to the Conference in order to give expression at the conference to their inflexible revolutionary will.

Chronicle of Events.

September 15.

The "Socialdemocrat" writes: "Hundreds of delegates from factories and workshops are applying to the Soviet with the demand that it distribute weapons".

September, 16.

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets decided to convene for the 25th September in Petrograd a Conference of all democratic organisations.

The Soviet Executive publishes an appeal warning the population against exercising lynch justice.

The Moscow Soviet discusses the organising of the Red Guard in Moscow.

September, 17.

Comrade Trotzky is released on 3000 roubles bail.

September, 19.

Reports are received from Jekaterinburg to the effect that in the whole of the Ural district the power is in the hands of the Soviets.

In consequence of a Bolshevik motion having been passed in the Petrograd Soviet, the presidium of the Petrograd Soviet consisting of Tcheidse, Anisimov, Gotz, Dan, Skobeliev, Zeretelli and Chernov, has resigned.

September, 20.

The organisation bureau for preparing the "Democratic Conference" is dealing with the technical questions of the conference and calculates the cost of housing and provisioning the delegates at 15,000 roubles.

The Putilov works intend to dismiss 5000 workers.

Wholesale dismissal of workers in ten Petrograd factories.

September, 21.

The war organisation of the Moscow Social Democratic Labour Party resolved on a campaign in protest against the distribution of Bolshevik literature and particularly the "Social Democrat" at the front having been prohibited.

September, 22.

The Moscow Soviet of the trade unions raises a protest against the circular of Skobeliev, the ex-Labour Minister, in which he violently attacks the revolutionary achievements of the working class.