

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 7. No. 16

25th February 1927

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

CONTENTS

Iso: The Significance of the Brussels Conference.

Hands off China.

The General Strike in Shanghai.

Appeal of the Y. C. L. of China.

Appeal of the Buddhists of the Soviet Union to the Buddhists of Mongolia, Tibet and India.

The Balkans.

B. Boskhovitch: The District Elections and the Re-Formation of the Government in Yugoslavia.

The Offensive against the Soviet Union.

Machinations of the Russian White Guardists and the British Government against the Soviet Union.

Revolutionary Movements in the Colonies.

The International Congress against Colonial Oppression in Brussels.

The Chinese Delegation at the International Colonial Congress to the II. International.

Fascism.

Jar: A New Attack by Primo de Rivera on the Workers' Organisations.

In the International.

The Line of Policy of the Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Ten Years Ago.

N. Lenin: The Last Weeks of Tsarist Rule in Russia.

The White Terror.

Timescu: Dangerously Wounded while "Trying to Escape".

P. Pro-ski: The Trial of the Young Communists of Plevna.

International Women's Day.

Hertha Sturm: Working Women! Take your Place in the Front against the Offensive of World Capital!

Catherine Cant: Women's Day 1927 and the British Working Women.

The Significance of the Brussels Conference.

By Iso.

The Brussels Congress of the oppressed peoples was crowned by the foundation of a **World League against Imperialism and for National Independence**.

The Congress was not accompanied by fanfares in the Press in general; most of the Social Democratic papers obeyed the instructions of the capitalist Governments which, of course, corresponded to the slogan of the 2nd International, and with few exceptions, they ignored the Congress or tried to represent it as "Bolshevist manoeuvre". As the "Vorwärts" complained afterwards, "it is a proof of the lack of discipline in the Social Democratic party" that as Ernst Toller, a Social Democratic poet, who took part in the Congress, states in a letter to the "Vorwärts", Social Democrats were nevertheless largely represented at the Congress, whereas at the most 10% of those who attended, were Communists.

Fortunately, however, neither the bourgeoisie nor their Social Democratic agents are able to appreciate these truly important events in their historical significance; and we find it easy to understand that the official organs of Social Democracy held aloof in a philistine way from the representatives of the "exotic countries".

Who were these representatives of "exotic countries"? The most prominent revolutionary organisations of the oppressed countries, all those who take the fight against imperialism seriously and seek to join the revolutionary labour movement — all of them were represented at the Congress. They met for

the first time in Brussels, and this in itself is the historical significance of the Congress.

The factor which is of the most immediate significance, which is to a certain extent politically decisive for the Congress, is the fight for freedom of the masses of workers and peasants in China, a fight which is in an extremely acute stage and which, even to-day, threatens to develop into war between China and British imperialism unless the masses of English workers put a stop to the lust for intervention of the English Government at the eleventh hour.

The Congress would hardly have been able to record such success, the representatives of the peoples, who have been subjugated to imperialism for decades and centuries, would hardly have dared to advance so far politically in their resolutions at the Congress, had not China, with its 400 millions, openly resisted imperialism, had not the workers of China, by boycott, strikes against the imperialists and armed resistance to the Chinese counter-revolution, for which they have to pay, proved to the oppressed peoples of the whole world the possibility of a successful fight, provided that the proletariat are in the first ranks of the fighters.

Even those who are not in the habit of analysing things in a Marxist way, but who nevertheless do not belong to the hierarchy of the official Social Democratic Labour representatives, are now beginning to understand what this resistance means for the proletariat of the imperialist countries. Lansbury

expressed this when he developed the following idea. For capitalism, it is a question of to be or not to be, whether it will continue to be possible for it to invest its capital in the colonial and semi-colonial countries under privileged conditions in order, on the one hand, to scoop in profits on monopolies of raw materials, and, on the other hand, to make extra profits by exploiting cheap colonial labour and to reduce the standard of living of the overwhelming majority of the proletariat in the large cities; whether capitalism will still succeed in drawing fresh sap from the enormous markets of China which so far are hardly opened up, or whether the present crisis in sales will become a permanent one to which capitalism will succumb. In other words, the question is: will the proletariat calmly look on while its natural ally, the National Revolutionary movement for freedom, is defeated by imperialism, or will it give that movement its active support, not by platonic, liberal resolutions, as has just been done by the Executive of the 2nd International in Paris, but by promoting it with all the means at its disposal?

These are the horns of the dilemma; this is how it was formulated by Lenin in the theses drafted by him on the national question at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International. Official Social Democracy, which has become an organic component of capitalism, cannot but take the side of the latter in a question which is decisive for the further existence of capitalism. In order to delude the masses who follow them, they will pass resolutions "sympathising" with China, which might equally well have been signed by a Lloyd George, except that he probably would not have raved against Soviet imperialism in the Far East as did Abramovitch. Whereas the enslavement of China is a question of the possibility of the continued existence of European and American imperialism, the liberation of India from British imperialism would involve the decline of the latter. The tragedy of the Indian fight for freedom has so far been that it was carried on in complete isolation. The Communist movement in India is only in its infancy, the trade unions are mostly in the hands of moderate leaders, the Indian National Congress is a loose organisation round which are grouped the various strata of the national revolutionary movement and the Left wing of which possibly contains elements from which an organisation similar to the Chinese Kuomintang party may develop. Jawahar Lal Nehru, the representative of the Indian National Congress at the Brussels Conference may certainly be described as belonging to this Left wing; it is a remarkable fact that it was altogether the first time that the Indian National Congress has taken part in an international conference. The declaration signed by him in common with the representatives of the Kuomintang party, the Chinese trade unions and the national army, is evidence of the many points of contact which have resulted from the personal contact between them at the Congress.

Points of approach between the representatives of the national revolutionary movements in Indonesia, Corea, the Phillipines, Japan and China were discussed at meetings of special commissions.

A special programme of action was agreed upon between India, Egypt, South Africa and China — the countries under the pressure of British imperialism.

The delegations from Central and South America worked out a common plan of resistance to North American imperialism, the basis of the resolution which they passed unanimously, being the principle of an economic and political federation of Latin America.

A number of special questions were dealt with, a Trade Union Commission and a conference of the young people represented at the Congress passed important resolutions.

The Congress established a number of political relations, about which little need be said at present, but the effects of which will make themselves felt in the immediate future.

The Congress was at the same time a great success as far as the tactics of the united front within the Labour movement are concerned. Those leaders of Social Democracy who did not wish to lose touch with the working masses, were present at the Congress "in their personal capacity", and it is characteristic of the low Opportunist level of the organisations to which they belong that they had to emphasise that they only spoke in their own name. This was done above all by Brown, the Secretary of the Amsterdam International. This, however, is not surprising as, a year ago, when, during the general insurrection in Shanghai, the Chinese Trade Union Centre applied for help

to the Amsterdam International by telegram, the appeal simply remained unanswered.

The political success of the tactics of the united front was particularly remarkable as regards the English socialists. The Independent Labour Party of England was officially represented by its general secretary. Within the English Labour party, a sharp conflict had just broken out between the party leaders and the radical members of the party in connection with their attitude towards England's policy in China, MacDonald & Co. being in the minority even in the Executive. Their attitude of opposition was greatly intensified through their coming into touch with the Chinese representatives. The English delegation, consisting of Lansbury, Brockway, Beckett, Wilkinson, Stokes and the Communists McManus and Pollitt signed a declaration of far-reaching political significance in common with the representatives of China and India*).

This declaration of alliance between the English, Chinese and Indian delegations was extended to all the oppressed countries and Labour representatives taking part in the Congress, in accordance with a resolution proposed by Comrade Ledebour and passed unanimously by the Congress.

This resolution concludes with the following words:

"The collapse of imperialism has set in. The working class and the masses of the oppressed peoples are its grave-diggers.

The representatives of proletarian organisations, who are taking part in the Congress, declare:

Our assistance must not be confined to declarations of sympathy for the colonial fighters for freedom nor to demonstrations in protest against the deeds of violence of the imperialist oppressors. It must culminate in mass action. If an imperialist State resorts to the suppression, by force of arms, of the movement for freedom of a colonial people or of a people brought into dependence through treaties, the representatives of the organisations which have taken their stand on this resolution, must take the initiative in inducing strikes, especially strikes of transport workers to prevent the despatch of troops and war materials to the countries which have been driven to fight in self-defence. Should these means of pressure not completely achieve their end, the proletariat must, by a mass strike, force the oppressing State to liberate the subjugated people.

The representatives of the colonial and dependent peoples declare that they will develop the fight against imperialism into mass actions of the workers of their countries. They further declare that, should any imperialist Power resort to armed intervention, they will boycott it politically and economically and interfere actively in favour of the sister nation which is engaged in a fight for self-defence. This obligation is at the present time especially binding with regard to China."

It is our duty to carry the resolutions passed at the Congress, to the masses, to consolidate the united front which was established in Brussels and to bring the reality of the resolutions passed in Brussels constantly to the remembrance of those who passed the resolutions.

We are still too near the event in order to be able to perceive from all sides the historical significance of the Brussels Congress.

Nevertheless the way has already been paved for the union of the most active fighters for freedom in India and China, countries which between them comprise half the population of the world, and this in itself is of vast importance. China and India have behind them not an imperialist country, but the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the first Workers' State which, as the exponent of the interests of the world proletariat, is irreconcilably opposed to imperialism.

The Congress gave to all the oppressed peoples the consciousness that they form one great entity and a consciousness of the power resulting from this. Above all, the Congress strengthened their conviction that nothing but the union of the workers of the oppressed countries within the national revolutionary movement, and beyond this, their alliance with the proletariat of the imperialist countries, will ensure to them the victory.

*) This declaration was published in our last week's issue. Ed.

HANDS OFF CHINA

The General Strike in Shanghai.

Shanghai, 21st February 1927.

On the evening of the 18th February a delegate meeting of 500 representatives of workers organisations decided to declare a general strike with the following watchwords: Continuation of the struggle against imperialism; abolition of the militarist regime; the evacuation of Shanghai by all reactionary troops; the formation of a government representing the interests of the people; free speech, free press, the right to meet and the right to strike; recognition of the trade unions as the representatives of the working class; and further a number of economic demands including the 8 hour day, wage increases and a fight against the increase of prices.

On the 19th February the general strike began according to the instructions of the Shanghai trades council. The number of participants gradually rose and by the evening it rose above 100,000. The textile and metal workers, the tramwaymen, the commercial employees, the printers and the post office workers and a section of the seamen were then striking. The post offices in the foreign quarters were guarded by strike pickets armed with bamboo sticks.

An appeal of the Shanghai trades council declares: "The national revolutionary movement is steadily growing and its influence is increasing. The troops which are advancing north are winning. The power of the militarist Sun Chuan Fang is waning. The people must take part in the struggle against the militarists. Therefore the trades council has decided to call a general strike. Order must be preserved, nevertheless, the strike must be maintained until the order to resume work is given. By striking you are supporting the troops which are advancing against the north. You will be supporting the struggle for the destruction of the militarist Sun Chuan Fang. Long live the national power! Long live the freedom of the people! Long live the power of the workers!"

The committee of Shanghai citizens had issued an appeal to the population with the following watchwords: "Greetings to the expedition against the North! Support the national government! Convening of a national assembly! Establishment of a revolutionary democratic power!"

On the 20th February the strike spread with great rapidity until in the evening over 300,000 workers were striking. Commercial and industrial life is at a complete standstill. A number of incidents have occurred. On the 19th February 3 workers were arrested by the officials of Sun Chuan Fang for distributing leaflets. They were immediately executed. On the 20th February mass meetings in the open took place in all parts of the town. Incidents are reported from Chapeh and Putung (working class quarters of Shanghai). The authorities in the foreign quarters are preparing themselves for the coming events and are concentrating armoured cars. The police have been supplied with machine guns. Voluntary patrols are being organised. Agitators are being mercilessly pursued and executed immediately after arrest. The heads of the beheaded are exposed in public places as a warning to the populace.

In national revolutionary circles it is said that 90 people have been beheaded. The newspapers no longer appear as the workers demanded the publication of details concerning the course of the strike. The editors were not prepared to do this out of fear for Sun Chuan Fang. The foreigners are erecting barbed wire entanglements several miles away from the foreign settlements. The strike leaders declare that the foreigners have penetrated into Chinese territory and threaten reprisals.

Appeal of the Y. C. L. of China.

To the Young Workers and Peasants of all Countries.
Comrades.

The imperialist governments are feverishly sending troops to our shores. British imperialism after forcing the miners to accept starvation terms, is now free to mass its military and naval forces, and take an active lead in the struggle against the Chinese revolution. It has now exposed its rapacious and barbarous face to the whole Chinese people. The imperialist powers

are bargaining among themselves to give a crushing blow to the Chinese revolution. The present menace of an armed intervention is unprecedented in the history of the Chinese revolutionary struggle. Let the workers of the whole world know this and warn them of the danger.

