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## Chamberlain's Note to the Soviet Government.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of February 25, 1927.

In recent times there has appeared, in close connection with that bitter campaign against the Soviet Union which has been conducted by the "die-hard" wing of the Conservative Party, a certain tension in the relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. It depended upon those who really conduct the foreign policy of Great Britain, upon the responsible leaders of the government of Great Britain to give a turn to the bad relations between the two countries in order to steer them into calm water and convert them into normal, actual relations. Meanwhile, the Note of Austen Chamberlain, which is published in today's "Pravda", the mere fact of the handing over of the accusatory Note, which contains a whole number of impermissible expressions and even threats against our government, proves that the British government has taken a swing in the direction of worsening and not improving the relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

Let us seek to determine the nature and the political significance of the British Note.

The Note of Austen Chamberlain undoubtedly differs in a certain manner from similar documents with which the British government has operated against us hitherto.

This time the Note is not based upon deliberately false documents of the nature of the equally remarkable as illfamed "Zinoviev letter". It would have been futile, apart from other considerations, to continue along the "curve" of forgeries and, by means of any fraudulent and fabricated "letter" to raise a cloud of dust. For now nobody — and before all nobody in Great Britain itself — believes in "Zinoviev letters". The Note of Chamberlain therefore directly shows to a certain extent, the bankruptcy of the former "method of procedure" towards us.

But this in no way means that the British Note can claim to have that intrinsic substantiality which is obligatory for important documents passing between the great States of the world.

The British Note contains not a single concrete accusation, not a single concrete revelation, not a single concrete fact which would prove an infringement on our part of the conditions of the existing treaties between the two countries. The British Note contains nothing whatever of these things.

On the other hand, the British Note, which bears the character of a "discussion", contains carefully selected extracts from speeches by leaders of the C. P. S. U., from articles from

our press, from reports at Party Conferences and sessions of the Communist International. At the same time great importance is lent to the statements of our People's Commissar for Public Health, and in the annals of international history there is registered the fact that the publishers of the "Communications of the Central Executive Committee" (Isvestya) do not pay taxes. All this is decorated with jokes of a feeble character, which by no means bring credit to the followers of Charles Dickens, and with pinpricks, as for instance the "nervous mind of Chicherin", which involuntarily compels one to think that the nerves of Austen Chamberlain himself are not always functioning in harmony with his brain in a proper manner.

The Note of course treats the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C. P. S. U. and the Soviet government as one and the same body. We do not wish to refute for the thousandth time this petty-bourgeois wisdom. In any event the accusation that the C. P. S. U. and the Soviet government are "one and the same" is as silly as would be the accusation that the British Cabinet is identical with the Conservative Party, and that all the actions of the latter are to be treated as acts of the former.

No matter how one may turn the extracts from the speeches quoted in the Note, it is impossible to draw from them the conclusion that the Soviet government is "making" the world revolution, that it is "creating" the Chinese revolution, that it is "making" the British strike etc. When our leaders declare, let us say, that a powerful revolutionary movement is developing in China which is directed against imperialism, then they are only recording the existence of an objective historical process, but are by no means creating this process.

When, however, the British Note charges us with the "crime" of having sympathy for the suppressed peoples, then we venture to assure the honourable members of the British government that this has nothing to do with our actual business and diplomatic obligations, just as little as the circumstance that the British Conservative Party cherishes an undoubted and undeniable sympathy, let us say, for Italian Fascism. In different States there are different Parties in power, and hence there are different sympathies which cannot be removed by any diplomatic notes.

The British Note reveals the obvious tendency to accuse our government with the fact that the members of the C. P. S. U., in their appraisal of world political events, proceed on the basic principles of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism. This "accusation" is, even from the standpoint of the Conservative politicians themselves, exceedingly unadvisable. What would they themselves say if we were to demand from them the abandonment of their conservative programme, of the sacred principles of "the family, of property and of religion"? They would describe this at the very least, as an interference in the inner affairs of Great Britain. An equal interference in the inner affairs of the Soviet Union is the ridiculous claim that members of the C. P. S. U. be "compelled" to abandon the programme of the Communist Party.

When Austen Chamberlain accuses the Soviet government of base and offensive attacks on members of the British government, he likewise adopts a very disadvantageous standpoint for the British Cabinet.

In the first place the thesis submitted by Austen Chamberlain can by no means be proved from the quotations given by him.

Secondly, — not to speak of the thousands of impertinent articles against the Soviet Union appearing in the British Conservative press — we could remind the forgetful preachers of "good manners" of the dozens and hundreds of such "beautiful expressions" of influential members of the British government which it would be difficult to find not only in a diplomatic but even in an ordinary simple lexicon.

The speeches and utterances of Sir William Joynson Hicks, the "splendid vocabulary" of Lord Birkenhead and Winston Churchill are not only thoroughly well known to British readers but also to readers in the Soviet Union. We are not speaking at all of the speeches of the Primadonna behind the scenes of the whole of the anti-Soviet machinations, Mr. Lampson, who sings the same song with the white guardist adventurer and bully of the international secret police, Sablin. We would remind the authors of the Note which is devoted to the "bad manners" of the Soviet Government, of the words of **Worthington Evans** in Cambridge (we might mention that **Worthington Evans** is not Minister for Physical Culture or for Boxing, but Minister for War) who characterised the Soviet Government as follows:

"A revolutionary band of murderers and robbers has seized power and is leading a great people to ruin."

We call to mind here the declaration of Chamberlain himself in the House of Commons:

"I take upon myself full responsibility for the speeches of my colleagues as well as for my own."

One cannot help being surprised at the astounding shortsightedness with which Chamberlain decides to impart us lessons in politeness and good behaviour!

The charges in the British Note to the Soviet Government are unfounded. It would hardly be worth while to deal with them in detail, if the note did not contain a sufficiently clearly expressed threat to break off diplomatic relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union. There is no need to say that such a threat in general, and particularly at the present time, is a foreign political adventure of the very worst sort. MacDonald describes the sending of this Note as an extremely stupid and damaging procedure. The entire Labour Movement of Great Britain, including even its moderate elements, is opposing such a policy on the part of the British Cabinet. We assume for our part that one can only predict for such a policy that it will have immediate effects both in the home as well as in the foreign political positions of the British Cabinet.

## The "Pravda" on the Reply of the Soviet Government to Great Britain.

Moscow, 28th February 1927.

To day's "Pravda" declares that the reply of the Soviet government has completely refuted the apparent proofs offered in the Note of the British government. The British Note declares the "Pravda" was particularly weak in connection with the Chinese question although Chamberlain quoted from speeches of soviet statesmen made upon soviet soil concerning the perspectives of the Chinese revolution.

The soviet answer declared that the soviet government according to the agreement of 1923 had refrained from supporting persons or organisations "pursuing the aim of stirring up discontent or insurrection in any part of the British Empire". Even if the legendary "soviet agents" referred to by the British Note had been proved not to be legendary, Chamberlain would only then be justified in his complaints on the assumption that China was a part of the British Empire. It was a fact that the British government was sending British troops and British warships to China although it spoke continually of non-interference in Chinese affairs.

The soviet note declared that the only concrete accusation raised against the soviet government was in connection with the so-called "Zinoviev letter" which was manufactured in the workshops of the British secret police and which helped the existing British government to win the election campaign. It was a well-known fact that this letter was a forgery and that up till now no one has been punished for it. This forgery was used as a threat to break off diplomatic relations, as a threat to peaceful relations.

The "Pravda" writes: "The more groundless the British accusations are the queerer they become. Chamberlain for instance, is not satisfied with Kamenev. We do not know whether perhaps Chamberlain has been instructed by Mussolini to express the dissatisfaction of the latter with Kamenev. If that is not the case why does Chamberlain consider it necessary to interfere in the affairs of the soviet Ambassador in Italy when only Anglo-Russian relations are under discussion? Or perhaps in the meantime Italy has become a part of the British Empire? And the presence of the 'soviet agent' Kamenev there is not agreeable to Scotland Yard?"

The soviet government had, declared the "Pravda", despite the absurdity of the accusations made against it and despite the challenging tone of the British Note, answered with the greatest reserve. The soviet government had exhibited great self-control and a great will for peace by expressing once again its complete preparedness to settle all differences and conflicts by peaceful negotiation. However the cabinet of Diehards was pursuing its own plans. There was a certain danger in this and it was the task of the working masses to curb the transports of the conservative extremists.

## The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union on the Relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

(Speeches of Comrades Larin, Satonski, Eliava and Litvinov)

The Interpellation of a Group of Members of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union concerning the Relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

At the close of the evening session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union on the 19th February the chairman Comrade Mussabekov read the text of an interpellation of a group of members of the Central Executive Committee concerning the relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union:

To the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

The attacks of a number of members of the British government and of conservative circles in Great Britain on the Soviet Union have recently become more frequent. This campaign is clearly and openly directed towards a rupture of the diplomatic relations between the governments of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union. A further aim of this campaign is to prepare the ground for new interventionist attempts. The authentic documents which have appeared in the press have proved that certain Tsarist officials who have been driven over the frontiers of our country, malicious enemies of peace and good relations between the Soviet Union and other countries, are playing no small role in this campaign. In this connection, the undersigned members of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union thereby request the Peoples Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to make a report to the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union upon the relations existing between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

J. Larin (R. S. F. S. R.); W. Satonski (Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic); Sch. Eliava (Transcaucasian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic); A. Muralov (R. S. F. S. R. Nishni-Novgorod); A. Lugovoi (All-Russian Trades Union Congress. E. C. of the Sugar Workers Union); J. Figatner (A-R. T. U. C. E. C. of Soviet Employees Union); N. Samurski (Dagestan); A. Lissovik (Donetz Basin); L. Sukatch (R. S. F. S. R. Siberia); S. Shilunovich (White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic); Shevle (Tchuvashen Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic); Pulatov (Usbek Socialist Soviet Republic); Artyk Rachmanov (Turkistanian, Socialist Soviet Republic); M. Mursagaliev (Kasakstan); Tarassyuk (Bryansk Gouvernement); W. Kurz (German Republic); I. Morosov (Novgorod); Zoktoev (Buri-Mongolian Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic); F. Klimovitch (R. S. F. S. R.); I. N. Vinokurov (Yakut Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic); Dlinov (Tambov Gouvernement); J. S. Sacharov (Moscow-State Mint); E. B. Shuga (Crimean Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic); Tschenkirov (Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic); Shmorgilov (North Caucasia); A. I. Islamov (Usbek Socialist Soviet Republic); G. Savandayev (Socialist Soviet Republic of Turkistan); Platov (R. S. F. S. R.) and Rusetski (White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic).

After reading the text of this interpellation the chairman put it to the meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union whether it wished to place this question on the agenda or not. It was unanimously decided to do so and it was arranged that a discussion should take place in the plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union on Monday the 21st February 1927.

Evening Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union on the 21st February 1927.

Discussion upon the Interpellation of a group of members of the Central Executive Committee concerning the relations between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.

The Speech of Comrade LARIN:

Recently, hostile utterances on the part of British statesmen and members of the British government against our country, our government and against our policy, have become more frequent.

These utterances which have been without foundation and have very often contained lying and deliberately false statements and insults directed against our country, have called forth the natural indignation of the broad masses of the working class and peasantry.

During speeches delivered by me in factories and workshops in Moscow, I have often been questioned by workers and have been asked by the participants in the discussion following my speech: "How is it that we tolerate in our midst the diplomatic representatives of a country whose government is so insolent and indecorous towards our country?"

These questions of simple workers who are not schooled in "high politics" show the indignation caused amongst the workers by the hostile attitude of the members of the British government towards us. This hostility has caused a number of members of the Central Executive Committee responsible for the present interpellation to take action in order to clarify the situation. The threats of the British statesmen was not the reason for the interpellation: In 1918, 1919 and 1920 we were able to beat off the attacks of the then British government against us in common with a number of other capitalist countries, and we are convinced that to-day we are more than ever in a situation to repulse any attempts on the part of the capitalist states to compel us with armed force to obey their dictates.

These utterances of British statesmen referred to, contain chiefly the following accusations: First of all China, secondly the so-called propaganda against the institutions of the British Empire, thirdly the miners. At the same time, the efforts of the British government to encircle us with a ring of hostile states which are intended to strangle us by a blockade or by armed force, are becoming ever more open.

It would be interesting if the Peoples Commissariat for Foreign Affairs would explain here the attitude of the Soviet government towards the permissibility of demands made to us by British statesmen concerning the influencing of the sympathies or antipathies of the workers of our country. The Soviet government as such is, as every one knows, absolutely neutral and does not interfere in the internal affairs of China. Even British statesmen are not in a position to put forward any fact to show that the Soviet government as such interferes in Chinese internal affairs in support of any of the fighting parties.

All their utterances refer exclusively to the sympathy of the masses of our people for the cause of the Chinese revolution. On account of this sympathy of the toilers of our country for the cause of the Chinese revolution, British ministers have raised accusations against the Soviet government and have demanded, so to speak that the Soviet government should prohibit the toilers of the Soviet Union from showing their sympathy for the Chinese revolution. This is an insolent interference in our internal affairs.

I say openly that I am filled with pleasure and pride, the national pride of a soviet citizen, when I think that wherever a fight is taking place for the cause of freedom, a fight against oppression, a fight for progress, for the future of humanity, for the cause of labour, the sons of our country are in the first ranks.

Our Soviet Government as such is neutral and does not interfere in the internal struggles in China. However, individual citizens who have had years of revolutionary, military and administrative experiences, have gone as volunteers to China and have placed themselves on the side of the Chinese revolution, just as once upon a time citizens of bourgeois countries, for instance France and Germany, went as volunteers in the ranks of the Boers to assist them in their struggle against Great Britain 25 years ago, just as a hundreds years ago the great English poet Byron fought with the Greeks who were fighting for their freedom. If our comrades, the sons of our country, wish to volunteer to assist the Chinese revolution, it is their legal right to do so. They have the sympathy of the broad masses of the toilers of our country on their side. No British minister has the right to demand that collections in our country in support of the strike in Shanghai should be prohibited. No British minister has the right to demand that individual Soviet citizens be prevented from going to China to join the ranks of the Chinese revolutionaries fighting for the freedom of China.

I recall with pride that I read some time ago in the foreign press that when the troops of the Chinese revolution entered the great coast town of Swatow after a victorious fight during the course of their present campaign against the North, they carried flags with the inscription: "Long live the Chinese revolution and our Russian brothers!" (Prolonged applause.)

A second accusation continually made in the speeches of British Ministers refers to a so-called propaganda against the institutions of the British Empire.

I have before me a report of a speech of the Foreign Minister Chamberlain who accuses our government that it does not

refrain from direct or indirect propaganda against the institutions of the British Empire. This speech was officially made before the British parliament.

I have before me reports of speeches made by a number of other British Ministers who say the same sort of thing. Churchill, a member of the Cabinet, declared in a speech in West Ham: "The Russian Bolsheviks will work persistently and untiringly to destroy the civilised peoples of the world, and amongst all the peoples against whom their sting is directed, this island, the British Empire is the first in their path."

First of all I must remark that citizen Churchill confuses "this island" with the British Empire; following upon the last conference of the Dominions with the British government, the British Empire as a united whole ceased in practice to exist. Australia, Canada, South Africa and Ireland have reserved to themselves complete independence in determining their policy both internally and externally. From now on the dominions are, thanks to their declaration and thanks to the decision of the conference, in practice sovereign and independent States like any other State and we act towards them accordingly.

Is everything which exists in Great Britain under the protection of the trade agreement which we concluded with the British government some years ago? In Great Britain, this land of culture, this land of an enlightened democracy, as Birkenhead has called it — this sounds particularly appropriate in his mouth (laughter) — there exists an institution according to which in the colleges of Great Britain grown up young people of both sexes are subjected to corporal punishment (Cries of "Shame!"). We have never undertaken to respect such institutions of the British Empire nor to refrain from making propaganda against them. (Applause.)

I will permit myself here to draw attention, not our attention, for we know it, but the attention of the British people, of every honest Briton, of every British worker to the following two facts: The first fact is that in our country regular elections to the Soviets take place. Millions and millions of Soviet citizens take part in these elections. A small group of people can be bribed, a small group of people can be driven away by force, but we see that in our country millions and millions of adult men and women have expressed their confidence in the Soviet government, have recognised the Soviet Government, have recognised that it is a people's government, the government of the toilers, the government of our country. Our government is the empowered representative of the overwhelming majority of the population of our country (Applause). There have been many British delegations here, there are not a few British correspondents here, they have all been present at the election meetings, have seen and heard. The first fact which I wish to place on record is one which no one can deny, the fact that millions and millions of the adult population of our country have voted with an overwhelming majority for our government.

Let us now regard those British Ministers of the conservative government who dare to make the lying accusation against us that we maintain ourselves in our country by force. At the last parliamentary election the Conservative party received a minority of the total votes polled. This fact is known to the British people. A minority of the British people supports the Conservative Party, even if one judges from the parliamentary election of three years ago, although since then the eyes of many people in Great Britain have been opened by the historical events both internally and externally, which have taken place in the last few years.

Our government must, of course, as long as it has to do with the existing British government, recognise these people of the Conservative Party as the government of Great Britain. But I, as a free citizen of our country, can say loudly and clearly that we know and shall not forget that these Conservative statesmen who have the British government in their hands, do not represent the feelings of the majority of the adult population of their own country. Therefore I address myself over the heads of the British government to the majority of the British people whose wishes are being violated, which is being made a pawn in the hands of irresponsible statesmen who are doing their utmost to kindle a new and great conflagration which can plunge the whole world into new misfortunes and new bloodshed, who are deceiving the British people and treating us with hostility. Amongst all the other inventions of the British statesmen we find very often complaints as, for instance, in a speech of Churchill on 2nd of November: "that Great Britain is at the present moment the object of the greatest attention of a foreign state, the Bolshevik govern-

ment in the Soviet Union". I believe that this is correct. We, the population of our country, must demand from our government, that it be on the watch against Great Britain, because there is a Conservative government in Great Britain. We must demand this. How can we close our eyes when we see that plots are being made against us everywhere, that all possible lies and calumnies are being spread about us, that an attempt is being made to turn the workers and petty bourgeois abroad against us?

A further factor in the agitation of British statesmen against us is an attempt to convince public opinion in Great Britain that relations with our country are economically disadvantageous to Great Britain, that it is not worth while to trade with us. Recently British Ministers have often said that the conclusion of a trade agreement with us was a mistake. I said previously that the majority of the British electors was not behind the Conservative government, I can now add that British commercial circles are also not behind the Conservative Government, for they are developing trade with us and granting us credit in ever growing sums.

The result of the trade agreement between our country and Great Britain has been that each year Great Britain has had a pure surplus of approximately forty million roubles to show, and the credit which despite all the appeals of the Conservative Party and its Ministers, has been granted to us in Great Britain, has grown from year to year so that the interest alone which we have paid for these credits was 53,000 pounds sterling in 1922, 67,000 in 1923, 268,000 in 1924, and 512,000 in 1925.

So much for our trade relations with Great Britain, which are based upon the common interest of both countries. I, and I think all of us, are of the opinion that despite the hostile agitation of British Ministers, we must support the development of these economic relations. I would like the Soviet government to inform us of its attitude to the further development of trade and economic relations between our country and Great Britain. I hope that the development of these relations will proceed over the heads of all our opponents and all hostile agitators amongst the British Ministers.

I will not spend much time upon another point which is brought forward against us. Other comrades will certainly speak about this. I wish to say only one thing: Why don't the British Conservative Ministers break with us if they so badly want to? The reason is that they cannot reach so far. This is the firm conviction of our workers. The fingers of the British Conservative Government are too short to tear up the trade agreement with the Soviet Union, for the British Conservative government knows no less than we, that the majority of the people in Great Britain is not behind it. It knows that the attempt to tear up the agreement with us would mean the fall of the Conservative Government in Great Britain. Further, the British Government knows that any attempt to tear up the trade agreement would mean to establish openly hostile relations with a powerful country embracing the sixth part of the earth and living in close friendship with the people's of China, Turkey and other countries. And it knows that such an action would diminish the influence and the importance of the British bourgeoisie in the whole world and weaken it more than it is at present. Any attempt to tear up the trade agreement with us would weaken the position of the British Conservative Bourgeoisie both in Great Britain and abroad. Therefore it only talks of a breach with us, makes statements concerning it but does not dare to bring it about.

A few words about the miners. As you know, the Soviet Government did not interfere in the struggle between the miners and the capitalists of Great Britain. All those present here have taken part in the voluntary collections and deductions from their wages on behalf of the British miners. You know how our labour unions collected the money which was sent to the British miners. British Ministers now ask: Why did the Soviet Government tolerate that the labour unions should send money to their class brothers in Great Britain? But have not people in Great Britain sent money to the Patriarch Tichon? (Laughter.) Have not all sorts of counter-revolutionaries in Great Britain sent money? We made no hysterical fuss about that because we know that social classes are sympathetic towards their class brothers. The Soviet Government took no part in assisting the British miners, it is however, absolutely natural that our workers assist their class brothers abroad.