The Chinese revolution is a struggle against imperialism and its Chinese agents for national emancipation. Under the yoke of the imperialist oppression we are deprived of the right of existence. Thousands of unemployed through the cities, hundreds of thousands of landless peasants through the villages, we are robbed of the last copper to pay the imperialist debts. Thousands of hungry peasants are forced into the mercenary armies for mutual slaughter at imperialist instigation. We have to work in foreign factories for 12 and 14 hours a day, getting less than 15 cents and being treated like dogs. The Chinese children are sold into slavery for 2 dollars a month. Chinese peasants groan under high taxation and rents to supply the luxurious joys of the bankers and financiers of London, New York, Paris and Tokyo and the Chinese brigands, Chang Tso-lin, Sun Chuan-fang, etc. The workers starve and bleed to death under the whip of foreign inspectors and capitalists. The students are denied education as a result of the robbery of the imperialists. In this ruination caused by foreign imperialists it is the young workers and peasants who suffer the most miserable existence. So mercilessly are the young workers exploited that official reports terrified even the imperialists themselves, inciting them to hypocritical cries for reform.

The imperialists have a network of organisations in our country to enslave the people. They have concessions and settlements to plunder the Chinese people and hoard their plunder. They have "extra territoriality" to protect their robbery, they control the customs and revenue. Their warships are stationed in Chinese waters, their troops on Chinese territory. They incite the Chinese militarists to suppress the revolutionary movement. They organise missionary schools to stunt and delude young China.

Hunger, cold, slavery and oppression have weighed down upon the Chinese people, but inspired by the heroic struggle of the world proletariat, and the Russian Revolution, the Chinese working masses, under the leadership of the Party of the proletariat, the Chinese Communist Party, have commenced the active fight for their emancipation.

We are proud to say that it is the youth of the Chinese proletariat, with the Y. C. L. of China at their head, who are in the vanguard of the struggle, organising also the revolutionary students to march by their side. In strikes and demonstrations, the young workers do picket duty, distribute leaflets or speak in the streets without the least fear of arrest or persecution. The young peasants help the revolutionary army to victory. The young workers and peasants are the bravest sections in the fighting army of the toiling masses.

All threats and concessions of the imperialists have failed to stop the advance of the people. The massacre in Shanghai and Hankow in May 1925 and Canton and Wahnsien in 1926 has aroused a mighty nation-wide conflagration. The 16 months Hong Kong boycott and strike shattered British trade and prestige in the Far East. The national revolutionary movement is invincible.

But imperialism will not give up its plunder without a desperate fight. Direct armed intervention is now prepared: A gigantic mobilisation of military and naval forces from every corner of the globe is to drown the Chinese revolution in blood.

The Young Communist League of China, in the name of many millions of oppressed Chinese toiling youth, millions of Chinese young proletarians living in inhuman conditions, revolutionary peasant, artisan and student youth, appeal to you with brotherly call to assist us.

We await an immediate response to our call. There is little time. The imperialists are not lacking in their preparation of forces for bloody slaughter. We must not allow the world plunderers to strangle our people. Explain to the broad toiling masses of your country the events taking place in China and the real aims of the struggling masses of our country. Tear down the veil of lies with which the imperialists are attempting to cover the eyes of the workers of the world. Explain to the soldiers and sailors of the expeditionary forces that they and we are children of one family and that we have common interests and common enemies. Organise the struggle against the imperialist intervention in China. Take up this task immediately.

Let the following slogans be taken up by hundreds and thousands of young workers in Europe and America.

Out with the imperialists from China!

Down with world imperialism!

Long live the Union between the national-liberation movement of the Orient with the world proletariat struggling for its emancipation.

Long live the Young Communist International.

Central Committee of the Y. C. L. of China.

Appeal of the Buddhists of the Soviet Union to the Buddhists of Mongolia, Tibet and India.

The first Church Assembly of representatives of the Buddhists of the Soviet Union who have met in Moscow to discuss their church affairs, cannot pass over in silence the events which are now taking place in China and which are arousing the attention of the whole world.

The masses of the Chinese people, numbering many millions, which is of one faith with us, is entering into the fight against world imperialism which has enslaved and subjugated the countries of the East. World imperialism, in its endeavours to strangle with weapons in hand the national freedom of the Chinese people, is continually sending fresh forces to China, and in the first place battalions of Indian soldiers who are likewise of the same faith as ourselves. It is compelling the Indians whom it has deceived, to shoot down in the towns and villages of China the Chinese people which is defending its human rights, and is endeavouring to convert China with its many millions into a second India. World imperialism wishes to repeat on a still larger scale the bloody repression which it carried out at the time of the Boxer rebellion.

The Assembly of the representatives of the Buddhists of the Soviet Union — who have themselves felt in their time the policy of national enslavement practised by the Tsarist government which has been overthrown — which has met together in the capital of the free union of Soviet Republics, in Moscow, welcomes the successes of the National Canton Government which has commenced the work of emancipating the masses of the Chinese people. It calls upon the Buddhists of the whole world to protest energetically against the new military intervention in China which is being persistently prepared by world imperialism, and to support with all their powers the fight for emancipation of the Chinese people.

The President of the Buddhist Church Assembly of the Soviet Union

Agvan Dordchiev.

THE BALKANS

The District Elections and the Re-Formation of the Government in Yugoslavia.

By B. Boskovitch (Moscow).

On January 23rd 1927, the district elections took place in Yugoslavia. The election campaign took place under the sign of the White Terror, as is a matter of course in the Balkans. The police did not allow the Independent Trade Unions in Serbia to hold a single meeting or a single conference. In Serbia, the authorities did not allow the workers to distribute election leaflets. The workers who, in spite of this, posted election leaflets in the streets, were arrested and subjected to mediæval tortures in the prisons. On the election day itself, the gendarmes and the police agents in Belgrade declared that the list of candidates of the Independent Labour Party (Communists) was prohibited. In some provinces, Croatia, Slovenia, Dalmatia, the Republican Worker and Peasant League succeeded in organising a few election meetings. In these meetings even, the speaker only had to mention the Soviet Union and the meeting was immediately dispersed by the police.

It was not, however, only the candidates of the Opposition parties who were exposed to persecution, arrests and ill-treatment, but even the candidates and partisans of one of the Government parties, the Croatian Peasant party (Radic' party). The White Terror raged particularly in the villages of Montenegro, Macedonia and the Voievodina. Paul Radic, the Minister, stated to some journalists that in some villages of the Voievodina, ballots were transferred from the urn of the Opposition party to the urn of the Greater Serbian Radical party. In the village of Kupussina (near Sombor), ballot papers were stolen at the expense of the Radic party. When the peasants began to collect signatures to prove that in Kupussina the Radic party was in the majority, the most active of them were immediately arrested and, for three hours, subjected to the most furious ill-treatment in the police prison. If the Serbian police organs treated the adherents of the Radic party in this way in the Voievodina, it is easy to imagine what happened to the Communists and the partisans of the Worker and Peasant League in Macedonia and Montenegro at the hands of the Greater Serbian reactionaries.

In spite of this wild, mad White Terror, the Greater Serbian Radical party and the bourgeoisie of the national minorities (German and Magyar) together received less votes at the elections of January 23rd 1927 than on February 8th 1925. The Radical party it is true, thanks to the reactionary election law, received 447 seats, but in proportion to the number of their deputies in Parliament, they ought to have received about 520 seats. The following is the result of the election according to the number of seats: Radical party 447; Croatian Peasant party (Radic) 264; Democrats (Davidovitch) 134; Moslems in Bosnia (Spaho) 66; Independent Democrats (Pribitchevitch) 96; Slovenian National party (Korossetch) 88; Union of Agriculturalists 56; Croatia Federalists (Trumbitch) 9; Montenegrin Federalists 5; Republican Worker and Peasant League 8; Labour Block in Slovenia 4; Serbian Republicans 1; and the Croatian Block 1.

As to the number of votes which fell to the share of each party, this is not yet exactly known. By omitting to publish the final result of the district elections, the Ministry of Police is trying to conceal the considerable loss of votes of the Radical party. The Greater Serbian Radical party, which is the chief support of the hegemony of the Serbian bourgeoisie, lost its votes chiefly in Serbia and in Bosnia. According to a communication of the Belgrade Press, the Radical party lost 32% in Belgrade, 17% in the district of Mostar, 40% in Dalmatia, as compared with the last Parliamentary elections (February 8th 1925). The Croatian Peasant party (Radic) lost 61% in Zagreb, 33% in Dalmatia, 36% in Slovenia. The Radic party lost altogether more than 200,000 votes. The Democratic party (Davidovitch) and the League of Agriculturalists have added to their numbers in Serbia at the expense of the Radical party.

The Republican Worker and Peasant League received about 9000 votes in Croatia and about 7000 in Dalmatia. In Slovenia, the Labour Block (United Trade Unions and Communists) managed to get 14,049 votes. In Serbia, as far as is known at present, the Communists got about 2000 votes. The Social Democrats only put up in special places with lists of candidates of their own; in spite of this, however, they received so few votes that they did not obtain a single seat. In general, the district elections showed a veering towards the Left of the masses of workers and peasants and among the petty bourgeoisie of the towns.

The result of the election led to a breach between the allies — the Radical party and the Croatian Peasant party. The leaders of the Radic party made a communication in which they described all the deeds of violence which had been committed by the organs of the police on the day of the elections and stated that they no longer had any confidence in the Usunovitch Government, and that the Croatian Peasant party therefore refused to work with any government in which the Radicals Usunovitch, Maximovitch and Srschkitch had seats.

The Government crisis which resulted, ended with the formation of a new Usunovitch Government in which the Slovenian National party (Korossetch) joined, taking the place of the Radic party. Once more the generals and the representatives of the Radical party seized the most important Ministries, the Ministry of War, the Ministry of Police, the Ministry of Finance, the Foreign Ministry, Ministry of Traffic, leaving only three Ministries of subordinate importance to the Slovenian National party. Thus, not a single one of the Croatian parties is represented in the new Government. Moreover, only 161 of

the 318 deputies in Parliament are on the side of the Government. It is hardly likely that the Usunovitch Government will retain office for long with such a tiny majority. The Radical party is well aware of this and for this is trying once more to enrol the Democratic party (Davidovitch) in the Government.

These frequent changes in the Government prove over and over again that Jugoslavia is passing through a serious economic and political crisis, the causes of which the Serbian bourgeoisie is quite unable to remove. The formation of a Government without any Croats further intensifies this political crisis.

THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

Machinations of the Russian White Guards and the British Government against the Soviet Union.

Moscow, February 16th 1927.

The soviet press has published certain correspondence between the former Czarist diplomat Sablin, who is now resident in London, and the "Supreme Russian Diplomatic Representative Abroad", a certain Girs, who is resident in Paris.

The correspondence shows that an organisation existing in Great Britain is one of the chief reasons for the existing abnormal relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. This organisation which is very influential, numbers cabinet ministers, conservative members of Parliament, bankers, representatives of the petroleum producing industry, shareholders who have bought up the claims of the expropriated Russian Emigrées, editors of newspapers such as "Daily Mail", representatives of the Churches, particularly of the Church of England and the Catholic Church, representatives of employers associations and finally Russian, Ukrainian and Georgian white guardists amongst its members. This is the organisation which is conducting the press campaign against the Soviet Union and for the expulsion of the "reds". This campaign is also accompanied by public meetings and by questions etc., in Parliament.

States which maintain normal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, harbour nevertheless also the old Czarist diplomatic corps, the members of which correspond regularly with each other and maintain closer relations with the governments than the latter maintain with the diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union itself.

Churchill, Birkenhead and in particularly the Home Secretary Joynson Hicks all maintain close relations with Sablin and are the chief protectors of the organisation mentioned whose aim is to provoke a breach of the diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. The leaders of the campaign in Parliament are Locker Lampson and General Knox, who were at one time close friends of Admiral Koltchak. Lampson also maintains close relations with the fascist organisations of the Continent, particularly with Aubert, the well-known Swiss fascist and the organiser of the murder of comrade Vorovsky.

The role of the white guardist clique in the campaign against the Soviet Union is very significant. In writing to Girs, Sablin declares that the "Russian Emigrées although unorganised are an important anti-bolshevik factor having its effect not only on the foreign policy but also on the internal life of Great Britain". In his report of 26th August 1926, Sablin points out that he has been able to gain considerable success in his campaign against the Soviets thanks to the participation of Russian white guardists in the last general election on behalf of the conservatives, and thanks also to the confidential co-operation with the Home Secretary Joynson Hicks who had expressed his "most sincere gratitude" to Sablin for the assistance rendered by the white guardists during the British General Strike.