It would seem that this truth is even beginning to penetrate into the brains of British Ministers, for in his last speech in parliament the Foreign Minister, Chamberlain made the follo-

wing accusation against the Soviet Government concerning the money sent to the British Miners: "The Soviet Government ignored its own laws which prohibit the sending of more than 100 roubles abroad without the special permission of the currency department of the People's Commissariat of Finance". (Laughter.) You see, how well citizen Chamberlain knows our laws, but how does he know that our trade unions did not get the necessary permission? (Laughter.) But this is a simple formality, not unknown to Chamberlain. But if all laws had been observed even then citizen Chamberlain could not but feel uneasy.

In conclusion I would like to request the representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs to inform us about the opinion of the Soviet Government concerning this impermissible interference in our internal affairs.

And secondly, what is the attitude of the Soviet Government towards the agitation of a number of British Ministers against our trade relations with Great Britain? Does the Soviet Government consider it necessary or desirable and useful for both countries to support the development and extension of the economic relations between the two countries?

Thirdly, what is the attitude of the Soviet Government to the attacks upon the institutions of our country, and even upon the state Central organ of our country, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union — which has been called by the British Government and by a British Minister "a band of dishonest people"? What is the attitude of the Soviet Government to those impermissible and insolent attacks upon the leading institutions of our country by British Ministers which have never been rebuked by the official leaders of the British Government?

The Conservative Party of Great Britain is doing its utmost to lower the dignity of the working class and the peasantry of the Soviet Union by abusing and calumniating those state organs and the statesmen which the freedom of our country has placed at its head. The enemies of the working class will one day pay dearly for this! We shall continue our work which is for the benefit of all toilers, not merely of our own country, but of all other countries including Great Britain. We will be victorious despite the malicious inventions and the irresponsible hostility of British statesmen and Ministers of the Conservative Government who are doing their utmost to ride rough-shod over us. They will not achieve their aim. (Applause.)

#### Speech of Comrade SATONSKI (Ukraine):

We signed the interpellation to the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs because the attitude of the Members of the British Government which we have witnessed is not quite usual even from the British point of view.

I wish to call to your mind that in the period of the revolutionary struggles in France, in the seventies, at the time of the Paris Commune, the reactionary government of France addressed itself to Great Britain with the request that its government should "proceed against the robbers of the 1st International who were staying in London". Marx and other members of the Executive Committee of the 1st International found an asylum at that time in free Britain. The British government answered "we can do nothing, for in our country there is freedom".

The British bourgeoisie — at that time the bourgeoisie in Great Britain was in power — gave an answer worthy to be remembered today. But it would seem that the answer has been forgotten. I cannot understand how this has happened. Great Britain is a country not merely with a Conservative Government, but with a conservative ideology. Precedents and tradition play a tremendous role in this country. It cannot be possible that the British Ministers have forgotten the answer of their predecessors in 1871. We are not responsible for the Third International and for the Red International of Labour Unions. I am, however, disposed to confess: The Executive Committee of the Third International would probably not be opposed to working under the same conditions under which the Executive Committee of the 1st International worked in London in 1871. (Applause.) And very probably there would then be less talk about propaganda and the connection with the Soviet Government. I say again: It is very difficult to assume that the British Government is not aware of the historical precedent, and just for this reason we must assume that the matter is not so simple.

In our country there is freedom for the workers, for the proletarians, for the toilers. There is no freedom in our country for the bourgeoisie. If the British government would merely occupy itself with the propaganda of that truth, that in our

country there exists freedom for the proletariat under the dictatorship of the proletariat, then probably no one, and certainly not we, would have anything to say against the British Government informing its proletariat of the exact situation in our country.

But when the British Government now attacks us violently, we are forced to the suspicion that it is not a question of the financial assistance rendered to the British miners, or of our sympathy with the latter, but a question of the aggressive intentions of the British government itself.

I represent here a free republic which before the October revolution was a colony of Tsarist Russia, but which is now a link in the united chain of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

We have a tremendously extended frontier. Roumania which has no agreement with us whatever, is one of our neighbours, and Roumania makes no secret of its attitude towards us. Poland is another of our neighbours. We have certain agreements with Poland, it is true, but Poland also is not particularly sympathetic towards us. We know that the Polish government has refused to conclude a new agreement with us.

It is clear to everyone that if it were only a question of Roumania and Poland, we would soon be able to come to a peaceful agreement and there would be no danger of a breach in the mutually peaceful relations for which we are striving in order to enable us to build up socialism in our country. But behind all the talk in London there are the dangerous war preparations of Pilsudsky who hardly troubles to conceal his real aims. Behind the speeches of the British Cabinet Ministers there is the aggressive policy of the British government against us, a policy which endeavours to exploit our immediate neighbours Roumania, Poland and Lithuania, where a fascist coup d'Etat followed close upon the heels of an agreement with us. We also know that such a coup almost took place in Latvia recently, and we do not yet know how the matter will end.

Further, information appearing in the press proves that Roumania is being armed in the Black Sea against us by the British government, or at least with the approval of the British government. There are for instance, obstinate rumours of the building of a naval base at Constanca or in the neighbourhood.

The population of the Soviet Union is carefully watching the events taking place on our frontiers, and it has been so raised culturally by the revolution that it is well aware of the implications of the Polish, Latvian, Lithuanian and Roumanian policy. A number of British statesmen are even becoming very popular in the farthest villages of the Soviet Union (inter-ruption: "Popular?" "In what direction?")

That is understandable. Names like Birkenhead, Hicks, Churchill and others which were formerly unknown, are now becoming particularly popular.

Naturally, we can say with pride that our peasants, the simplest of them, not to speak of our workers, are very well aware of the difference between a British miner and a British minister like Churchill! (Applause.)

The question is being continually raised in our country: will Great Britain, that is to say, the conservative government interrupt our peaceful constructive work? Is a continued development of our peaceful relations with the British people, with that section of the British people which wishes to work peacefully in co-operation with us, possible? Will the policy of the war-mongers in London bring the state of peace on our western frontiers to an end?

These questions are now raised for discussion. No single workers' or peasants' meeting takes place but that a discussion arises over the questions of internal policy, particularly in connection with the attitude of the right-wing conservatives in Great Britain on the one hand and that of the Soviet government on the other. Our workers and peasants want to know what the Soviet government is doing to prevent an interruption of our peaceful work and what it is doing to resist our enemies should our peaceful relations with the outside world be interrupted, against our will and against the will of all peoples of the world (Prolonged applause).

#### Speech of Comrade ELIAVA (Transcaucasia):

It is known to you all that since the setting up of the Soviet Republics, the British government has treated them with systematic hostility. After the conclusion of the civil war, after we had been able to repulse all the attacks of the agents of our own bourgeoisie and

land-owners who received ample assistance from over the frontier, particularly from Great Britain, the British government adopted the policy of trying to isolate the Soviet Union from those countries which had entered into friendly relations with it and had concluded agreements with it.

Up to the present day the intrigues against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, Persia and Turkey have not ceased. Fortunately and to the great satisfaction of the working masses of our country, we can say that these intrigues have not been successful, for the countries in question have refused to be used as pawns, but the attempts have not ceased, and at the present time urgent efforts are being made to secure the possibility of building a basis for an air fleet in Persia with a view to threatening Transcaucasia.

As you know, the European bourgeoisie, and in particular the bourgeoisie of Great Britain, is greatly interested in Transcaucasia. Transcaucasia is rich in just those treasures which would be so valuable for British and European industry. There is oil in abundance in Transcaucasia, near Baku, the capital of the Republic of Aserbaidjan. This oil can be approached through the way over Batum in Georgia. This explains the extreme interest, the extreme concern for the freeing of these two countries from the workers and peasants who have won control there.

The Tsarist official Sablin who is now creeping around in Great Britain and maintaining close relations with various British Ministers, writes in one of his reports which we had the opportunity of reading a few days ago:

"Every spring, new rumours are current here about unrest in Georgia. The idea of the creation of an independent Georgia under the control of the American oil and financial magnates is very popular here, and I can say that they would be prepared to advance great sums in order to free Georgia from the hands of the Bolsheviks and gain control of its oil and mineral resources."

We have long known that the oil barons of the whole world, and particularly of Great Britain would like to get their hands on the oil reserves of Transcaucasia. For this reason the interested groups maintain close connections with those elements in our country who cannot reconcile themselves with the existence of the Soviet Power and the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the present time we can observe an increased activity on the part of these elements supported by the oil interests.

After the breakdown of the policy of the nationalist parties in the Transcaucasian Republics which was based upon the exploitation of national differences, these declared bankrupts attempted to come to an agreement for joint action for the "emancipation" of our country from the Bolsheviks and the Soviet Power. These groups have their headquarters in Paris and they have recently issued a joint organ in the French language entitled "Prometheus". A leading article in this organ states: "The Transcaucasian question is now on the agenda in world politics". These one-time politicians of Transcaucasia are trying to come to an agreement with the one-time politicians of North Caucasia and of the Ukraine and, by means of organic connection with the General Staff of the Polish Republic and with the open support of the oil kings to develop activity in our country.

They put the question in the following form: "If a few years ago the whole map of Europe was altered in the cause of freedom, why should we now come to a halt in face of the hostility of Russia?"

They explain this freedom and this right in the following way: "Think of the riches of Transcaucasia and of the Ukraine and how they could be utilised to assist Europe exhausted after the world war. You will then see that the freedom of these countries is in the interests of the whole world in every connection."

On this basis these elements hostile to us are, according to the latest reports, in the closest connection both with Members of the British government and with individual capitalist groups, particularly the oil interests. They are preparing for us for the Transcaucasian, North Caucasian and Caucasian peoples, right and freedom! We thank them very much for their trouble, but we have already won freedom and justice on our own (Applause).

We declare that, should all these elements which have been driven over our frontiers by the revolution, attempt with the support of the oil interests to make any attack upon our

freedom, then we are in a position to defend our freedom energetically (applause).

We are aware of the whole objective situation, we possess absolutely irrefutable evidence proving that the counter-revolutionary elements of Transcaucasia are working together with various groups of oil interests in Great Britain, and that they maintain permanent relations with various British ministers. The point that interests us is: does the British government as a whole know of these things; does the British government support these intrigues in its country, does it support those agents of the oil industrialists and their intrigues? Further, if the British government as a whole is aware of these things, what is its attitude towards them?