In Sablin's opinion, the failure of the strike created a very favourable situation for the present anti-soviet campaign. The British petroleum interests headed by a certain Dotterding are putting up generous sums to support this campaign. In his report of December 22nd Sablin writes that the idea of an independent Georgia is very popular amongst the representatives of the British and American oil interests who are pre-

pared to provide considerable sums to further the "separation of Georgia from the Soviet Union".

Sablin is in regular touch with various members of the British government. In one of his reports he quotes an interview with a highly placed government official concerning the anti-soviet campaign. According to this official the only reason why the British government, which is allegedly carefully watching the situation, does not break off its relations with the Soviet government is that it does not wish to lose its information apparatus in the form of its diplomatic representation in the Soviet Union.

Another task of Sablin is to provide Locker Lampson and others with material for publication in Great Britain. Apart from this, the white guardists publish fabrications on their own, for instance the pamphlet of Vlentimov Lanke entitled "The Destruction of the British Empire".

How strong the influence of the white guardists on the British government has become may be seen from the following statement in a letter of Sablin: "Our diplomatic representatives are beginning to enjoy more and more privileges and we have practically gained recognition from the British authorities. Should the soviet agents be expelled, our embassy will automatically regain its old position."

For the purpose of establishing closer contact with the representatives of the Church of England and the Catholic Church, the Russian white guardists are organising a league of christian youth.

Thus far the facts. Through the British fascists, conservatives, and oil industrialists, the British people is being used as a tool in the hands of a miserable group of Czarist lackeys who maintain direct connections with the British government. Every honest friend of peace must and undoubtedly will raise his voice against this criminal policy so dangerous to the peace of Europe.

* * *

Moscow, 18th February 1927.

The "Pravda" has published 8 new documents from the correspondence between Sablin and Girs. A letter dated 23rd September from Sablin points out that the German general Hoffmann arrived in London in July accompanied by two Georgian politicians and had various conferences with the Locker Lampson group. They visited various prominent financiers with a view to raising a sum of 200 million pounds sterling to finance an intervention against the Soviet Union.

In a letter dated 7th November Sablin expresses his dissatisfaction with Baldwin and Chamberlain who could not decide to carry out the policy of the die-hards. Sablin declares that he will do everything possible to persuade the conservatives that the breaking-off of relations with Moscow would better the internal situation of Great Britain. He adds, however, that he himself does not believe in any radical change of the situation in Great Britain being brought about by the expulsion of the "reds". In this same letter Sablin considers it of sufficient importance to mention the rumour which is current in certain circles that the anti-soviet campaign of Locker Lampson is being financed by the Grand Duke Nicolai.

In a letter of 5th January 1927 Sablin reveals the contents of a memorandum received by the British government from the International League for the Struggle against the Communist International, at the head of which is Aubert. It can be seen from this letter that the League has a special Russian section obviously controlled by white guardists in close connection with "diplomats" of the Sablin type. In his letter Sablin explains the plan of the anti-soviet activity of the white Emigrées abroad and stresses the necessity of conducting regular propaganda amongst the Europeans in order to persuade them to give no credit to the Soviet Union and to conclude no long term arrangements with soviet organisations. Sablin also proposes a plan for the creation of a further anti-soviet organisation in opposition to the Society for the Maintenance of Cultural Relations Abroad. He also mentions a plan for the organisation of propaganda against the Educational Workers International. Sablin points out that as far as the relations and the co-operation between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Church of England is concerned, very much has been done and that considerable sums have been collected and sent to Russia. Sablin expresses the hope that this is only a beginning and that the rapprochement between the two churches will bear still more fruit in the future. He

stresses the fact that for the moment there is no hope of a diplomatic breach between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, but that nevertheless the anti-soviet campaign in Great Britain must be carried on with undiminished energy.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE COLONIES

The International Congress against Colonial Oppression in Brussels.

(Special Report.)

Delegates from all parts of the world took part in the International Congress against colonial oppression and imperialism: China, British India, Indonesia, Indochina, Japan, Korea, Persia, Palestine, South Africa, Mexico, the Argentine, Columbia, Cuba, Haiti, Porto Rico, the United States of America, Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, etc., making a total of 174 delegates.

The following delegates were present amongst others: **Hsiung Kwang Suen** (Representative of the Chinese National Government), **Chankuen** (Representative of the Hongkong and Canton strike committee); **Liau Han Sin** (Central Executive of the Kuomintang); **Jawahar Lal Nehru** (All-Indian National Congress); **Semaon** (C. P. of Indonesia); **Mohammed Hatta** (Indonesian Freedom Party); **Li Kolu** (Union of Corean Writers and Journalists); **Katayama** (Japan); **Itzchaki** (Palestinian Labour Party); **Assadoff** (Republican Revolutionary Party of Persia); **Colrairie** (South African Trades Union Congress); **Gumede** (South African National Congress); **Richard Moore** (American Negro Workers Congress); **Antonion Mella** (Anti-imperialist League of Mexico); **Vasconcelos** (National Party of Porto Rico); **Martins** (Patriotic League of Haiti); **Roger Baldwin** (Civil Liberties League of the United States of America); **Manuel Gomez** (American Workers Party); **Harry Pollitt** (Minority Movement Great Britain); **Fenner Brockway** (Independent Labour Party of Great Britain); **Fimmen** (Secretary of the International Transport Workers Federation); **Miglioli** (Catholic People's Party of Italy); **Henri Barbusse**, **Georg Ledebour**, etc.

In the opening session of the congress which took place on 10th of February in the Egmont Palace, a number of speeches of greetings were made:

The following spoke: **Davis** (a representative of the British Miner's Union), the Belgian member of Parliament **Marteaux** in the name of the Belgian Section of the League against Colonial Oppression; **Henri Barbusse**; **Liau Han Sin** (the representative of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang), **Jawahar Lal Nehru** (representative of the Executive of the All-Indian National Congress); **Sen Katayama** (Japan), **José vas Concelos** (one-time Mexican Minister and representative of the National Party of Porto Rico) and **Fenner Brockway** (Independent Labour Party of Great Britain).

In his speech, **Henri Barbusse** termed the delegates to the congress the organisers and soldiers of the emancipation struggle of the oppressed peoples. He condemned the bloody dominance of imperialism in China, India, Morocco and Syria. He pointed to the preparations for a new war and declared that the Soviet Union was the only State where the question of national minorities was finally solved and social peace obtained. His passionate appeal to the participants of the congress to mobilise all the forces of the exploited peoples and classes to prevent a new imperialist war, was greeted by the congress with the greatest enthusiasm.

Liau Han Sin declared: Our relations to the imperialists to-day are so critical, that the latter are using all means with which to attack us. We must form ourselves strongly and firmly into an international united front against world imperialism. The imperialists have already recognised that the oppressed peoples and classes of the world are already commencing to unite. Therefore they are sending troops, airships and warships in great numbers both to China and to Nicaragua in order to suppress the movement for emancipation. For this reason they accused the first proletarian state of the world, the Soviet Union which honestly sympathises with the struggles of the colonial peoples against their oppressors, of instigating unrest and destroying peace in the whole world. The congress must also deal with the question of the war threats of imperialism against the Soviet Union.

In conclusion **Liau** thanked the international working class and in particular the revolutionary organisations of Great Britain, Australia and India for their active support of the Chinese revolution.

Katayama greeted the congress and in particular the delegates from China and Corea, in the name of the Japanese workers. He declared that the congress expressed the will of the oppressed peoples not merely to struggle against imperialism, but to destroy it. The colonial peoples, he said, would have to ally themselves with the working classes of the imperialist countries. China had commenced the struggle and the other colonial and semi-colonial countries will follow its example.

Brockway solemnly declared that the British working class would prevent any military intervention of Great Britain against China and the Soviet Union with all the means at its disposal.

Before the conclusion of the session a telegram of greetings was read from the Political Bureau of the headquarters of the National Army of China appealing to the congress to mobilise all forces against national and social oppression.

The second session was opened on the morning of the 11th of February by **Edo Fimmen**.

Chan Kuen a member of the Hongkong and Canton Strike Committee greeted the congress in the name of the All-Chinese Trade Union Federation: **Sun Yat Sen** had recognised, he declared, that the chief force to overthrow the foreign imperialists in China was the working class and the peasantry. The Kuomintang was proceeding along the lines laid down for it by its great leader. Victory would be won over imperialism by the alliance of all the exploited upon a national and international scale. The Chinese people, declared the speaker, was closely allied to the Soviet Union. The imperialists were striving to smash this alliance which represented a tremendous anti-imperialist force, but the Chinese people was well aware who were its friends.

Georg Ledebour then reported upon imperialist colonial policy and its effects in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. He described the nature of imperialist colonial policy and briefly sketched the new attacks and the violence of imperialism in China, Morocco, Syria, etc.

The reformist leaders **MacDonald**, **Vandervelde** and others, he declared, were assisting their governments. They seemed to have long ago forgotten their attitude at the Stockholm Congress in 1907 when they were opposed to colonial possessions. A communiqué of the Second International called the League against Colonial Oppression an organisation of irresponsible elements, in the hands of the communists. The speaker asked, whether **Brockway**, the General Secretary of the Independent Labour Party in Great Britain was to be reckoned amongst the irresponsible elements, whether he was also to be considered as a pawn?

The oppressed peoples would, he declared, no longer permit themselves to be misled. The speeches of the Chinese representatives had shown that the Chinese coolie had become a class conscious worker. It would be the task of the congress to fight against colonial mandates and for the emancipation of all oppressed countries. The congress would have also to fight against all forms of military intervention. It would be the duty of the working class to prevent any threatening war by a general strike. Struggle! That was the watchword. This epoch had no place for pacifism.

The third session was opened on the evening of the 11th of February with the speech of **Mohammed Hafiz Ramadan** (Egyptian National Party):

The congress was no "official" congress but was nevertheless of the greatest importance because it represented the will of the peoples to struggle against their common foe, imperialism. A real League of Nations was necessary, not a League of governments. Egypt demanded real freedom and independence.

Mohammed Hatta (Indonesian Freedom Party) declared that the Indonesian people was terribly enslaved by the Dutch capitalists. It had no freedom of organisation, of meeting, or of the press. It had no right to strike and enjoyed no social labour laws. It was compelled to exist on hunger wages. 95% of the population were illiterate. The rebellion of the Indonesian people was a national insurrection against the tyrannical oppression under which it suffered. Despite persecutions, prisons and the gallows, the Indonesian people would never give up its right to independence.

Senghor (North Africa) declared in the name of the Negro Defence Committee that the Negroes formed the most oppressed

and exploited race in the world. France as a colonising country was bringing "civilisation" at the point of the bayonet to Africa. Slavery still existed amongst the negroes, only its form was modernised. The struggle against imperialism was synonymous with the struggle against capitalism. The world must be converted into a union of free peoples.

Harry Pollitt (Minority Movement of Great Britain) pointed in his speech to the relation between the economic situation of the working class in the motherland with the situation of the colonial peoples. The working masses of Great Britain would form an indestructible united front with the toiling masses of India and China. They would prevent the imperialist war with all means. The question of the abolition of imperialism was the same question as the abolition of capitalism. The Russian workers and peasants have shown how to overthrow capitalism.

Uiyano greeted the congress in the name of the workers and peasants of Latin America. He described the machinations of the United States against Nicaragua, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela.

Colrairie was the last speaker and greeted the congress in the name of the South African Trade Union Congress.

The presidium of the Congress received a telegram from A. J. Cook in the name of the British miners and also a telegram from Victor Margueritte. Cook wrote that the intervention of British imperialism in China was a classical example of the dominance of capitalism. He hoped that the congress would declare itself unequivocally for all actions tending to prevent a victory of British imperialism.

The fourth Session took place on the morning of the 12th of February under the chairmanship of Jawahar Lal Nehru.

Messali (Algeria), Mustapha Chedley (Tunis) and Achmed Mattar (Morocco) described the colonial policy of France in North Africa. This policy had plunged the natives into the worst form of slavery and had led to the insurrection of the Rif and to bloody colonial wars. Ben Mustapha Chedley appealed to the Congress in the name of the National Party of Tunis to organise a campaign for the liberation of the imprisoned victims of French imperialism. Achmed Mattar declared under the applause of the congress that the only method to abolish imperialism was the revolution according to the example in Russia.

Professor Goldschmidt delivered a speech in which he drew a parallel between present day imperialist colonisation and that of the dominant countries of antiquity and in the Middle Ages. The various forms and methods of modern imperialism would have to be studied in detail, he declared. The congress which was "an expression of the world longing for freedom" would become a world league of all oppressed peoples.

The fifth Session took place on the evening of the 12th of February under the chairmanship of Mohammed Hattar.