We are accused of interfering in British affairs in various parts of the world. We are accused of making propaganda against various British institutions. But when British industrialists, with the sympathy of British ministers, interfere in our affairs and urge anti-soviet groups to insurrection, then it would seem that the British government has no objection to make. We protest energetically against this policy and we are of the opinion that bounds must be set to it.

We desire that our government inform us through the Peoples Commissariat for Foreign Affairs: what exchange of opinions has taken place between the governments of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union in this matter, what negotiations if any, have taken place, and what answer has our government received from the British government? The working masses of the Soviet Union can no longer be left in the dark in this matter.

Comrade Satonski said that the British ministers are very popular in the Ukraine. In Transcaucasia the British ministers and the British conservatives are known not merely through propaganda, but through the actions committed by them on Transcaucasian soil not so long ago. Should any one of them attempt to turn their words and agitation into deeds, then we, in common with the workers and peasants of the Ukraine, Russia, Uzbek, Turkistan and, White Russia would parry the sword in the hand of our opponents and defend our freedom and our rights with all the means at our disposal (applause).

### The Answer of the Soviet Government.

Declaration of the Representative of the Peoples Commissariat for Foreign Affairs comrade M. M. LITVINOV.

1. It is true that an anti-Soviet campaign is flaring up anew in Great Britain at the present time; however, this campaign does not date from yesterday. This campaign was carried on before the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries and has never ceased, although it has occasionally weakened and occasionally intensified in moments when Great Britain experienced internal or external difficulties. Not merely in Great Britain, but also in a number of other capitalist countries, the custom exists of making the Soviet Union responsible for difficulties both of an internal and external nature. The Soviet Union is even made responsible for revolutionary events in countries where soviet citizens have never set foot, for instance, in Nicaragua, Chile etc.

2. The groups and forces behind the present anti-Soviet campaign in Great Britain can be clearly seen from the authentic documents which have recently been published in our press. These elements are firstly Russian emigrés, monarchists, one-time Tsarist officials etc. who have taken up their abode in Great Britain and maintained their old connections under the protectorate of British officials and even of certain members of the present British government, and secondly a small but very influential group of people with great funds at their disposal, the so-called creditors of Russia, that is to say foreign owners of the industries nationalised by the October revolution, speculators who have bought up the shares of one-time Russian industrialists who have fled abroad, with the British oil interests at the head. These groups naively believe, despite the experience made by Great Britain in the unsuccessful intervention undertaken by the latter on behalf of these groups, that the 150,000,000 population of the Soviet Union will permit itself to be intimidated and sign a dictated agreement.

3. These elements utilise the universal practice to which I have already referred, of making the Soviet Union responsible for all the ills of capitalist society and exploit every political

crisis in Great Britain in their own interests, masking them with general patriotic phrases and in general donning the Toga of saviours of the Fatherland against the alleged conspiracies and intrigues of the Soviet Union.

4. A number of British Cabinet Ministers have openly attached themselves to this campaign. Unfortunately the British government as a whole, in consequence of its ambiguous attitude which is in contradiction to all normal customs resulting from the existence of diplomatic relations, causes the assumption to arise that it furthers this campaign by handing ungrounded and general declarations to the Soviet government concerning alleged breaches of the trade agreement of 1921. It must be borne in mind that in 1923, after the well-known British ultimatum, the British foreign minister at that time, Lord Curzon agreed in the name of the British government "to inform the Soviet government of any cases of supposed breaches of the undertakings made by the latter immediately, and not to permit the accumulation of such cases without the making of immediate complaints." (I am quoting from the Telegram of Lord Curzon dated the 29th May numbered 127.)

5. I must declare categorically that neither the Soviet government nor its Embassy in London has been given any notice by the British government of any such breach of the agreement of 1921. There has not been the least hint of any such breach. Naturally, accusations of a general nature were made in parliament, in the public utterances of British ministers and in conversations between Chamberlain and our representative, but all our requests that the accusations should be supported by actual concrete cases of such breaches, were always ignored.

6. In the past we have not concealed our genuine sympathy for the struggle of the Chinese people for their emancipation, and we do not conceal this sympathy to-day. One or two years ago the foreign press spoke of the national revolutionary movement in China contemptuously as the "artificial creation of Moscow agents", but to-day the bitterest enemies of the Chinese people and its struggle for emancipation are compelled to admit that the national revolutionary movement in China is the normal expression of an inevitable and powerful historical process, the creation of a national Chinese State, and that despite everything China is beginning to pursue an independent policy.

We can record with pleasure that a slow but certain change is taking place in the policy of one or two great Powers. This change is obviously caused by a recognition of the impossibility of continuing the old traditional policy in China, and by a recognition of the fact that nationalist China is inevitably growing and consolidating itself. We can only welcome the establishment of relations between China and other countries on a new basis of equality.

In this connection the attitude of Japan and of the Soviet Union must be mentioned, in contradistinction to the attitude of Great Britain, which was mentioned in the speech of the Japanese Foreign Minister, Shidehara in the last session of the Japanese parliament. We can only welcome the idea of the Japanese Foreign Minister that "any attempt from outside to impose peace by force can only do more harm than good."

7. The Soviet Union is striving to establish completely normal relations with Great Britain. The Soviet government is prepared to discuss and to settle peacefully all conflicts and misunderstandings as they arise. This is proved by the agreement concluded between Great Britain and the Soviet Union in 1924 which was afterward annulled by the present British government. The Soviet government repeats the proposals made by it to re-open the negotiations broken off at the beginning of the term of office of the present British government, and thereby to secure a settlement of the mutual claims. It is of course self-evident that the present anti-soviet campaign of certain members of the British Cabinet and of certain circles in Great Britain which is accompanied by ill-informed and impermissible threats against the Soviet Union, cannot further the cause of peace or the establishment of normal relations between the two countries.

8. We can only honestly regret that the trade relations which have been established and which are growing between the two countries are not developing in a manner demanded by the mutual interests of the two countries and in accordance with the situation of the British Empire in the financial and industrial world. The periodical anti-soviet campaign is a serious hindrance to this desired development, for this cam-

paign disturbs the peace necessary for permanent economic relations. The actual creation of secure economic relations is impossible in such a nervous atmosphere threatened with constant eruptions, such as is created by the agitation of anti-soviet elements in Great Britain. This agitation will damage the interests of the peoples of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union and threaten the cause of world peace. I hope that the British government will realise the mutual damage caused by this campaign and its whole absurdity. This campaign sows the seeds of enmity between the two peoples. I hope that the British government will assist the Soviet government in its efforts to establish really normal relations between the two countries.

## POLITICS

### The German-Polish Conflict.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

The negotiations between Germany and Poland with regard to the conclusion of a commercial treaty have been broken off. The Polish delegation left Berlin under protest. A serious crisis has arisen in the relations between Germany and Poland.

It is the question of a conflict between the neo-German imperialism and Poland's policy of claiming to be a great Power. Poland's dreams of being a Great Power have accompanied the newly formed Poland from the hour of its birth. These ideas have been adyocated with particular vehemence since the fate of Poland has been in Pilsudski's hands. If Poland is to become a Great Power, it must expand not only towards the East but in the Ukraine and towards Lithuania. Another necessary condition is the maintenance of Poland's Western frontier, as it was delineated by the Treaty of Versailles. Further, the national industry of Poland must be developed. Finally, it is necessary that the national minorities should be driven out or gagged in order that the Polish State of mixed nationalities of to-day should be transformed into a State of national uniformity.

The Germans in Poland have to submit to the same methods which the Government of Poland is using against the Ukrainians and White Russians who have the misfortune to belong to Pilsudski's State. The Germans, who have decided in favour of maintaining their German nationality, the so-called "optioners" are being systematically driven out of Poland. In the same way the Polish Government is using every means in its power to prevent the settlement of Germans on Polish soil. Every commercial treaty, however, of course includes terms as to the right of settlement. In no other country have difficulties arisen in this respect in the numerous commercial treaties which Germany has concluded in the last few years. France, England, Belgium etc. grant to Germans the right of residence for shorter or longer periods in accordance with the legislative regulations prevailing in the respective countries. Poland, on the contrary, uses every means to resist the demand that she should grant any right of settlement to members of the German nation. This circumstance alone inevitably caused extreme difficulties in the negotiations between Germany and Poland.

The neo-German imperialism naturally wishes for a re-settlement of its Eastern frontier. This, however, is not a question of the moment. This problem has not had any direct effect on the negotiations with regard to a commercial treaty between Germany and Poland. A far more important question is that of the efforts of German industries to expand and to conquer the most important Polish markets. On the other hand, the interests of the German large agrarians are making themselves felt. Polish agriculture wishes to sell its products, especially pigs and potatoes, to Germany in large quantities. The German agrarians on the other hand, wish to resist the competition of pigs and potatoes from Poland with all the means in their power. The fact of the German nationalists having joined the National Government has, of course, not diminished the weight of the objections raised by the agrarians.

Last autumn, in connection with Germany joining the League of Nations, it seemed possible that Germany and Poland might come to an agreement. English policy especially has worked towards creating a German-Polish Bloc against Soviet Russia. The efforts towards this end, however, led to no result. Even

at the end of December, the relations between Germany and Poland were worse than ever before. This of course had an effect on the course of the negotiations with regard to the commercial treaty, which were taking place in Berlin. Four German employees were suddenly expelled from Polish Upper Silesia. Thereupon State Secretary Lewald, who was conducting the negotiations on the German side, broke off the conversations with the Poles. He demanded first of all that the right of settlement be regulated; only after that could the discussion of customs' tariffs be resumed. The Pilsudski Government would not hear of this and recalled its delegation from Berlin.

The sufferers in this economic war between Germany and Poland are, as usual, the masses of the working people. The exclusion of Polish agrarian products increases the cost of living for the German worker. The fact of the import of German industrial products into Poland being prevented, increases unemployment in Germany. On the other hand, the small Polish farmer, who cannot sell his pigs in the German market, is hard hit. The breaking off of negotiations with Poland is no doubt a trial of strength of German imperialism. We see from this that English diplomacy has been trying in the past year to use too much finesse; it wanted to play the Polish and the German card at the same time, and finds that it had made a slight miscalculation.

## Behind Closed Doors.

By K. Leski (Warsaw).

The hatred entertained by the Fascist Pilsudski Government against the workers, peasants, and suppressed nationalities certainly knows no limits.

Four deputies of the White-Russian Workers' and Peasants' Hromada and the deputy Holowacz of the Independent Peasant Party have been delivered up to "justice" (i. e., to the hangman) by the Sejm, the latter this time not acting under the threat of the knout, but of its free will, in full harmony with Pilsudski.