Edo Fimmen was the first speaker. He declared that he only represented himself but was convinced that he was expressing the feelings of the great masses of the European working class. It was not enough to adopt revolutionary resolutions and to appeal to the trade unions, but it was necessary to establish a united front between the workers of the mother countries and the peoples of the colonies in the day to day struggle. It was necessary to enlighten the working class of the mother countries upon the connections between its standard of life and the oppression practiced in the colonies.

The speaker showed from statistical material the wages and working conditions of the working class in India and China. The Washington Convention differentiated between the working hours in the mother countries and in the colonial countries. The representatives of the white workers have not protested against this differentiation! The Washington Convention had remained upon paper. The only state where the eight hour day is not abolished, is the Soviet Union.

The assertions of certain leaders of the Second International that the toilers of the colonies would be more oppressed after achieving their independence, by native capital, than they previously were by foreign capital, was not valid, this declaration was already refuted by existing statistics from China.

The capitalists did not only extort tremendous profits from the colonies, but with the assistance of this colonial exploitation they reduce the standard of living of the working class in the motherlands. Not merely that, but they were even sending these workers as soldiers into the colonies to "maintain order". As long as this situation existed, capitalism could not be defeated in the advanced capitalist countries.

The capitalists wanted to create a united front against the Chinese revolution. The congress was opposed to this united front and against the united front of white capitalists and white workers. The congress wanted a united front of the exploited in all countries. The congress would address itself to all trade union organisations without exception in support of the Chinese revolution.

Karl Marx had once written that China would become a republic dominated by "liberty, equality and fraternity". That was true, but this republic would not be a republic like the French, which was a mockery, but a real republic like the Soviet Union. The congress was fighting for this.

Strong propaganda would have to be made for the Chinese revolution. The workers would have to be told what was happening in China and thus brought to take direct action. Today an appeal for direct action as for instance a general strike would have no success. Before the occupation of the Ruhr enthusiastic resolutions had been adopted, but nothing had come out of them. The congress wanted no blood. It was its task to make propaganda, to organise and to prepare.

Ellen Wilkinson, a Member of the British Parliament, explained in her speech the attitude of the Left Wing of the Labour Party to China. It was doubtful whether it would be possible to bring about a general strike. The British general strike and the struggle of the miners had not been successful. In any case, the general strike would have to be prepared. This attitude was not defeatism. One should not forget that there are also other means to oppose an intervention, for instance the utilisation of public opinion.

Gumede (Natal, South Africa) greeted the congress in the name of the Zulus whose situation he described as economically and politically miserable. The natives were cut off from all forms of qualified work. The trade unions of the white workers refused to have anything to do with the negroes. The only party which represented the interests of the negroes and took the negroes into its ranks, was the Communist Party.

Blancet spoke in the name of the oppressed population of the French colonies Martinique and Guadeloupe: The much-praised self-administration, he declared, was only on paper. It was all humbug. In actual fact the population was without rights and terribly exploited. The United States of America was striving to obtain possession of the group of islands around Martinique and Guadeloupe as compensation for the debt of France to America, for this group of islands was really a very important strategical point. The population of these islands, however, want neither French nor American dominance, but complete freedom.

Herclet, the representative of the C. G. T. U., declared that in France there were two trade union federations, but that only the unitarian unions fought against capitalism. Only the C. G. T. U. actively supported the struggle of the oppressed peoples for emancipation. An example for this was the 24 hour protest strike of the unions affiliated to the C. G. T. U. against the Morocco war. Meetings had been organised in all factories and propaganda made amongst the soldiers and workers. The soldiers had been told that it was their duty not to shoot down the native Rifs, but to fraternise with them.

Everything possible would be done to defend the Chinese revolution, no matter what attitude the I. F. T. U. would adopt towards the unity proposals. The French workers would do their duty as they had done when the Soviet Union was threatened. The workers would be awakened and mobilised. The transport of arms and amunitions would be prevented. He was in agreement with Fimmen that a united front of all trade union organisations must be created. However, there must be no united front with the MacDonalds, but with the working masses in the I. F. T. U. and in the Labour Party. (Great Applause.)

The sixth session was opened on the 13th of February under the chairmanship of Fimmen.

Albert Fournier, a member of the French Chamber, was the first speaker. He declared that the congress against colonial oppression would become a very important date in the history of Humanity. Let us become, he declared, a powerful army for the overthrow of capitalism. The struggle in China is of world historical importance. It is a struggle for national emancipation. But it would evolve into a struggle for social emancipation.

Professor Theodor Lessing (Germany) dealt with the struggle of the colonial peoples for emancipation from an ethical and cultural standpoint.

Manuel Gomez (Workers Party of America) dealt with the

expansionist activities of the United States and its efforts to cloak these activities with democratic and pacifist phrases.

Dunang Van Giao (Indo-China) reported in the name of the Anamite Party of Freedom upon the situation of the Indonesian workers and peasants. The natives were not free, they had no right to organise themselves, nor to meet together. Freedom of the press did not exist. They were subject to exceptional courts. For a working day of 12 to 14 hours they earn four to five francs. The social democratic governor Varenne is working hand in hand with the French government. The workers are not permitted to organise themselves. The cause of the working class in China was the cause of the congress. The congress would support revolutionary China with all the forces at its disposal.

Achmed Assadoff, the representative of the revolutionary Republican party of Persia then spoke and pointed to the close co-operative work between British imperialism and the feudal classes of Persia.

King Fa Ling then spoke in the name of the Korean people.

Maza Bay el Bakir (National Revolutionary Party of Syria), declared that France had destroyed the unity of Syria in order to play one district against the other and in particular the Catholics against the Mahommedans. All sections of society in Syria were discontented with their situation. France was attempting to suppress the opposition of Syria with force of arms. This would, however, not be successful. Damascus would remain for ever a symbol of the heroism of the working masses of Syria and a symbol of shame for French imperialism. The speaker concluded: We will continue to fight with the consciousness that we are fighting for all oppressed peoples.

The Seventh session was opened on the evening of the 13th of February under the chairmanship of Fimmen.

Jawahar Lal Nehru read a resolution upon India to the congress and **Liau Han Sin** read a united declaration of the Indian and Chinese delegations.

George Lansbury then spoke and declared that the congress was a tremendous sign of the awakening of the oppressed peoples in the whole world. The Chinese revolution was the cause of all oppressed nations and all exploited peoples. The British working class would understand that and would defend the Chinese revolution. The Chinese workers and peasants were not only fighting for the abolition of foreign imperialism and for the national freedom of China, but also for the destruction of capitalism and for the building up of a socialist order. He would say to his pacifist friends that pacifism would only exist on earth when capitalism was dead. In Great Britain great masses would follow the appeal for struggle. China would have to receive the right to rule itself. All military and naval forces would have to be withdrawn from Chinese ground and Chinese waters.

The national government must be recognised, all unequal treaties annulled and all extra-territorial rights abolished. In conclusion he declared: We will fight for these demands with all the means at our disposal. (Great Applause.)

General Lu Chiang Li declared that the Chinese revolution was an important sector of the world revolution. New and difficult struggles with the imperialists and militarists were ahead but the new world was advancing. He, the speaker, was a soldier and considered it his duty to serve the cause of the workers and peasants. This congress would in the future give him his orders. His belief had been strengthened, he would devote himself in the future with increased energy to the great cause, the emancipation of all oppressed peoples. The victory was no longer far off. He hoped that more such congresses would take place. He concluded his speech with the shout: Long live the Chinese revolution! Long live the world revolution! (Storms of applause.)

Brown (Secretary of the Amsterdam International) declared that the congress was of historical importance, because the representatives of the exploited of the whole world had come together for the first time not to find out that which separated them, but that which united them. If this unity were realised all along the line, then it would lead the working class to victory.

Ismael Martinez (Mexico) described the attempts of Yankee imperialism to intervene in Mexico and expressed the hope that the decisions of the congress would be followed by deeds.

Ernst Toller declared that the congress was of tremendous importance. The fact that neither the I. F. T. U. nor the Social Democracy Party of Germany nor the German trade unions had sent delegates to the congress, was not understandable. The congress would become a world power. The real League of Nations would be created. In the name of the German delegation he then presented a resolution calling for a struggle against the new colonial activities of German capitalism.

Beckett (Left Wing of the British Labour Party) then read an Anglo-Indian-Chinese resolution. He proposed that telegrams of greetings be sent to the Hankow government and to the All Indian National Congress. (The delegates enthusiastically and unanimously agreed to this proposal.) The speaker declared that the British delegation had signed the resolution with the firm determination of carrying through everything laid down in it. The British working class would do its duty towards the Chinese revolution.

The chairman then informed the congress that a telegram of greetings had been received from the widow of Sun-Yat-Sen.

Before the conclusion of the session the resolutions which had been introduced, were unanimously adopted.

The eighth session was opened on the morning of the 14th February under the chairmanship of Colrairie.

Vernoche greeted the congress in the name of the Unitarian Educational Workers International which, he declared, had always done its duty towards the oppressed peoples and classes. Great masses of the colonial peoples were being deliberately held in illiteracy by capitalism, he said. Only a thin upper strata was being educated in order to serve as the non-commissioned officers of imperialism against their own people. The only workers and peasants state, the Soviet Union, was an exception. When the schools in Peking were about to be closed on account of lack of funds, the soviet ambassador Karachan handed over the Russian share of the Boxer indemnity to the Peking professors to enable them to carry on. We, declared Vernoche, will educate our pupils to be soldiers of the revolution.

Stokes, representative of the London Trades and Labour Council, reported upon the decisions of a conference of all working class organisations in the London district. There were 600 delegates present at the conference of whom 503 were representatives of the trade unions. The resolution which was adopted declared absolute solidarity with the Chinese revolution and demanded that the transport of all men and munitions for China should be prevented. The resolution further demanded the recognition of the Canton government and the withdrawal of all troops from China. The British workers would fight for these demands with all the means at their disposal, including the strike weapon. Committees were being formed in all parts of Great Britain under the watchword "Hands off China!". The speaker concluded by saying that it was a pity that Brown was only able to speak in his own name and not in the name of the I. F. T. U.

Helene Stoecker (Germany) spoke in the name of the international Association of War Objectors and in the name of the German Peace Cartell. She declared that the fight must not be carried on in the spirit of the old bourgeois pacifism, for a real war against war was only possible upon the basis of the class struggle. The congress should not forget in its deliberations the struggle for the emancipation of women.

Mueller-Lehning greeted the congress in the name of the International Anti-Militarist Committee and read an appeal of the committee against colonial oppression and against war.

Chen Kuen spoke in the name of the Chinese trade unions which he declared were young organisations, but that no one could say that they were without experience or that they were not class-conscious or that they represented no real power. The strike movements of the last few years, in particular the Canton-Hong-Kong strike, had proved that the trade unions were the backbone of the national revolutionary movement. Lansbury had appealed to them saying that they should join him in the spirit of international socialism. This spirit was not lacking amongst the Chinese unions. They had collected money for the British miners when they themselves had had to support hundreds of thousands. They would always prove their feelings of international solidarity by deeds.

Could the same however be said of the working class of Western Europe? What had the II International or the Amsterdam trade union international done to show any sympathy for the Chinese revolution? With the exception of a few resolutions, nothing had been done. When the workers of Shanghai appealed to the Amsterdamers for help, they had not even received a reply. Brown was not able to speak in the name of Amsterdam here. The speeches of Vandervelde upon the colonial revolution had filled the Chinese with indignation. The attitude of MacDonald was by no means a proof of any internationalism. However, declared the speaker, he would not continue to make these just accusations, for this congress was taking place in the sight of the enemy and he, the speaker, would do everything possible to promote unity. (great applause.)

Miglioli, representative of the Catholic People's Party of Italy declared that the fascist government and press contended that transport of Italian troops to China was necessary for the protection of the economic interests of Italy and for the protection of the Italian missionaries. That was a deliberate lie. Italy has no economic interests in China. It was the last word in shameful hypocrisy when bloody fascism, which had itself murdered thousands of workers and peasants and even priests, spoke of defending Italian missionaries. The truth of the matter was that the fascist government was a tool in the hands of British imperialism. The Italian government was assisting in the overthrow of the Chinese revolution because it hoped in return to receive the financial help and support of Great Britain for Italian colonial plans in Albania.

The ninth session was opened on the evening of the 14th February under the chairmanship of **Fimmen**.

Willi Muenzenberg summed up the work of the congress and spoke of **organisational** matters. He declared that the congress had been a complete success and that it had succeeded beyond all expectations. The credentials committee had reported that 174 delegates were present. The delegates represented 8 million workers organised in trade unions and many hundred millions of unorganised and oppressed people. The first step towards the formation of a real league of nations had been made here and now in Brussels and not in Geneva.

Even the hostile press had been compelled to recognise that the congress was of first rate importance. The II International which refused to deal with colonial questions at its Marseilles conference, had now been compelled to put these questions on to its agenda.

The question of imperialism stood in the centre of world politics. We, declared the speaker, needed no stage manager to bring us together, that was done by a common need.

The present congress was only the preparatory meeting for a real world congress. The presidium of the congress proposed that a world league against imperialism and colonial oppression and for national independence should be formed. The constitution and the program of such a league were already drafted out.

The chief task at the present time was the support of the Chinese revolution. The presidium and all the delegates were united in the firm resolve that should any power declare war against the Canton government, then all working class organisations would be organised to resist the attack. The present watchword was — active assistance for the Chinese people!

The masses would be enlightened in thousands of meetings which would be held everywhere. All suppressed peoples would receive assistance. A commission consisting of **Shaw**, **Nansen** and **Barbusse** would be sent to Java and Sumatra to examine the situation there.

Inside the presidium departments for special questions would be organised. An **Indo-Chinese congress** was being planned for June to be held in **Hankow**. The history of the world for the coming decades would be determined by the development of India, China and similar countries. The world league against colonial oppression would be built up upon a firm foundation. (applause)

Colrairie (South Africa) stressed the necessity for the unification of the white and coloured trade unions in South Africa. He hoped that the I. F. T. U. would finally discover its duty with regard to the establishment of international trade union unity.

Fournier (France) warned the delegates in his speech not to leave the resolutions which had been adopted, merely upon paper.

Chen Kuen then solemnly declared in the name of the Chinese trade unions that they would do everything in their power to carry out the decisions of the congress.

The voting was then taken upon the proposal to form a world league against colonial oppression. The proposal was unanimously adopted. The delegates then rose spontaneously from their seats and sang the "Internationale" and joined with **Fimmen** in cheers for the international unity of the working class.

The closing session took place on the evening of the 14th February under the chairmanship of **Fimmen**.

The report of the committee on credentials was accepted. The report showed that 174 delegates were present from 37 countries whilst 70 were delegated from European countries and from the United States of America.

26 resolutions and declarations were presented to the pre-

sidium and the following were put before the congress to be voted upon:

A resolution moved by **Georg Ledebour** and supported by him in a speech. The resolution concerned the agenda point "Imperialism and its effects upon the Colonial and semi-Colonial Countries". The resolution declared: "The working class must prevent the sending of troops and war material against the colonial peoples who have been forced to defend themselves against oppression. This must be done amongst other means by strikes, particularly strikes of the transport workers. Finally a general strike is necessary in order to force the imperialist country to release its hold upon the oppressed peoples."

A declaration was presented by **Madame Duchesne** on behalf of the French section of the League against French imperialism.

A resolution presented by **Mohammed Hatta** upon Indonesia.

A resolution presented by **Jawahar Lal Nehru** on behalf of the Indian delegation demanding the withdrawal of the Indian troops from Mesopotamia.

A resolution presented by **Antonio Mella** on behalf of the joint delegations from Latin-America and the United States concerning the situation on the American Continent. The representative of the Workers Party of America spoke in favour of this resolution which declares itself for the government of Mexico.

A resolution presented by **Richard Moore** upon the negro question and against race prejudices.

A resolution presented by **Colrairie** on behalf of the trade union representatives.

All these resolutions were unanimously adopted by the congress.

The presidium decided to submit the other resolutions to the executive of the League to be treated by it.

The plenum unanimously adopted the proposed constitution of the League and upon the proposal of **Fimmen** unanimously elected the following Executive: **Nehru** (India), **Liau** (China), **Senghor** (Africa), **Mohammed Hatta** (Indonesia), **Lansbury** (Great Britain), **Muenzenberg** (Germany), **Marteaux** (Belgium), **Manuel Ugarte** (South America), and **Fimmen** (Holland). The following substitute delegates were also elected: **Gibarti**, **Baldwin**, **Barbusse** and **Bridgeman**.

It was decided to send a telegram to the Dutch government demanding an amnesty for the imprisoned revolutionaries on Sumatra and Java.

Gerard then read a manifesto of the congress which was enthusiastically adopted.

The congress received a telegram from the President of the All-Indian National Congress: "The All-Indian National Congress offers all its co-operation in the world campaign against the tyranny of imperialism. The whole of public opinion is opposed to the use of Indian troops in China". Upon the proposal of **Colrairie**, the congress decided to send a copy of this telegram to **Lansbury**.

Fimmen made the closing speech. He declared that the congress was of first rate historical importance. A world organisation had been created which would smash imperialism despite all hindrances. The enemy would do its utmost to "slander" the congress and term it a communist conspiracy. The speaker would say, but nevertheless, it was necessary to say without the Russian revolution which had awakened the oppressed peoples, this congress would never have been possible. (storms of applause. The delegates rising from their seats and singing the "Internationale".)

With this the congress was declared at an end.

The Chinese Delegation at the International Colonial Congress to the II. International.

The Chinese delegation at the international congress against colonial oppression in Brussels has sent the following telegram to the II International:

"The Chinese delegation at the Brussels congress against colonial oppression has heard with surprise that a certain **Yang Kustan** has usurped the right to speak to you in the name of China. **Yang Kustan** has no right whatever to speak in the name of the Chinese proletariat or in the name of the Canton government or the Kuomintang.

"We learn with regret that **Abramovitch** warned the Chinese delegates against the imperialism of the Soviet Union in the

Far East. The delegation declares that the Russian workers and their government have been the only effective allies of the Chinese people in their struggle against imperialism, whilst all other organisations, with the exception of the left-wing of the British Labour Party, have in the best case only expressed their sympathy with us.

In the reports published in the press we read that Bracke spoke of the neutrality of the French. We would like to know whether we can only reckon on the neutrality of the II International or whether it intends to support the resolutions adopted by the Brussels congress demanding strike action in favour of China should the imperialists provoke open hostilities between the imperialist forces and those of the Chinese national revolution."

FASCISM

A New Attack by Primo de Rivera on the Workers' Organisations.

By Jar (Madrid).

Since September 23rd 1923, the day of Primo de Rivera's "Coup d'État", the Government has been abolishing one after the other all the working class privileges gained after many years of struggle and sacrifice. One of the first acts of the military dictator after the Coup d'État was to publish an official communique announcing the intention of the Directory to "increase production". With the complicity of the Socialist Party, Primo de Rivera has gradually achieved his aim of putting an end to all revolutionary workers' organisations. Persecution and imprisonment were the methods employed by the Government to attain its ends.

At present the unemployment crisis is exceedingly great. This crisis will no doubt increase in the near future as a result of the unemployment which is beginning to make itself felt in France and which is forcing great masses of workers to return to Spain. In addition to the large number of fully unemployed, there exists also a great number of workers on short time, who are only employed three or four days in the week. The industrial arbitration courts have at present more claims than ever on the part of workers demanding that the employers fulfil their working agreements. In a single month the arbitration court of Barcelona had 557 of such cases to deal with, that of Madrid 320.

By a decree recently issued by Primo de Rivero it is intended to give an official character to all workers' organisations. The decree regarding "National Corporative Organisation" is similar to that issued by Mussolini in April 1926, particularly as regards compulsory arbitration in cases of industrial disputes. The main purpose of this decree is to solve all labour questions by means of class collaboration, a plan which has already often been attempted in previous times. Thus in 1916, when Canalejas was Prime Minister, something similar was attempted after a strike of the Railway Workers. Later, in 1922 a decree was signed which provided for the setting up of a parity committee in Barcelona. But all these attempts failed owing to the strong opposition of the working class. In those days the Socialist Party and the reformist Trade Union Federation protested against the Government's proposals. The Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo, which was then very strong, succeeded in foiling the attempt by which "the workers' organisations are to be under the leadership of the employers in agreement with the Government".

Primo de Rivera's decree on this subject has been drawn up in response to suggestions by the Socialist Party. The Parity Committees to be set up under the decree will consist of five workers, five employers and a chairman appointed by the Government. The Parity Committees settle questions regarding working conditions as well as questions in dispute between individual workers or groups of workers and individual capitalists or groups of capitalists. They will also have to find methods in order to avoid labour struggles, or of bringing them to a conclusion should they break out. Article 16 of the decree provides that "in the event of a local Parity Committee not being able to act owing to systematic resistance by one of the two delegations, the Minister for Labour shall be empowered to appoint a new Parity Committee".

The Government wishes to provide against every possible danger. Article 43 states that "Should Parity Committees arrive

at decisions which, while not violating any legal enactment, are considered by the Government representative as threatening industrial interests, the latter shall be capable of rescinding them". Article 55 provides that "in the event of a Parity Committee adopting conclusions against public peace, the Government shall be empowered to recall members of the Parity Committee".

Parity Committees are only established for industrial workers. Peasants, employees and women are excluded. The sole aim of the Government in setting up these committees is to put an end to the workers' organisations, and it is therefore not interested in introducing them for those other classes of workers who are unorganised, which in Spain is the case with nearly all peasants, and all employees and women workers.

The significance of the decree consists in the fact that it is intended thereby to put an end to all strikes. By the introduction of the Parity Committees, Primo de Rivera wishes to enforce collaboration between workers and employers under the control of the Government. From now on workers will not be able to organise "legal" strikes, but will be compelled to submit all their questions to the Parity Committees. If workers should attempt to act independently of the Parity Committees' decisions, this will be considered by Primo de Rivera's government as a reason for instituting cruel persecutions.

Primo de Rivera has for long studied ways and means for putting an end to workers' organisations. After having closed down the trade unions with revolutionary tendencies, after having imprisoned the most prominent working class leaders, he thinks the moment favourable for the establishment of Parity Committees. The General Federation of Trade Unions (revolutionary) which on former occasions successfully opposed similar attempts on the part of the government, is at present in a state of disorder and confusion. It no longer exists as an organisation and therefore will not offer any opposition against the government's "National Corporation Organisation" decree.

When previous governments made attempts in past years to set up bodies similar to Primo de Rivera's Parity Committees, the Socialist Party and the U. G. T. conducted a strong campaign in opposition. At present they have not only not protested against this decree, but the General Secretary of the Socialist Party, Largo Caballero has participated in drawing it up. The decree is welcomed by the reformists as it provides them with an opportunity of realising "legally" the Party's policy of class collaboration which they were already conducting.

Immediately after the publication of the decree the U. G. T. convened a general meeting in order to appoint members for the Parity Committees. They acted precisely in the same way as did the Catholic trade unions and Martinez Anido's Free Trade Unions.

The military censorship does not allow the press to publish any article against the decree. The Organ of the Communist Party of Spain, "La Antorcha" ("The Torch"), was therefore not in a position to explain to the workers the significance of the decree.

The Spanish proletariat has experienced many acts of treachery on the part of the Socialist Party during Primo de Rivera's dictatorship. This Party is therefore losing all its prestige among the masses, so that the Communist Party, in spite of having to act illegally, is bound to increase its influence in the trade union movement.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Line of Policy of the Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Leading article from the "Pravda" of Feb. 13th 1927.

The leading Leninist staff of our Party, the Central Committee, has discussed a number of highly important questions in the struggle of our industry and internal politics. The resolutions of the Plenum of the C. C. with regard to the questions of the investment of capital, of the reduction of prices and of the elections to the Soviets should be read and studied by all Communists and advanced workers.

The chief historical attitude of our Party and of the whole working class of the Soviet Union is the trend towards industrialisation which is a decisive preliminary condition for a victorious socialist construction. In any given period of time, in any given economic year, our

task is to bring the advance along this main line into harmony with the material sources existing in the country, in such a way that the maximum of final profit for socialism may be ensured simultaneously with the consolidation of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. How much capital is to be allocated for reconstruction, whence the necessary means are to be taken, how they are to be distributed between the various branches of industry and the various economic fields, how many and what new factories are to be built and how the construction of new ones can be combined with the best economic results, with the support and consolidation, the improvement and enlargement of existing undertakings, at what rate they should be further developed — all these are highly complicated and extremely important questions of our policy for the application of capital.

The fact that in the present economic year we are in a position to allocate **one milliard one hundred million roubles** for the investment of capital (including electric plants), is a tremendous achievement, when we recall that we have only just screwed ourselves up to the pre-war level (and that is the "level" of a backward country), when we bear in mind that, in the course of many years in the past, our investment of capital has been at freezing point. An appropriate, wise economic application of our first milliard this year, will be a foundation for the addition of new hundreds of millions, new milliards to the first milliard in the years to come. It is easy to understand the special emphasis laid by the Plenum on the necessity of a general support and consolidation of the **metal industry** in our Soviet Union, which forms the heart of our socialist industry.

The questions of the **reduction of prices** (above all of retail prices, but also of wholesale prices), are being felt by the Party as central questions of our economic policy. The **task of tasks**, the real chief link in the chain, which we must tackle with every means in our power, is that of diminishing the discrepancy between these diverging lines, by exercising pressure on the industrial lever through the reduction of industrial prices. Needless to say, this task demands great efforts, exertion and clever manoeuvring on our part, for the first steps must be taken in the sphere of circulation, the tissues of which are extremely fine and intricate.