The surrender of the deputies followed on a decision of the Committee for the "Immunity" of Parliamentary Deputies. What passed within this committee is unknown. So much of the Committee's deliberations as became known in the plenary meeting of the Sejm merely confirms, that the Government and the deputies acting in concert with it had held this discussion behind closed doors because they were devoid of proofs of the "crime" in question, their entire demand for the surrender of these deputies being based on rumour which would bear no criticism and on the meanness of provocation. Let us but hear what even such deputies have got to say as are themselves accustomed to compromise with the Government and with the Polish bourgeoisie, deputies like Rogula and Schreiber, who are members of the Committee for the Immunity of Parliamentary Deputies.

"The demand of the Public Prosecutor", says the deputy Rogula, "refers to the evidence of witnesses, but we know quite well that these witnesses are nothing but a set of agents-provocateurs.

There is talk of the accused having been caught in the act. The deputy Woloszyn was in bed at the moment of his arrest; so was the deputy Taraskiewicz. While the deputy Holowacz was just engaged in milking his cows. That is what is called being "caught in the act".

Not even the Tsarist Government went so far as to arrest Socialist members of the Duma, without the consent of the Duma itself."

The deputy Schreiber says:

"The investigational committee was furnished with no proofs. I have before me the demand of the Novogrod court from 1925 for the surrender of the deputies Holowacz and Rogula, on the charge of high treason. This demand is based on the evidence of a few police agents who, as it transpired later, have been condemned for theft and fraud. In view of the doubtful character of the witnesses, the investigational committee refused to deliver up the deputies. On the present occasion, the committee was informed neither of the names nor of the callings of the witnesses on whose statements the Government charge was based.

"Reference was made to so-called White-Russian passports. It should, however, not be forgotten that in crossing the frontier it is necessary to pass through a double line of outposts, a Russian and a Polish.

The White-Russian-Bank is reproached with having been founded with Soviet funds. In the committee, the deputy Jeremicz, a White-Russian "compromiser", declared that he himself had founded the bank. Whereupon the Public Prosecutor intervened and proved that the matter in question was of later date and referred to a time when the deputy Jeremicz had already retired. In this way, therefore, the bank in question was evidently not founded with the help of Soviet funds."

The "Marshall's Court" entrusted with examining into the attack on the deputy Wojewodski by banditti, likewise met behind closed doors.

In this case, too, where the object in view is that of dealing the revolutionary peasants' party a covert death-blow, the Government of Pilsudski, his "mafia", Daszynski, adherent of Pilsudski and member of the Polish Social Democratic Party (P. P. S.), and Poniaowski, adherent of Pilsudski and member of the "Wyzwolenie" (party of peasant franchise), found it necessary to work in the dark in collecting and concocting the evidence, which again constitutes a "put-up" job. Not even a confidant of Wojewodski's was permitted to have access to this curious "court".

The publicity of court proceedings is looked upon in general as one of the great achievements of democracy. But even so bourgeois a form of democracy is no more than an empty phrase in the bragging mouths of Pilsudski's adherents, the leaders of the P. P. S. and of the "Wyzwolenie".

The publicity of court proceedings may be enjoyed by any bandit, any burglar, or any ravisher of young girls, only the peasant deputy is excluded from his right in Fascist Poland, for the reason that he is fighting for the handing over of the landed property to the peasants, for work and bread for the workers, and for the freedom of the suppressed nationalities, because he is ranged against the Pilsudski Government and is out to unmask the hypocritical reformist leaders of the "Wyzwolenie", the Peasant Party, the P. P. S., etc.

## THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

### The Fascist Ring Round the Soviet Union.

By M. G. Bach.

The seizure of power by Pilsudski in May 1926, the Fascist coup d'état in Volmar (Latvia), the destruction of the White Russian Hromada, which went hand in hand with an unprecedented terror against all the national minorities which are settled in Poland on the borders of the Soviet Union, — all this is in the closest connection with the plans of intervention of British imperialism. The interventionists aim at the victory of Fascism in the Baltic border States and Poland, so that they may have cover in the rear in case they undertake a campaign against the Soviet Union.

In the following article, it is our intention to give evidence of the existence of Fascist organisations in the Baltics and to expose the socio-political roots of Baltic Fascism and of its foreign political orientation. At the same time we shall endeavour to show to what extent Baltic Fascism is bound up with the administrative and especially the military apparatus of the countries in question, and in what measure Fascism has at its disposal man power from the border States, in the case of a war against the Soviet Union.

#### 1. Finland and Esthonia.

Finland may be described as the birth-place of Fascism. Several years before Mussolini came into power in Italy, the Finnish bourgeoisie formed a war-patriotic class organisation, the so-called defence corps which, in 1918/19 bathed the revolutionary movement in the country in blood. Although the Finnish bourgeoisie has on the whole "stabilised" itself in the course of the last few years by the use of terror and merciless

measures of repression, the Fascist troops, the defence corps, have not been dissolved.

The extremely modern corps with up-to-date weapons, over 100,000 strong, are comprised, in the towns, of bourgeois juveniles, sons of industrialists, reserve officers etc., and in the country of landowners and rich peasants. The officers' corps of the defence militia, trained in Germany in pre-war times, are known to have monarchist leanings.

The object of this defence corps is officially the "support of the organs of administration in the defence of the State against outrages". Actually, however, the defence corps are, in peace time, an organisation of the Finnish bourgeoisie for class war, with the object of intimidating the revolutionary workers by terror and of defeating the proletariat in its economic fight by organised strike-breaking. In times of war, the defence corps will be used as an excellently trained fighting force, far more reliable than the official army in which there are also "Red elements".

A peculiarity of Finnish Fascism, which is important, is that the defence corps is part of the general system of defence of the country. They are under the command of the Finnish Ministry for War and receive a subvention from the National Budget (in the draft Budget for 1927, recently passed by the Finnish Parliament, 30 million Finnish marks are granted for the defence corps). The whole country is divided into twenty-one defence corps districts; at the head of each is a district commander with a corresponding staff. The Commander in Chief of the defence corps is appointed by the President. The light weapons are distributed to the individual members, the guns, tanks, air-craft etc. are kept in special arsenals. The defence corps regularly organise manoeuvres, which are sometimes quite extensive and in which all arms take part. The actual leader (although officially only the honorary leader of the Fascist troops in Finland) is the executioner of the Finnish revolutionary movement, the former Czarist general Mannerheim.

A political supplement to the defence corps is the "League for the Protection of Finland", which has sections throughout the country. The chief objects of this league are to collect material means for the defence corps, chiefly for arming them, and Fascist political organisation. There exists further a women's auxiliary organisation (the so-called "Lotty Sword") to which tens of thousands of women belong. Their object is the "moral" and material support of the defence corps and of their ambulance work.

The international connections of Finnish Fascism should also be emphasised. The Finnish defence corps entertain close relations with German militarism and Russian monarchist emigrants. The leaders of the Finnish defence corps are also leaders of similar Fascist organisations in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Although the Finnish defence corps are a considerable force, there is no absolute unity in their ranks, but conflicts and contradictions may be observed. Above all, there is a certain antagonism between the Republican and monarchist elements. Further, one section of the leaders of Finnish Fascism consider it legitimate to use the defence corps for international, counter-revolutionary adventures, for instance for intervention against the Soviet Union, whilst another section regards the defence corps exclusively as a means for combatting revolutionary movements in the country itself. Thirdly, there is national friction within the defence corps, as the majority of the officers is from Sweden, whilst 75% of the privates are Fins. There are also some differences between the defence corps and the General Staff of the army, which sometimes assume a serious character.

In spite of this internal friction and these conflicts, there has so far been no split in Finnish Fascism. The fear of the revolutionary proletariat is still too great and is the cement which holds Finnish Fascism together.

Why has the Finnish bourgeoisie, with such a strong Fascist organisation, not yet openly gone over to a Fascist dictatorship? Because the Finnish bourgeoisie, even without an open dictatorship has always, in cases where it found it desirable, been able to carry through an undisguised Fascist dictatorship under the cover of the Constitution and of Democratic parliamentarism. Was there not, until recently, a bourgeois Coalition Government at the helm in Finland, which considered no means too bad to be used against the revolutionary movement. In order to illustrate with what unconcern the Finnish

bourgeoisie trifles with parliamentarism, it is enough to mention the fact that at the end of 1923 the Government had the whole Left Socialist parliamentary fraction, numbering 27, arrested.

Although, however, the Finnish bourgeoisie has not, up to the present, adopted an open Fascist dictatorship, it by no means implies that it is out of the question in the future. Just at the present time, the danger of a Fascist dictatorship in Finland is increasing. For the first time for eight years, a purely Socialist Cabinet came into power in the middle of December last year. Although the Social Democrats of Finland are in no way distinguished from other parties of the 2nd International which inspire the bourgeoisie with no particular fear, and although the Social Democratic Cabinet in Finland to-day owes its existence exclusively to the mercy of the bourgeois parliamentary majority, the mere fact that a Social Democratic Ministry could be formed, has called forth increased activity of the Fascist organisations, which are following with great attention the work of the new Cabinet.

The possibility of a Fascist coup d'état in Finland is not out of the question, if the Social Democrats at the helm do nothing in the fight against Fascism and at the same time prevent the formation of a proletarian united front. It is hardly thinkable that the Social Democrats will put any hindrances in the way of the further work of the Fascist defence corps. Only recently (December 1926) a section of the Finnish Social Democrats in Parliament, though but a small section, when the Budget of the War Ministry for 1927 was being discussed, openly made a speech of defence for the defence corps and described them as the "guardians of Democratic law and order". The Right wing of the Finnish Social Democrats voted for the defence corps in Parliament. Thus we see that the danger of a Fascist coup d'état in Finland is by no means out of the question.

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In Estonia, as in Finland, the Fascist organisations are closely intertwined with the administrative and military apparatus. In Estonia also there is a large Fascist army (20,000 to 25,000) which is organised into defence corps. They arose, with the direct participation of the Government, after the failure of the revolutionary insurrection of the workers and soldiers of Reval (December 1st 1924). There were, however, Fascist organisations in Estonia even before that, both of a semi-military character, so-called volunteer divisions, and of a political nature, the so-called Estonian Liberal People's party. The volunteers are a class organisation of the wealthy peasants, house owners, employers and bankers. They are thoroughly well armed and are regularly trained on military lines. Their chief task is to terrorise the revolutionary movement and to intimidate the proletariat.