The difficulties, the obstinacy and the resistance which have to be grappled with, are of course very great. But was it not a great difficulty to oust the private trader from the traffic in goods as far as we have done up to the present? Was it easy for us to conquer the corn raising market? Has it been easy for us to stabilise the tchervonetz, to balance our foreign trade account, to overcome the difficulties of the past economic year? Nevertheless, we brought the necessary energy to bear in these fields. We must apply all the greater activity, all the greater energy to restoring our traffic in goods, to reducing prices. With the united forces of the industrial, Party and Labour organisations, we must, at any price, carry out the instructions of the C. C. to **reduce industrial prices by 10% before June 1st.**

Whilst the chief industrial question at the present moment is the question of prices, the chief task of our internal policy is that of carrying through successfully the **campaign for the election to the Soviets.**

In the election campaign, the interests of all classes and social groups of the Soviet Union come into conflict, in the campaign the relation between the class forces becomes evident and the class war develops in a special form. Our Party must steer its course towards a relation between the classes, and above all, between the "fundamental" classes of the Soviet Union — the proletariat and the peasantry — which will strengthen to the utmost the power of the proletarian State and the confidence of many millions of the working population. To consolidate the alliance with the working peasantry, to strengthen the block between the middle peasant and the poor peasant, to offer resistance to the Kulak and the Nep man, to reinforce the chief positions of the proletariat, to bring the Soviets nearer to the masses — this is our programme in the second "wide and open" election campaign.

The Plenum of the C. C. — the brain of our Party — has passed extremely important resolutions. Now, it is the turn of the whole Party to **speak**, or above all, to **act.** Instructions have been received; these instructions must now be carried out in a Bolshevik way.

TEN YEARS AGO

The Last Weeks of Tsarist Rule in Russia.

Only a few weeks separate us from the tenth anniversary of the overthrow of the Russian Tsarist monarchy, from the tenth anniversary of the Russian bourgeois "February revolution" (Feb. 27th old style — March 12th new style), which was followed a few months later by the victorious October revolution of the Russian proletariat.

We intend regularly to publish documents and material which throw light on the revolutionary development of the year 1917 in Russia. By way of introduction we publish to-day an article by Lenin in which he describes the international situation a few weeks before the February revolution. The article appeared in the Bolshevik organ "Social Democrat" on January 31st (February 13th) 1917.
Ed.

A Change in World Politics.

By N. Lenin.

A festive mood prevails in the camp of the pacifists. The virtuous bourgeoisie in the neutral countries are rejoicing: "We have enriched ourselves enough by war profits and by the rise of prices; is this not sufficient? Nothing more is to be made out of it anyhow, and the people might lose patience..."

Why should they not rejoice when "even" Wilson himself "paraphrases" the pacifist declaration passed by the Italian Socialist Party only recently in Kiental, an official and solemn resolution on the complete bankruptcy of social pacifism.

Is it any wonder that Turati triumphs in the "Avanti" over this new formulation of the pacifist phrases of the Italian "also-Socialists"? Is it any wonder that, in their "Le Populaire", the French Social Pacifists and Kautskyans amiably "associated" themselves with Turati and Kautsky? The latter published in the German Social Democratic Press five specially stupid pacifist articles, which naturally also "paraphrased" the gossip about a good democratic peace which events had brought into the foreground.

This gossip, however, is at present distinguished from former gossip in that it has a certain **objective** foundation. This foundation was created by the turn in world politics away from **imperialist war**, which has brought the greatest misery and distress on the people and the greatest betrayal of socialism by **Plechanov, Albert Thomas, Legien, Scheidemann** etc. to **imperialist peace**, which is destined to bestow on the peoples the greatest treachery by means of honeyed words, half reforms, small partial concessions etc.

This turn is now taking place.

We cannot at present know — even the leaders of the imperialist policy themselves, the kings of finance and the crowned robbers are not in a position to determine exactly — just when this imperialist peace will come, what changes will take place in the arena of war in the meantime, and what will be the details of the peace. That, however, is not important. What is important is the **fact** that the turn towards peace has been made: what is important, is the **essential character** of this peace: these two factors, however, are already clear enough thanks to the development of events up to the present.

The 29 months of the war have offered sufficient opportunity for determining the resources of the two imperialist Coalitions; all, or almost all possible allies from the circle of the "immediate neighbours" of any appreciable size have been drawn into the slaughter; the forces of the armies and navies have been tested and re-tested, measured and remeasured. Financial capital has made milliards out of it: the mountain of war debts shows what will be the dimensions of the tribute which the proletariat and the non-possessing masses will now have to pay to the international bourgeoisie for decades on end for having been graciously permitted to kill millions of their brother wage slaves in war and to help divide up the imperialist booty.

It is not possible, by means of the present war, to skin the wage-earning beast any further. This is one of the most deep-seated economic foundations of the present turn of world politics. It cannot be carried on any longer, because the resources are becoming exhausted. The American milliardaires and their younger brothers in Holland, Switzerland, Denmark

and the other neutral countries are beginning to notice that the sources are becoming exhausted. The American milliardaires of neutral pacifism is based and not on noble humane sentiments, as is believed by those naive, pitiful, ridiculous fellows Turati, Kautsky & Co.

At the same time, the discontent and indignation of the masses is increasing. In our last number (of the "Social Democrat", the organ of the Bolsheviki — Ed.), we published expressions of opinion by Gutschkov and Helfferich, which show that both of them are in terror of a revolution. Has not the time come to put an end to the first imperialist slaughter?

Thus, the objective conditions which are urging towards the cessation of war, are supplemented by the influence of the class instinct and class calculation of the bourgeoisie which has enriched itself by war profits. The political turn, which is based on this economic turn, is taking two main directions; victorious Germany is wresting from England, her arch-enemy, the latter's allies, on the one hand because the heaviest blows are falling (and may still fall), not on England herself but just on these allies, and on the other hand because German imperialism, which has carried off any amount of loot, is in the position to make partial concessions to England's allies.

It is possible, however, that a separate peace has been concluded between Germany and Russia. It is only the form which has been changed in the political bargaining between these two robbers. The Tsar may have said to Wilhelm: "If I publicly sign a separate peace, you, oh most august partner to the treaty, will have to deal by to-morrow with a Miliukov-Gutschkov Government, if not one headed by Miliukov and Kerensky. For the revolution is growing and I hold myself in no way responsible for the army, in which the generals are in correspondence with Gutschkov, and in which the officers of to-day were, for the greater part, students but yesterday. Is it worth while exposing ourselves to the danger of my losing my throne and you losing a good partner to the treaty?"

Wilhelm could not but answer "Of course it would not pay", if such a question were put to him directly or indirectly. "What would be the value to us of a public separate peace or of any peace which is merely written on paper? Cannot we achieve the same end with other and finer means? I will turn openly to the whole of mankind and offer to bestow on them the benefits of peace? I shall whisper to the French that I am prepared to give back the whole or almost the whole of France and Belgium, in return for the "just" concession of their colonies in Africa, — and to the Italians that they may count on a "morsel" of the Italian soil of Austria plus a scrap of the Balkans. I am in a position to let the peoples know of my proposals and plans. — Will the English in that case be able any longer to hold back their allies in Western Europe? And then you and I will divide between us Roumania, Galicia and Armenia; but Constantinople, oh most august brother, you will never have, Poland, oh most august brother, will never be yours."

It is impossible to know whether such a conversation has taken place. This, however, is not essential. What is essential is, that this is exactly how events have happened. Even if the Tsar did not listen to the arguments of the German diplomats, the "arguments" of the Mackensen army in Roumania must all the more have made an impression on him.

In the German imperialist Press the plan of dividing up Roumania between Russia and the "Quadruple Alliance" (i. e. between Germany's allies, Austria and Bulgaria) is already being discussed openly! And the loquacious Herve is already telling tales out of school: We shall not be able to persuade the people to go on fighting if they hear that we can have back Belgium and France at once. The pacifist blockheads of the neutral bourgeoisie have also been "set in motion": Wilhelm has loosened their tongues! And the pacifist sages among the socialists, Turati in Italy, Kautsky in Germany, etc. etc. are jumping out of their skins for joy and are calling into use all their humanity, their love of mankind, their supernatural virtue and their eminent intelligence to beautify the coming imperialist peace.

How beautiful is everything in this best of all worlds! We, the kings of finance and crowned robbers, have become involved in an imperialist policy of robbery, and we are forced to carry on a war. Well, is there anything bad in that? We shall enrich ourselves no less in war than in peace, indeed a

good deal more. And lackeys to announce that our war is a "war for freedom", we have in abundance, all these Plechanovs, Albert Thomas', Legiens, Scheidemanns etc. are at our disposal.

Will the time come when we shall have to conclude an imperialist peace? Well, what harm is there in that? War debts are that kind of obligation which guarantee our sacred right to collect tribute to a hundredfold from our peoples. There are simple-minded people enough to beautify this imperialist peace, to deceive the peoples by honeyed words, as many as we want, even if it be only the Turatis and Kautskys and the other "leaders of international socialism".

That is just the tragi-comedy of the attitude of Turati and Kautsky, that they do not realise the actual objective, political part which they play. They play the part of parsons who console the peoples instead of rousing them to revolution, they play the part of bourgeois lawyers who, with specious words on all kinds of good things in general and on democratic peace in particular, cloak, conceal and decorate the horrible nakedness of the imperialist peace which traffics with peoples and dismembers countries.

In this we see the fundamental unity between the social chauvinists (Plechanov and Scheidemann) and the social pacifists (Turati and Kautsky), that both are objectively servants of imperialism: the former "serve" it by beautifying imperialist war with the idea of "defence of the fatherland"; the latter serve the same imperialism by beautifying the imperialist peace which is being prepared and is approaching maturity with phrases about democratic peace.

The imperialist bourgeoisie needs lackeys of both sorts and both shades: it needs the Plechanovs to promote the continuation of the slaughter by cries of: "Down with the conquerors!" and it needs the Kautskys in order to console and calm the unduly indignant masses by fulsome hymns in praise of peace.

For this reason the union of the social chauvinists of all countries with the social pacifists, that general "conspiracy against socialism", of which a proclamation of the International Socialist Commission in Berne speaks, that "general amnesty" of which we have often spoken — will be no coincidence but an expression of the fundamental unity of these two groups of international "also-Socialists". It is no coincidence that Plechanov screams himself hoarse over the "treachery" of the Scheidemanns but at the same time hints at peace and unity with these gentlemen when the time is ripe.

But — the reader may argue — we must not forget that an imperialist peace "is in any case better" than an imperialist war. That "possibly" "parts" of the programme of the democratic peace might be realised, if not the whole. That an independent Poland would be better than a Russian Poland. That it would be an advance if Austria's Italian territory were joined to Italy.

The defenders of Turati and Kautsky take cover behind such considerations without noticing that they are turning from revolutionary Marxists into quite ordinary bourgeois Reformists.

Can anybody in his senses deny that the Germany of Bismarck with his social laws is "better" than the Germany of 1848? That the Stolypin reforms are "better" than Russia before 1905? Did, however, the German social democrats (who still were Social Democrats at that time) for this reason vote for Bismarck's reforms? Were the reforms of Stolypin beautified or even supported by the Russian Social Democrats, apart of course from Potressov, Maslov & Co., from whom now even Martov, a member of their own party, turns away with disgust?

History does not stand still during a counter-revolution. History went on during the imperialist slaughter of 1914 to 1916, which was a continuation of the imperialist policy of the decades which had preceded it. World capitalism, which in the sixties and seventies of last centuries was a progressive force of free competition and which, at the beginning of the twentieth century grew into monopolist capitalism, i. e. into imperialism, made a considerable step forward during the war, not only towards a greater concentration of financial capital but also in that it turned into State capitalism. The force of national connections, the significance of national sympathies has, for instance, been shown in this war by the behaviour of the Irish in the one imperialist Coalition and of the Czechs in the other. The clear-headed leaders of imperialism say to themselves: We cannot of course realise our object without throttling the small peoples. There are, however, two ways of realising this policy of throttling them up. There are cases in which it is more

advantageous and more expedient to gain sincere and honest "defenders of the fatherland" in an imperialist war by creating States which are politically independent, while "we" take good care that they are financially dependent! It is more advantageous (in the case of a serious war of the imperialist Powers) to be allies of an independent Bulgaria than to be rulers of a dependent Ireland. The carrying out of national reforms which are badly needed, may at times consolidate an imperialist coalition internally. This circumstance is, for instance, taken rightly into consideration by Karl Renner, one of the particularly contemptible lackeys of German imperialism — a hero of course, who is in favour of the "unity" of the Social Democratic parties in general and of unity with Scheidemann and Kautsky in particular.

The objective course of things demands justice, and just as the executioners of the revolutions of 1848 and 1905 were, in a certain sense, the executors of their wills also, the directors of the imperialist slaughter are forced to carry out certain national reforms, certain reforms in State capitalism. Further, the masses who are roused to indignation by war and the high costs of living, must be soothed by small concessions; why should they not be promised "disarmament"? (Which might partially be carried through — it involves no obligations!). War is a "branch of industry", somewhat like forestry; it takes some decades for the trees to grow high enough... i. e. to provide sufficient adult "cannonfodder". And let us hope that in the course of decades new Plechanovs, new Scheidemanns, new fulsome mediators of the Kautsky type will grow up in the bosom of the "united" international Social Democracy.

The bourgeois Reformists and pacifists are people who, as a rule, are paid in some form or other, for consolidating the rule of capitalism by patching it up, for stupefying the masses of the people and diverting their thoughts from the revolutionary fight. If such "leaders" of socialism as Turati and Kautsky, by means of direct statements (a statement of this kind "escaped from the lips" of Turati in his unfortunately famous speech of December 17th, 1916) or by means of silence (in which Kautsky is a passed master) put the idea into the heads of the masses that a democratic peace might grow out of the present imperialist war, while the bourgeois Governments still continue to exist, without a revolutionary insurrection against the whole system of imperialist world conditions, — it is our duty to declare that preaching of this kind is a deception of the people, that it has nothing in common with socialism, that it leads to beautifying the imperialist peace.

We are in favour of democratic peace. And, just for this reason, we do not want to lie to the peoples as — of course with the best intentions and the most virtuous motives — Kautsky and Turati lie. We will tell the truth; a democratic peace is impossible unless the revolutionary proletariat of France, England, Germany and Russia overthrow their Governments. We consider it the greatest stupidity if revolutionary Social Democrats suddenly abandon the fight for reforms as a whole, including that for "the reconstruction of the State". Just now, however, Europe is passing through a time when it is more than ever necessary to remember the truth that reforms are by-products of the revolutionary class war. For the solution of great historical questions is now on the order of the day — not by our will, not through any plans, but as the result of the objective course of events — questions which must be solved by the direct application of force by the masses to create a new foundation, and not by bargaining on the basis of the old and decaying one.

Just at the present time, when the ruling bourgeoisie is preparing peaceably to disarm millions of proletarians and — under the cover of a fine sounding ideology and while sprinkling them with the holy water of nauseous pacifist phrases — to remove them without danger from the stinking, muddy trenches, where they have served as instruments of murder, into the prisons of the capitalist factories, where they will have to work off by "honest work" the national debts which run into hundreds of milliards — just now the slogan: "Convert imperialist war into a civil war for socialism", with which our Party appealed to the people in the autumn of 1914, has much more significance than at the beginning of the war. Karl Liebknecht, when condemned to imprisonment, identified himself with this slogan when he said from the platform of the Reichstag: "Turn your guns against your class enemies within the country!" Just

the war, in which the harnessing of the forces of the people compelled the Government to regulate, from one single centre, the whole economic life of more than 50 millions, shows how ripe present-day society has become for the transition to socialism. If this is possible under the leadership of a handful of aristocratic Junkers in the interest of a handful of financial magnates, it will certainly be no less possible under the leadership of class-conscious workers in the interest of nine tenths of the population who are exhausted through starvation and war.

In order to be able to lead the masses, the class-conscious workers must realise the whole rottenness of such leaders of socialism as are Turati, Kautsky & Co. These gentlemen fancy themselves as revolutionary Social Democrats and are highly indignant if they are told that their place is in the party of Messrs Bissolati, Scheidemann, Legien & Co. Turati and Kautsky, however, have not the least understanding for the fact that only the revolution of the masses is capable of solving the great questions which are on the order of the day; they have not the slightest faith in the revolution, they are not in the least interested in how the revolution is maturing through the war in the consciousness and the attitude of mind of the masses. Their attention is concentrated solely on reforms, on the haggling between the separate sections of the ruling classes; it is to them that they appeal, it is they whom they wish to "persuade", it is to them that they wish to adapt the Labour Movement.

It is of chief importance that the class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat should concentrate its thoughts and its forces on the revolutionary fight, on the overthrow of the Government in its own country. There are no such revolutions as those which Turati and Kautsky "are prepared" to recognise, in which it is possible to foretell when the revolution will break out and what are its prospects of victory. A revolutionary situation actually exists in Europe. Great discontent, fermentation and indignation prevail among the masses. Revolutionary Social Democracy must concentrate all its forces on re-inforcing this current. It will depend on the force of the revolutionary movement how much of the "promised" reforms are realised, and whether these reforms are of any value at all for the further fight of the working class. Should the revolutionary movement be successful, the victory of socialism in Europe and the realisation, not of an imperialist armistice between the war of Germany against Russia and England and a war of Russia and Germany against England or a war of the United States against Germany and England etc., but of a really permanent and really democratic peace will depend on the force of this revolutionary movement.

THE WHITE TERROR

Dangerously Wounded while "Trying to Escape".

(Letter from Sibin.)

By Timescu.

A short report in the Transylvanian newspapers, drawn up by the Siguranza, stated that the well-known proletarian writer M. Kahana, together with his fellow accused Josef Fonagy, was wounded by the guard whilst trying to escape: Kahana, who was dangerously wounded had to be conveyed to the military hospital.

Kahana, a talented young proletarian writer, left Vienna, to which city he had emigrated to get out of the way of the Horthy bands, and went to Roumania, of which country he is a subject. From the very beginning he was a thorn in the flesh of the police agents, and last year he was arrested on some very paltry pretext. The court-martial at Cluj condemned him — as he manfully declared that he was a Communist — to five years' imprisonment, and a similar sentence was passed upon his fellow-accused, Josef Fonagy, though against him, too, no positive accusation could be made. The accused appealed against the sentence; the higher court reversed the unfounded judgement and instructed the court-martial at Sibin to re-try the case.

The apparent "leniency" of this decision was suspicious, for under the military regime in Roumania a rabid persecution

of all Communists had set in. The accused were taken to the military prison at Sibir, where they were terribly maltreated.

The day of the trial came and the "attempted escape" had not yet been staged.

The court-martial was especially hard worked on this day. Early in the morning there began a criminal case against several officers charged with theft of agrarian property. The gentlemen had embezzled the purchase price of 30 wagon loads of oats, a nice sum, and it gave the court-martial a great deal of trouble to clear the characters of their colleagues. Naturally, they were all acquitted; only a non-commissioned officer was found guilty.

However, this trial occupied the whole of the day, and it was ten in the evening before the second case, the trial of the Communists, could be dealt with. The young workers: Davidovici, Demetrovic, Fekete and comrades were at first sentenced by the court each to three years' imprisonment for carrying on Communist propaganda. After five minutes' deliberation the court returned and passed sentence: "The prisoners have been found guilty and are each sentenced to nine years' imprisonment with hard labour."

They were conducted back to prison during the night. In the unlighted streets the guard remained a good way behind. None of the prisoners, however, attempted to escape, because all of them knew that the whole of the road to the prison was posted with detectives, who were only waiting for the signal to shoot them.

The case against Kahana and his comrades was fixed for the next day. After waiting the whole day the accused had to return to the military prison late in the evening. The guard remained well behind in the dark streets. The two soldiers with bayonets were known to Kahana and Fonagy, for they had often escorted them. But why were they so silent? Why did they not respond to the usual questions? Suddenly the four arrived at a dark street corner, where nobody was to be seen in the neighbourhood. A shot rang out; one of the soldiers had fired at Kahana at close quarters. The unhappy man collapsed with a loud cry; the bullet had shattered his leg. Comrade Fonagy was scared and bolted from his pursuers, who had hit him twice, and hid in a doorway.

The badly wounded Kahana was taken to the military hospital. His wound had hardly been dressed before the military counsel appeared and wrote out a protocol with the poor victim to the effect that he was shot "while trying to escape". His left foot was to be amputated in an hour, for the shot at such close range had not only smashed the bone but torn the flesh to ribbons. When the wounded man had signed the protocol, a Fascist captain entered the military hospital and protested against attention being given in a military hospital to a Communist. Kahana, together with Fonagy, has now been transferred to the prison hospital, where there are none of the requisites for the care of the sick.

To characterise the story it should be added that the two soldiers, who had so correctly executed the murderous order, were promoted on the same day and presented with a considerable sum of money. In this manner, the principal trial was not held; the *siguranza* and the military had relieved their colleagues of the tiresome job.

The Trial of the Young Communists of Plevna.

By P. Pro-ski worker.

Plevna, Feb. 4th 1927.

Letter to the "Inprecorr".

A trial of young Communists has taken place at Plevna (Bulgaria). It lasted two days. Nine young comrades were accused of alleged conspiracy, 76 persons were called as witnesses. In the legal proceedings it became evident that the accused had been subjected to cruel tortures and terrible inquisition. It was pointed out, as had already been done by the newspapers, that one of the accused, a schoolboy named Dimiter Totev, had died in the National Hospital in Plevna in consequence of the cruel tortures inflicted on him by the police.

The deed of accusation contained the "confessions", which had been extorted by ill-treatment, according to which they had buried Fetko Iliev, a freebooter, who had been killed. They had

been intimidated by threats to bury them alive unless they confessed. The whole accusation is built up on the evidence of informers and on the "confessions" extorted from them during twenty days of torture.

How cruelly they were treated is shown by the fact that when Dimiter Totev-Janey, who was seriously injured, lay in Cell 7, his fellow-prisoners were strictly forbidden to give him any help.

The young accused were brought into the Court loaded with heavy chains, the rattling of which roused great indignation.

In view of the absolute absence of evidence, nothing but an acquittal was to be expected, but the judge passed a severe class verdict.

Of the nine accused, Stoiko Sabotinov, Ivan Varbanov and Georgi Christoff were sentenced to five years' imprisonment each (on the basis of Article 2 of the Law for the Protection of the State), Minko St. Russenoff and Ivan D. Pangoff, being miners, to three and a half years each; the others were acquitted.

During the proceedings the accused were earnest and dignified in their behaviour and made a deep impression on those present.

When the public prosecutor protested against the acquittal of the four and demanded that they be kept under arrest, the accused with one accord cried: "Down with Fascist justice!" When the public prosecutor expressed his indignation, they sang the "International". All the accused were immediately taken back to prison and they strode out of the Court boldly, with heads erect in the consciousness of the high aim their fight was serving.

Those present were roused to indignation by the verdict, for the proceedings had revealed the complete innocence of the accused.

The families of the accused, who were entirely dependent on them, are in great distress.

Instead of proceeding to revoke the shameful law for the Protection of the State and to proclaim a general amnesty, the prisons are being filled with more and more new prisoners, victims of the White Terror and class justice.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Working Women!

Take your Place in the Front against the Offensive of World Capital!

By Hertha Sturm.

The world is in a state of war. In the East — the scene of conflagration of the revolution in China, the insurrection in Indonesia! Against Soviet Russia — the front of the capitalist Powers under the leadership of England! In every single bourgeois State — an embittered class fight between capital and labour! Along the whole line, the bourgeoisie has entered on a new offensive against the proletariat. The more uncertain the possibilities of making profit in the colonies become, the smaller the markets, the sharper is the spur which drives capital to rescue its profits by increased exploitation of its "own" workers. The flag under which the intensified exploitation sails all over the world, is that of rationalisation. Behind rationalisation stands new misery for the masses. As is always the case, capital, which takes the line of least resistance, hits hardest those who are economically and socially the weakest — the women.

Rationalisation in England means for the defeated miners, a new, an eighth hour of work. For the miners' wives, whose husbands and sons work in different shifts, it means two hours added to their working day which was already about 16 hours, it means their being robbed of an hour's sleep morning and evening. Rationalisation means that 100—200 thousand miners are still locked out and receive absolutely no unemployment benefit for themselves and their families, because the coal magnates misrepresent the present lock-out as a strike for which the workers are responsible. Rationalisation means a severe crisis, which has already set in, in the cotton industry, which will hit tens of thousands of women workers because the colonial slaves in India work even more cheaply than they do.

Rationalisation in Germany means 1,745,000 officially registered unemployed, "superfluous" hands in the factories who,

with a benefit at the rate of half their wages, cannot keep their families from distress. The proposed graduation of the unemployment benefit according to wages means that the woman worker, who already has experience in starving thanks to her low wages, will, if possible, have to get out of the habit of eating altogether, with her still lower benefit. The most accommodating objects of exploitation, chosen by the capitalist — and as such he employs with preference women and children in large numbers — are sweated to the utmost by the murderous conditions of work; the only possession of the slave chained to his machine — his power of work, is undermined and destroyed by circulating tables and endless chains, piece work and the system of being driven to work against time with a stop-watch; by one person serving twenty-four looms of the most modern construction at the same time — whilst the hours of work are not reduced or are even prolonged and the pay is not even enough to compensate for the force exhausted, the entire absence of measures of protection and recreation. Reports are already accumulating of the epidemic occurrence of certain diseases of the nerves among women workers in consequence of the pressure put on them at their work.