These Fascist bands enjoy no great sympathy among the population, both because of their arch-reactionary attitude and also because, among the "volunteers" there are numerous criminals, secret police agents and other scum of society. Even the political organisation of Estonian Fascism, the National Liberal People's party which has already been mentioned, with Admiral Pitka at its head, enjoys very little sympathy (this Admiral Pitka is well known from his brutality towards the Estonian proletariat in 1918/19). At the election of 1923, this party won four seats in Parliament, in 1926 not a single one.

The Reval insurrection of 1921/22 convinced the Estonian bourgeoisie that, in spite of the bitterest persecution of the Labour movement, in spite of the terror of the "volunteers", the attitude of mind of the Estonian proletariat is still revolutionary. The proletariat of Estonia has never forgotten the "blood-letting" practised on it by the bourgeoisie hand in hand with Social Democracy which joined the Coalition Government the day after the insurrection, and with General Laidoner at its head, in which many of the best proletarian fighters of Estonia lost their lives.

The bourgeoisie, however, was not satisfied with the blood-thirsty terror which is still practised against the revolutionary movement, but in order to prevent a repetition of a similar revolutionary insurrection, it created a network of Fascist military organisations on the lines of the Finnish defence corps. The defence corps which are organised in all the towns and villages are chiefly recruited from bourgeois strata. In the towns, its members are chiefly students, bourgeois schoolboys from the higher classes, sons of houseowners and employers, in the

villages, the rich peasants. Here also, the defence corps not only receive considerable support from private sources, but also subventions from the Treasury of the War Ministry (granted in the National Budget). Here also, the defence corps have two functions; in peace time they are a weapon of the ruling bourgeoisie, in the case of war they would be used as supplementary troops which are superior to the standing army of Estonia, both numerically and as regards "reliability".

As in Finland, in spite of a strong Fascist organisation, the Estonian bourgeoisie refrains from an open Fascist dictatorship. It prefers to govern under the mask of parliamentarism and Democracy, but in doing so, does not shrink from the most brutal measures in the fight against the revolutionary movement.

## II. Latvia.

In Latvia the danger of a Fascist coup d'état is most imminent.

Among the most influential Fascist organisations of Latvia we have in the first place the so-called "Aizsargi" (or Latvian Defence Detachments), which are organised after the model of the Finnish detachments of this kind. What is most characteristic about these defence detachments in Latvia is the fact that their activity is limited almost exclusively to the open country. In the towns no defence detachments have as yet been formed. The Latvian Aizsargi are armed, receive a regular military training, and are divided into companies, battalions, and so on. In each administrative district there are such regiments, which are under the orders of the district chief and subject to the War Ministry in general matters of administration. Besides their small arms, the defence regiments have at their disposal machine-guns and light artillery. According to official statistics the number of Aizsargi in 1925 was 18,500, though this figure includes only the active members of the force. It is no exaggeration to assume that at present the total of active Aizsargi (receiving a military training in the army) and passive Aizsargi (wealthy peasants' sons trained in the use of firearms) together, ranges from 30,000 to 35,000, thus exceeding the numbers of the standing army of Latvia, which in times of peace figures at between 22,000 and 25,000 men.

According to official statistics, 52 per cent. of this total are made up of well-to-do peasants, 26 per cent. of middle peasants and new settlers, and the rest of "patriotically minded agricultural workers" (?) and farmhands. As we may see, the kulaks play the leading role in the Aizsargi and are thus also in a position to dominate the open country and to terrorise all progressive movements, in particular any trade union or cultural organisations among the agricultural workers, of whom there are some 200,000 in Latvia.

The activity of the Aizsargi, however, is not restricted to combatting revolutionary movements in the open country, as the official organ of the defence detachment ("Aizsargi" Riga 1926, No. 3, p. 84) announces, these formations "must also form the basis in opposing an enemy from without." In discussing the military expenditure in the budget committee, General Balodis, former Commander-in-Chief of the Latvian army and now one of the leaders of the kulak peasant league which was until recently in power, opposed the Social Democratic motion for the liquidation of the defence corps and remarked: "60 per cent. of the Aizsargi are men who have seen service. They are now better armed than our regular army was in 1919. We must therefore reckon with them as with a military force. The institution of the Aizsargi must not be liquidated, but rather developed." It may be pointed out that this solicitude for the defence corps synchronises with the general increase in the Latvian armaments. It suffices to remark that in 1926 the total expenditure of 166 million lats (one lat equalling about 9½d.) comprised 46 millions, on almost 28 per cent. for war expenses. 14.5 million lats and 160,000 cartridges were granted expressly for the defence corps, besides which the latter enjoy a considerable revenue out of local funds.

As in Finland, the defence corps in Latvia are furnished with two auxiliary organisations. One of these is the "Association for the Defence of Latvia", which carries on a patriotic nationalist agitation, collects funds for national defence purposes, publishes a military-Fascist monthly, and sees to the "cultural development" of the Aizsargi. The members of this organisation are all officers of the higher ranks, Fascist intellectuals, employers of labour, house-owners, and the like. In the second place there is the "Women's Defence Corps" modelled on the

Finnish "Lotty Sward". It was founded early in 1926, but already comprises more than 130 detachments with 3000 members.

Forced by the pressure of the proletarian masses to abstain from forming similar defence corps in the cities, the Latvian bourgeoisie has created a series of open or covert Fascist organisations, such as the Latvian national club known as the "Guardians of the Country", the "Guardians of Latvia", the "Latvian National Youth League", the "Latvian Warriors' Union", and the "Sokol". The most powerful and influential of these is the Latvian National Club, a militarist fighting organisation, which has for the last three or four years openly been preparing for the establishment of a Fascist dictatorship and is supported materially by all the Right, reactionary, and bourgeois parties of Latvia.

The Latvian National Club is in closest touch with the leaders of the General Staff and the political police. Most of the members are armed and receive a military training. The National Club, which comprises 80 sections, has a total membership of 3500. Of late, however, the Fascist movement in Latvia has been seriously compromised by a series of infringements of the penal code, in which active members of the club were involved. The authorities saw themselves obliged to intervene and even to close the club, which is, however, continuing its activity under the style of "Club of Latvian Nationalists". At the beginning of 1926 it even came to a split, and there arose a new organisation, the "Guardians of Latvia". This split, as well as the existence of numerous other organisations do not exclude the possibility of united action on the part of the Fascist formations. There is a "Congress of Nationalist Organisations of Latvia", which meets periodically and elects the "executives" of the Fascist organisations. The next session is to be in April 1927.

After the coup d'état in Lithuania, which synchronised with the formation of a Left-bourgeois-Socialist Cabinet in Latvia, the activity of the Latvian Fascists increased prodigiously. The reactionary Latvian press openly sang the praises of the Lithuanian Fascists and initiated a violent campaign against the Left Government of Latvia. The organs of the Right threatened the Social Democrats quite openly with developments such as took place at Kovno on December 17th, 1926. In the night of January 21st, 1927, the first attempt at a Fascist coup was made by the abortive adventure of Lieutenant Olin at Volmar, an extremely Fascist provincial town. There is now no longer any doubt that the events at Volmar were merely the beginning of a movement long prepared by the Fascist organisations for the deposition of the Government and the setting up of a Fascist dictatorship. Nevertheless, the Social Democratic Prime Minister Skuyenek declared to representatives of the press that the action of Lieutenant Olin was devoid of any political character. A similar opinion was expressed by General Bangerski and by the Minister of War, upon receipt of a report by the three Fascist generals entrusted with the investigation of the events at Volmar.

It is only now, after the occurrences at Volmar, that the Social Democrats are beginning to speak of the danger of "putches" from the Right. True, the Government has resolved on a bold stroke, the arrest of a single Fascist, a prominent leader of the Latvian National Club. At the same time, however, the Socialist Government has released all participants in the Volmar coup from arrest, with the exception of Olin himself. Throughout the country, meanwhile, the systematic persecution of Left trade Unions continues. A number of Left trade union leaders have been arrested, and all publications of the Left trade unions which call for an energetic fight against Fascism, have been confiscated. From the latest reports to hand we see that the Social Democrats and the reformist trade-union centre have declined the proposal of the Left trade unions for the formation of a united front of the anti-Fascist proletariat.

It would thus seem that the occurrences in Lithuania are to be repeated in Latvia. The Fascists are making energetic preparations for a coup. The flabby Government cannot make up its mind to adopt energetic measures against the Fascists, and therefore persecutes the revolutionary movement. The Social Democrats reject the united front and thereby facilitate the victory of Fascism.

(Conclusion to follow.)

## The Swedish Social Democracy at the Head of the Naval Armaments against the Soviet Union.

By Arvid Wretling.

The Social Democratic Party of Sweden, which has been gravitating more and more towards the bourgeois camp, was recently forced to make a pretence, by means of a political manoeuvre, of having broken with the bourgeois parties and assumed an oppositional attitude. In the party it was very easy to detect, that the fight for the leadership was growing more and more vehement and that the workers were highly dissatisfied with the political line of the party. Under such circumstances, the "radical wing" attempted in the columns of the "Socialdemokraten", the main party organ, to gain the confidence of party members and to save the reactionary leaders out of their critical position. One of the moving spirits behind these attempts was the renegade Z. Höglund. The slogan of "Social Democracy in Opposition" was proclaimed. But after a very few weeks this pretence came to grief. The internal struggles in the party have been aggravated, and a violent press campaign is being carried on between the different factions. The question giving rise to this new state of affairs, is the military question.

On the occasion of the last Riksdag elections in 1924, the military problem was in the forefront of public interest. The Social Democratic Party then promised the working class a substantial reduction in the military budget. The savings which were expected to result from the Social Democratic measures, were to have been used for purposes of social reform. That these promises were only empty words could even be proved at the time, and now the Social Democratic militarists have themselves furnished this proof in black and white. It is a matter of some interest to follow up the manner in which the Social Democratic "policy of disarmament" has developed. The stronger the Social Democratic Party has grown in the Riksdag, the greater its love of militarism has become and the more the military budget has increased.

In the year 1910, military expenditure amounted to about 84 million Swedish crowns, in 1915 to 91 millions, in 1920 to 119 millions, and in 1925/26 to no less than 148 million crowns. In the meantime the number of Social Democratic deputies rose from 35 to 156.

A few weeks ago the military question in Sweden again came upon the tapis. A naval commission set up by the last Social Democratic Government, and entrusted with new constructions for the fleet, completed its work and submitted its suggestions to the Riksdag. The commission in question comprises, *inter alia*, two prominent Social Democrats, both of whom fully concur with the most ultra-militarist members of the commission. The new naval programme will cost about 105 million crowns. It provides for the new construction of various warships, a task to be executed in the course of the next ten years.