In Czecho-Slovakia unemployment and short-time work — above all in textile industry — are as chronic an evil as in Austria and Poland. In the industry district of Lodz alone, 23,000 persons were unemployed in September. No one counts the unemployed women. They are crossed off the lists of those entitled to live because, according to the law under rationalisation, not more than one member of any family has a claim to unemployment benefit. At the same time, an interpellation made by the Communist fraction in the Seim has revealed that in the textile factories in Lodz, hundreds of women workers are working day and nights in 10 and 12 hour shifts, even 16 hours a day in the spinning mills of Geier, in direct contradiction to the clear wording of the law. The Fascist Government organs however snap their fingers at it by acquitting the employers who have been proved guilty of breaking the law!

Even in America, the land of victory, the masses of workers experience the "Ford system" not as a dollar benefit but as a growing pressure on their standard of living. In Passaic, 16,000 textile workers were on strike for 8 months, more than half of them being women, because the employers docked their wages by 10%, although even at it was, they were not enough to support life though man, wife and children worked full time.

As is done in the factories, the capitalists are "rationalising" their administrative committee, the State, at the cost of the workers, even in the social and cultural domain, by using the material pressure for crushing the working masses and gagging them politically.

International trust capital, in alliance with the agrarians and supported by the customs and taxation policy of the Governments, is increasing the price of the most urgent articles of necessity of the masses from week to week. In Czecho-Slovakia, the new customs and taxation laws mean an increased outlay of about 20 crowns for food alone for an average working class family, whilst the total wages of a worker amount to 150 to 200 crowns.

In England allowances for the poor have been cut down; they have been the last resort of the unemployed who was receiving no benefit and of those who were locked out. The "freest democracy in the world" began even during the miners' struggle to stop giving means and credits for the proletarian municipalities in the poorest districts such as West Ham and Chester-le-Street and by removing guardians of the poor who had been elected by the masses, alleging that they were too extravagant in distributing benefits.

In Czecho-Slovakia the following provisions are made in the State Budget for 1927: maternity and child welfare — nothing; social insurance: 5.8 millions; unemployment benefit: 10.8 millions. For military purposes on the other hand 1935 millions, i. e. twice as much as for the unemployed and four times as much as for social insurance!

In Germany, the bourgeois Block in the Reichstag has just rejected the Bill brought in by the Communists for the extensive care of mothers and children, in its second reading. At the same time the representatives of class medicine at the Leipzig Medical Congress are demanding that the State should forbid by law, under pain of punishment, not only artificial abortion but the prevention of conception.

The housing crisis is becoming more acute in all countries. Rents are rising above the pre-war level, tenants' protection

is being reduced. Those unable to pay, in Germany, are being brutally evicted if they are only one month in arrears with their rent. The poorest of the poor are camping out in caves, stables, under archways, in barges, in disused furniture waggons and the entrances to houses.

Any protest, any resistance to exploitation and suppression on the part of the working masses, meets with the brutal resistance of the bourgeoisie. Their weapons are rubber-clubs and bombs of weeping gas for the strike pickets of the working women — imprisonment for pregnant women and mothers of infants, censorship and suppression of the Press of the class-conscious working women, banishment, torture and murder of the best revolutionary women leaders of the masses of women. The chief blow of the bourgeoisie is systematically directed against the class organisations of the proletariat — the trade unions in the first place — and their advanced guard, the Communist Party.

This should be a hint to the working masses as to how they should organise their defence and their counter-offensive. The individual worker of either sex or wife of a worker is impotent against the international front of capital which is clear as to its aim and firmly built up. The task of the day for the masses, especially for the working women is union into strong class organisations of the proletariat, nationally and internationally. As the main front of the fight between capital and labour is at the seat of production, in the factory, the elementary vital interests of the women workers demand that they join with their class brothers in the factory and become members of the trade unions. The women workers must, in common with the workers, defend their strongest weapon, the trade unions, with tooth and nail, against the employers, the State and Fascism, as has been done by the textile workers in Passaic, the workers in Italy and in the Balkans. They must help to forge this weapon in spite of trusts and Reformism, to that it may descend sharply and heavily on the heads of their opponents — as is now being done in the trade union minority movement in England, where hundreds of scattered trade unions are being welded together into huge industrial associations.

The special task of the working women is to make a breach in the faithful tradition of the want of organisation of the women workers, which is revealed in a classic way in the fact that in England, among 5½ millions of women workers and employed in industry, only 300,000 are organised in trade unions and affiliated to the Congress. They must fight against the guild regulations which make it difficult or impossible for women workers to join trade unions. They must withdraw the masses of working women from the influence of thousands of bourgeois and Fascist women's organisations. Nowadays every working woman ought to belong to an organisation. If she is not at work herself, she can and ought nevertheless to take part in the class war in an organised form. Women's meetings of delegates, the co-operatives, the Red Aid and the Workers International Relief, organisations of tenants and war victims, trade union women's guilds, the proletarian women's organisations, the peasants' leagues, offer a wide field for representing their class demands and for actively supporting the great struggle of the workers, as has been proved by experience, especially in the British miners' strike. The broad masses of all workers must form a united front. All class organisations of the workers and of the small peasantry should group themselves round the trade unions and work hand in hand with them.

Let every working woman join the trade unions so that they may be strengthened and revolutionised! Let every woman member of a trade union be a fighter against the offensive of capital and for national and international trade union unity! This should be the battle cry of the millions of working women in the class war against world capital on the International Women's Day!

Women's Day 1927 and the British Working Women.

By Catherine Cant.

Moscow, February 15, 1927.

Women's Day 1926 was celebrated in Great Britain in the eager expectation of great events. For the active Left wing led by the Communist Party, the whole atmosphere, in spite of the sabotage of the leaders of the Labour movement, was one of preparation. For the Communist Party women, the holding of

a very successful delegate meeting at Mansfield to prepare for the strike was one of the most notable achievements of the campaign. The minds of the whole working class were turned towards the impending crisis in the coal industry.

Since last women's Day almost a year has elapsed, and once more we are looking towards and preparing for March 8th. The past year has been full of lessons for the working class women of Great Britain as to the part they can play and the necessity for their participation in the class struggle. Its history contains many lessons for the Communist Party in its work among women. Now, in preparing for another women's day we look over these events and weigh up their lessons for the future.

In the General Strike and the Miners' struggle the women of the British working class played a very important role. The General Strike had the effect of awakening many thousands of them to the facts of the class struggle. The activity with which they rallied to the support of the miners and the disgust and anger which the betrayal of the General Strike by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress caused among them and the numbers of them that have come into the Party and working class organisations are proofs of this.

The wives of the miners in every district took leading part in many strike activities — in feeding, relief, demonstrations against inadequate poor law relief, in mass picketing, etc. In some cases the pressure of the struggle crystallized these activities into new organisational forms — Women's Trade Union Auxiliaries or Guilds of the miners' wives which were formed to draw the women closer to the trade union and systematise their activities. In some places these have become permanent organisations.

The strikes have also taught women a new appreciation of the value of the co-operative movement as an extremely important weapon of the class struggle. Up till now, except in the women's guilds whose activities are mainly educational, women have not taken a great part in the direction of the co-operative movement. It is a fact, however, that of the 4,400,000 members of the Co-operative Societies in Great Britain, according to A. Barnes M. P., 70% or over 3,000,000 are women. Many of these women, wives of trade unionists must have realised during the General Strike the necessity for a close working alliance between the trade unions and the Co-operative Movement.

Though the strikes have awakened great numbers of British working class women to their part in the struggle, great masses of work are still left to be done among them. The first women's Trade Union Conference held at Bournemouth in September 1926 revealed the fact that out of 5,500,000 women engaged in industrial work in Great Britain less than 300,000 were members of trade unions affiliated to the Trade Union Congress. This appalling situation was met by the bureaucracy in the true spirit of reformism. At the Conference a set agenda was laid down, no resolutions were accepted from the Conference, the discussion was led along well worn paths by the platform, and the question was finally dismissed with a resolution and a "pious hope" to quote Ellen Wilkinson, "that women would some day be organised".

Signs were not wanting that this sort of conference had ceased to be effective or to content the Trade Union women of Great Britain.

The Communist Party has many activities of working women this year. Its women members in the mining areas especially have been the leaders of the militant women. Among the miners' wives they organised mass picketing, demonstrations, feeding, etc. They have placed themselves at the head of the activities started by the lock out and are now working to consolidate one miners' union for the next fight. Last Women's Day, the female membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain stood at 600, today it is about 3,000. This great increase, mostly consisting of miners' wives, shows as nothing else can, how the women appreciated the leadership of the Communist Party during the struggle.

Not only the women of Great Britain but the women of the whole world have, in the past year, grown conscious of the importance of the working woman and of the wife of the worker in the fight. The fight of the British miners has drawn closer the international relations of the working class. In all countries the minds of working class women have been stirred by the accounts in their press of the horrible conditions of work, the starvation wages and the sufferings of the miners' wives and their active part in the fight. They have transformed their interest and sympathy into international solidarity action on behalf of their

suffering sisters, led by the action of the workers of Soviet Russia. It was not the fault of the women of the international working class that their action was not strong enough to gain the victory for the miners. The traitorous betrayal and the sabotage of all help by the reformist bureaucracy is responsible for that. The women of the working class over the whole world must see to it that when the next fight comes, the proletariat is led not by the tools of the master class but by class conscious members of the working class, who will see that no section of their class leaves another alone in the field to be beaten.

The end of the lock-out has left the women of the British working class facing a situation which is black with misfortune for them. The miners have been driven back to starvation wages, to unemployment (for from 200,000 to 500,000 are still without work and have been denied all unemployment relief) to the mercy of parish relief and to extra hours of work. Their wives must bear the worst of this.

The government, meanwhile is preparing new attacks on the standards of the other workers. The cost of living is rising. Unemployment is increasing. Attacks are being prepared and have already been made on the wages and conditions of the textile workers in the Wollen Industry. The railmen's wives are faced with reductions in wages and the old security of the railwaymen's conditions of work is apparently lost. In Parliament the fight against the workers' standard of life goes on strongly, imposing ever new burdens on the women of the working class. The new Factory Bill permitting women and children from 14 years upwards to work as many as 55 and 57 hours weekly, imposing shift work and the possibility of overtime permanently on women, nullifying many provisions for the betterment of conditions, takes factory legislation back beyond the previous Bill of 1901. The government has threatened and the King's speech at the opening of Parliament definitely foreshadows the bringing forward of measures directed against trade unionism. Depriving the unemployed of their civil rights is also threatened. The government has thrown away all pretence in its dealings with the workers. Having forced the miners to surrender it is determined to club the other workers into equal submission.

The workers of Great Britain are not so beaten and cowed down by their late betrayal and defeat as the master class evidently believes. In spite of all the machinations of the government, in spite of the workings of the reformist traitors who with the cry of "class peace" on their lips, are seeking in alliance with the masters to rivet the chains more firmly on the workers, the fighting spirit of the British workers is not dead.

A great protest has arisen from all sections of their movement against the strangling of the Chinese revolution. This protest is being rallied by the Communist Party and by the Left wing movement, to strengthen it must be the main objective of the campaigns for this Women's Day.

The women of the Communist Party and those of the Labour movement must mobilise the whole nation to the slogan "Hands off China", "Down with Imperialist War", — and not only must they protest against the imperialist intervention in China, but they must face the question of colonial oppression and demand that the cruel exploitation of women in the colonies shall cease.

Women must be mobilised not only to the support of China and of the Colonial nations, but they must be roused to protest against the war plans of the capitalist nations against Soviet Russia. Naturally the downfall of Soviet Russia is the most desired aim of the capitalists of all lands. Its very existence is a threat and warning to them. We must teach all working class women that their own future is bound up with the triumph of Soviet Russia, that if that country is conquered, the hopes of the entire working class are conquered too.

The events of the last year have taught us that for women to act effectually in support of such slogans, organisation is the first necessity and the crying need of the present moment in Great Britain is the organisation of the working women in industry into their trade unions. Every woman must be enrolled in the Union, — every working woman must become an active class-war fighter.

This Women's Day we must begin this work making every working woman a trade unionist, mobilising all working women, each to their own place in the army of labour to work and fight for the realisation of our slogans "Hands off China", "Hands off Soviet Russia", "Down with imperialist war and colonial oppression."