It is obvious to every one, against whom these armaments are directed and by whose orders they are being carried out. They are directed against the Soviet Union, and the Swedish bourgeoisie and its aiders and abettors, the Social Democrats, are merely fulfilling the behest of the League of Nations and of Great Britain. Formerly there was only the question of the necessity of preserving the neutrality of Sweden by military measures, but now there is talk of the necessity of a coastal fleet capable of operation. According to the publication "The Swedish Fleet", which recently compiled a naval almanac, Sweden already possesses a Baltic fleet of 111 ships of various types, to which number the desired new constructions are to be added. According to this almanac, Soviet Russian is said to have 75 ships in its Baltic fleet, thus falling far short of the much smaller country, Sweden.

That some of the Social Democratic leaders are fully aware that Sweden is only a pawn in the hands of the imperialist Powers against the Soviet Union, may be seen from the following quotation from one of the larger Social Democratic papers of Sweden, which on the occasion of the recent events in Lithuania remarked:

"If conflicts ensue in the East (i. e. the border States), Russia and the League of Nations will have occasion to measure their strength. In adhering to the Locarno policy,

Sweden is simply abandoning all possibility of maintaining its neutrality in such an event."

Another Social Democratic paper, which is in opposition to the naval programme, follows up the quotation of several remarks made by admirals in the Navy Commission, with the question whether this constructional programme is not an "attempt on the part of the big imperialist States to turn our neutral country into a pawn for the purpose of surrounding the Soviet Union" and whether it is not this endeavour which really "dictated the desires of the naval commanders for a high sea fleet."

Within the Social Democratic Party, the opposition against the naval programme is headed by the former Left Socialists and Pacifists, though as a matter of fact the project is also criticised fairly severely by part of the middle-class Liberal Party. These differences within the Social Democratic Party of Sweden show very plainly that the Social Democratic workers are making a serious attack against their leaders. Nor is it only on this question that such a movement can be detected; in regard to the problem of unemployment, too, and in the question of a settlement of labour conflicts by State legislation, the Social Democratic leaders adopted a policy which aroused the most vehement objections on the part of the workers. The party will doubtless succeed in attaining a certain unity among its leading circles, but among the workers the opposition is likely to grow more and more serious.

In this situation, the Communist Party of Sweden has an important task to fulfil, nor has it failed, indeed, to start a campaign on a great scale against the Social Democratic treachery. The Communist Party points out that this naval constructional programme means neither more nor less than seconding the British policy against the Soviet Union, the Swedish fleet being intended to serve as a further link in the chain of available vassals of Great Britain in the Baltic regions. The Swedish working class, closely bound by sentiments of sympathy and solidarity to their class-comrades in the Soviet Union, will never consent to participate in such a policy. Therefore the present campaign of the Communist Party of Sweden is not only directed against the Social Democratic naval armaments, but is also a movement in favour of the Soviet Union and against the anti-Russian war preparations of the imperialists.

### Statement by the C. P. of Great Britain Regarding the British Government's Note to Soviet Russia.

The following statement has been issued by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party:

Under pressure from the successful advance of the Cantonese revolutionary army in China, the bondholders of the old Czarist regime and the dispossessed oil interests whose spokesmen are in the Cabinet, and the conspiratorial propaganda of White Russian agents, the Foreign Office has addressed another Note to the Soviet Government concluding with a threat to sever ordinary diplomatic relations.

The Note makes a series of allegations of breaches of the Trade Agreement and subversive propaganda against British Imperialism and quotes from speeches of public men in the Soviet Union, alleging breaches of "good will" given privately by representatives of the Soviet Government.

Since when has the Baldwin Government had the monopoly of "good will"? Scarcely a day passes but responsible members of the British Government give utterance to the most insulting invective against, not only the Soviet Government, its leading spokesmen, but of the Russian workers generally.

When Mr. Churchill in Rome encourages Italian fascism, and speaks about the "bestial appetites of Leninism"; when it is not denied that "friendly and trustworthy co-operation" exists between the Home Secretary and White Russians who are continually conspiring to overthrow the Soviet Government; when responsible ministers like Birkenhead and others openly insult the Soviet Government and its Institutions; when direct encouragement is given to every form of Anti-Soviet and Fascist outrage in Poland, and the Baltic States, what becomes of "Good Will" and breaches of the Trade Agreement?

The facts are that under pressure of the sinister forces representative of Czarist Bonds, Oil and other interests, a new war of intervention in Soviet Russia is being prepared.

The Soviet Government during its nine years existence has always and at all times pursued a policy of international peace. Waving "concessions and privileges" of the Czarist regime it has pursued a policy of the closest friendship with the Colonial and oppressed peoples of the world. It refuses to take part in the imperialist game of plunder. Moreover, the Russian Working class rallied to the support of the working class in every country wherever an open struggle against capitalism has taken place.

That is the real reason for the venomous propaganda and hatred of the Soviet Union which has culminated in this Note.

The Communist Party of Great Britain warns the workers and the entire labour movement of the seriousness of the situation. The policy of the Baldwin Government is full of war and menace to the peace of Europe.

That there has been no formal break in the relations between the Governments is due entirely to the tolerance and the pacific intentions of the Soviet Government. The Soviet Government, will, we are certain, continue to work for peace and for still closer relations with Britain. Only a Government that was contemplating war, that had the necessary understanding with other Imperialist Powers, especially those on the borders of Russia, could have made itself responsible for such a document. War must be prevented at all costs.

The C. P. G. B. calls upon the organised workers to take energetic action to preserve and further the friendly relations with Soviet Russia, to force the Conservative Government to withdraw its provocative and insulting note. Further, the C. P. G. B. considers it is the duty of the Labour Party and the General Council of the T. U. Congress to do everything in its power to prepare the workers against war and to bring about the end of this reactionary Tory Government.

Only by such action can peace be maintained and the workers be saved from the mad military adventures of the reactionary imperialists.

Executive Committee  
of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

## Further Revelations Regarding the International Incitement against the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 22nd February 1927.

The press here has published the third series of documents from the correspondence between Sablin and Giers. These documents prove that a section of the British press was inspired and supplied with material by Sablin for its anti-soviet campaign.

Sablin points out in his report of the 7th June 1926 that the sensational article published in the "Daily Mail" on the 5th June under the title "Moscow conspiracy to destroy our Trade. Plan to support the coal strike!" contains some of his material which was regularly supplied to the British press. Sablin welcomes the publication of the article in the "Daily Mail" but regrets that "the exposures of this paper have a somewhat naive and sensational character" and terms it a "Boulevard sheet". Sablin then speaks of the possibility of drawing respectable newspapers like the "Times" and the "Daily Telegraph" into the anti-bolshevist campaign.

In his report of the 5th July, Sablin expresses regret at the excellent reception accorded to Soviet naphtha on the British market and suggests that propaganda should be made amongst the British oil interests in order to prevent the admission of Russian oil "in order to undermine the financial situation of the Moscow Communist Party". He asks for new statistics concerning Russian foreign trade "in order to use them as material for British friends as a basis for questions in the House of Commons".

On the 11th July Sablin reports about a great meeting held by the British society for the collection of funds to assist the Russian clergy in Russia and abroad, and stresses that the highest dignitaries of the Church of England took part in this work. He mentions a number of prominent persons who took part including Bernard Pares, an old friend of Miliukov, Dean Inge and others.

Sablin also declares that he can no longer publish independent articles in the British press and that he now uses only channels through British friends, publishers, reporters etc., to

whom he gives his articles and information. The results of this system are satisfactory he declares, he having received friendly letters that very day from General Alfred Knox and from Locker Lampson in which they both thank him for his work.

In a report of the 6th November Sablin describes the efforts of high Anglican and Catholic dignitaries to approach the Greek-Orthodox church, and points out that this is caused by the wish of the people in question to consolidate their own position as "since the war the British clergy have more and more lost the sympathy of the people and are beginning to lose a field which they have long controlled."

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The 11th Party Conference of the C. P. Germany.

By A. Ewert (Berlin).

A period of a year and nine months has elapsed between the tenth and eleventh Party Conference of the C. P. of Germany. Although it has not been a period of revolutionary fights, it will count as one of the most important periods in the development of our Party. For, in this period, the Party has experienced the most acute internal dissensions in the overcoming of the anti-Leninist and ultra-Left ideas, has at the same time made its first steps towards a successful approach to the broad masses of the German workers. The fact that, with a system of proportional representation which favours minorities, all the ultra-Left groups together will only have ten or twelve of the 186 delegates to the Party Conference, is a proof that the Party has, in the main, defeated the ultra-Left groups. This result was achieved in the widest and freest party discussions. In all party organisations and nuclei, this discussion was carried on, reports for and against being delivered on the most important questions.

The 11th Party Conference of the C. P. of Germany is taking place at a time when, that which two years ago was only a tendency in the development, has become fact. The bourgeoisie has gained in strength economically. With the help of large foreign loans, rationalisation rigorously carried through, the prolongation of hours of work, an increase in the work done and reduction of wages for piece-work, German capitalism has once more developed into an economic power. In spite of depression in many branches of industry, in spite of the contradiction between the capacity of production and the possibility of finding markets, an accumulation of new capital to the amount of 8 milliards of marks can be reported. As compared with the conditions in the period between 1918 and 1924, stabilisation has become a fact. The idle talk of some of the opposition members of our Party about the existence of an acute revolutionary situation, in no way alters this fact. We know very well that this stabilisation may at any time be shaken. Great social fights of the working class, new international complications, may produce an acute revolutionary situation in Germany, over night. The Party should never ignore this possibility. On the other hand, it is important that we should draw the necessary conclusions for our tactics of a united front from present conditions.

As a result of the increased economic strength of the bourgeoisie, the 11th Party Conference finds Germany in a state of political development which is characterised by the country being governed by a Right Bloc. This development has only been rendered possible by the policy of coalition and class collaboration, which the Social Democratic Party and the trade unions have practised for eight years. In a number of countries, the Social Democratic parties are still forming coalition governments with the bourgeoisie. Even in Germany, the bourgeoisie is still keeping the door open to renew the coalition with Social Democracy, should the situation become acute. In the present situation, however, the bourgeoisie prefers to diminish the contradictions within its own camp by excluding Social Democracy for the time being, to win the approval of the German Nationalists for Stresemann's foreign policy and thus to create as broad and united a front as possible for the development of an active imperialist policy. Moreover, a number of legislative measures are being introduced for gagging the working class and for liquidating all that remains of the achievements gained through the revolutionary struggles.

The increase of the economic strength of the German bourgeoisie and its consolidation in the political field, have led to a revival of its lust for imperialist power. Whereas the Germany of 1923, held in subjection by French imperialism, still sought friendship with the Soviet Union, it has become more and more evident since the acceptance of the Dawes plan, and especially since the conclusion of the Locarno Pact and since Germany joined the League of Nations, that she is preparing for an active fight against the Soviet Union, side by side with British imperialism. This change of attitude is already very far advanced and would undoubtedly find much more active expression, did not the grapes hang a little too high. Development in this direction, however, is in the natural course of things. The Communist Party of Germany will devote the greatest attention to these new, inevitable military conflicts.

The C. P. of Germany is all the more under this obligation, since the Social Democratic Party, along with the 2nd International, is now placing itself in the service of Chamberlain's war policy and is trying, by its poison gas campaign, to shake the growing confidence of the workers in the Soviet Union. The campaign of the 2nd International in the question of shells is only a prelude to what the working class may expect should the situation become still more acute. When the German bourgeoisie found itself in a difficult situation as regards foreign policy, it appealed to the proletarian State for permission to build some concessioned factories — for air-craft and chemicals — on its territory. These concessions were granted in the well-considered interest of the Soviet Union, in the interest of increasing the possibility of defending the revolutionary State. A few years later, so as, to some extent, to give evidence of its "internal" conversion to the war plans of British imperialism, the Social Democratic Party is sent forward with its "revelations", which of course adds lies and forged documents to the well-known accepted facts.

The 11th Party Conference must reinforce the counter-campaign already embarked on by our Party and must spread enlightenment on broad lines among the working masses as to the danger of war which is imminent.

Only when the ultra-Left groups have, to the greater part, been dissolved, will the Party be in a position to concentrate its strength chiefly on solving its practical problems: Not only does the 11th Party Conference take place in a period of relative stabilisation, but at the same time we may see throughout Germany a consolidating and strengthening of the Labour movement, a trend to the Left of new, wide strata of the German proletariat, and it is evident that before long, there will be new and tremendous class collisions.

The present movements are still weak, in that their striking force is slight, that they are conducted without unanimity, that the bureaucracy of the trade unions still succeeds everywhere in stifling these movements for higher wages, either by negotiations or by the granting of small concessions after strikes of short duration. The great importance of these movements is that they represent for those strata of the German proletariat who count for most, a transition from complete passivity to activity and fighting. The 11th Party Conference will urge the Party with all its force to fulfil these tasks, for the trade union work of the C. P. of Germany is still one of its weakest points, and it is in this domain that the Party has experienced the greatest vacillations.

About 25% of the members of the Communist Party still do not belong to trade unions. The Party must set itself the task of persuading millions of workers to join the trade unions in the course of its 1927 programme, thus raising the fighting force of the working class and extending the basis for the revolutionary trade union policy in the trade unions themselves. Only by work of this kind can a tremendous impulse be given to the movement towards the Left of the German working class and to its evolution from Reformism into Communism.

Hand in hand with this, connections must be taken up and organised systematically between the Communist Party organisations and members and those Social Democratic workers who are dissatisfied with the policy of their party. Broad strata of the members of the S. P. of Germany are in more or less indefinite opposition to the policy of their leaders. The Communists must understand how to develop the consciousness of the workers in this opposition, how to help them in the fight against the policy of their leaders and thus to prepare them to join the Communists in the approaching fight and finally lead them to Communism.

The same applies to the workers who support the Catholic Centre party, who form a large percentage of the workers in the very important industrial districts of the Ruhr and Upper Silesia. Even in these circles, there is, for the first time, a wide and deep-reaching fermentation, which urges them towards joining with energy in the class war.

The Communist Party must not of course confine itself to these tasks. It should above all strengthen its own organisation, even in this period of relative stabilisation, and reduce the disproportion between the influence of the Communist Party on the masses and the number of its members. The slogan must be the enrolment of hundreds of thousands of new members in the Communist Party from the ranks of the most progressive, most active and most self-sacrificing elements of the German working class. The majority of our members still belong either to the army of the unemployed or they are occupied in the small and medium-sized factories. Although it is important to strengthen the connection with the unemployed and to increase the activity of the army of unemployed numbering millions, it is particularly necessary for the revolutionary party to become the leader of the millions who are concentrated in the two thousand large factories in Germany.

The 11th Party Conference is further faced by the important task concerning the internal affairs of the Party, the task of consolidating the Party a step further, as was introduced by the Open Letter. The fractional disruptions which, by their nature, are the result of an uninterrupted chain of defeats intensified by the mistakes and tendencies of the Right opportunists and the Left liquidators, must now be overcome by the deliberate work of the whole Party. This condition must be replaced in an increasing measure by the unification of the Party on the basis of Leninism. This process will certainly not be completed without friction, disturbances and obstacles; there are still vacillations which, on the one hand resist concentration for fear of dangers from the Right, and partly because of a secret opposition to the present policy of the Party, and, on the other hand, tend to hush up the mistakes made in 1923; the Party must keep a watchful eye on both these tendencies as they involve the danger of the formation of new groups and deviations, and must combat them in every way. Even now, however, it is beyond doubt that these vacillations will not take root in the Party Conference. Numerically, they will only appear to a comparatively small extent.

The 11th Party Conference of the C. P. of Germany, which is taking place in Essen, in the domain ruled by trust capital, in the domain of the greatest revolutionary experiences of the German proletariat, in the domain of the most embittered class fights, is a guarantee that the concrete situation in Germany will be taken into account, and that the weapons for the fights in the immediate future will be forged at this Party Conference. After a period of defeats and of the diminution of its influence, the C. P. of Germany is once more on the upgrade. This will not only fill the German Communists with pride, but will also be acclaimed with the greatest satisfaction by our brother parties in all other countries.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Regrouping in the Norwegian Labour Movement.

By John Pepper (Moscow).

Events of tremendous importance have taken place in the Norwegian Labour movement during the last few weeks, events which deserve the greatest attention even outside Norway.

After a good deal of turmoil, the Norwegian Labour Party, which seceded from the Communist International in 1923 under the lead of Tranmael, but has, during the years which have elapsed since then, maintained the attitude of a "Communist" party with the dictatorship of the proletariat on its programme, whilst refusing to have anything to do with the 2nd International, has now united with the Social Democratic Party. This union took place at a "Unification Congress" which had been prepared by intensive propaganda and solemnly proclaimed as the "class gathering" of the workers of Norway.

Simultaneously with this "Unification Congress", another Labour Congress was held which, attended by the Communists,

united all those elements of the working class who will have nothing to do with an alliance with Social Democracy.

The Unification Congress of the Tranmaelites was attended by 870 delegates who were said to represent 76,000 workers (in reality only 56,000). The other, the "Unification Congress of the Class Struggle" was attended by 400 delegates representing 30,000 workers. Tranmael succeeded in persuading almost all the workers of Oslo, the capital, to join the camp of united Social Democracy; in the most important industrial districts of the provinces however (Vestlandet, Bergen, Trøndelag, Møre, Trøndhjem, Telemark, Nordland) either the whole of the workers or the overwhelming majority of the Labour movement joined the "Unification Congress of the Class Struggle".

Both Congresses ended with the formation of a new party. The Norwegian Labour Party and the Social Democratic Party were united into the "Norwegian Labour party" (United Labour party), which has every right to be called the united Social Democratic Party. The other Congress founded the "Collective Party of the Working Class", which embraces the trade unions with leanings towards the Left and the Communist Party of Norway. From the point of view of organisation, both the new parties are based on the principle of the Labour party — no individual membership, but collective affiliation of whole organisations.

A new phase in the development of the Norwegian Labour movement begins with the formation of these two new parties. The two parties, the one under the ideological hegemony of the Social Democrats and the other under the spiritual leadership of the Communists, have now gathered the Norwegian Labour movement into two clearly defined camps. Thus, the division of the Norwegian Labour movement into three sections, which had prevailed hitherto, has come to an end.

The "collective idea" is particularly strong in the Norwegian working class. The deflation crisis, the growing unemployment, the brutal offensive of the capitalists who are demanding wage reductions of 25 and even 50%, the bills of the reactionary Government directed against the trade unions, are, with irresistible force, compelling the working class to close their ranks. The whole tradition of the Norwegian Labour movement works out in the direction of strengthening the "collective" tendency. In Norway, the trade unions and the political party have, for decades, been only two sides of one and the same movement. Collective membership was the prevailing form of the political party organisation.

The collective instinct in the masses of workers proved so strong that even some of the leaders of the Communist Party succumbed to it and issued the slogan that the C. P. ought to dissolve and to unite with the Tranmael party and Social Democracy at the Unification Congress. This anti-Party attitude of the liquidators (Støstad and Monsen, two parliamentarians and a few of the leading trade unionists) brought the Communist Party into an extremely dangerous position. This danger was further intensified by the fact that some of the ultra-Left elements of the Party, especially in Oslo, intimidated by the collective instinct of the masses, did everything to promote an absolute boycott of the Unification Congress, just as they had formerly opposed "on principle" the idea of founding a "Labour Party".

After detailed discussion with the Executive of the Communist International, however, our Norwegian brother Party has combated both the ultra-Left deviation and that in favour of liquidation, and has found the correct Bolshevik tactics. The Party took up an attitude of opposition to the Tranmael Unification Congress, declared its disapproval of the liquidation of the C. P., but at the same time called upon the workers to take an active part in the Unification Congress. Instead of boycotting the Unification Congress, the C. P. issued the slogan to turn the party gathering into a real class gathering. In a dictatorial way, the organisers of the Unification Congress, the so-called "Committee of Twelve" (consisting of representatives of the Social Democrats, the Tranmael party and the trade union bureaucrats) laid down certain conditions for those who wished to take part, such as the acceptance of an opportunist programme, a Reformist line of action for the trade unions, the dissolution of all special political organisations, the breaking off of all international connections. The Communist Party appealed against this dictatorial behaviour of the Committee of Twelve to the "right of self-determination" of the Labour organisations, demanded the "freedom of discussion" and the election of delegates on a "free basis". These slogans were taken up by the

workers quite beyond all expectations. No less than 250 delegates were elected by the trade unions, the unions of agricultural and forest workers, the organisations of the unemployed and the proletarian women's associations under the slogan of the "free" basis; the conditions of the Committee of Twelve being rejected. To these must be added the 150 delegates of the districts and the local organisations of the Communist Party and the young Communists.

From the beginning, the Committee of Twelve had declared that the delegates elected on a "free" basis would not be admitted to the Unification Congress. Thereupon the Communist Party organised a fight for the recognition of the "free" mandates. An "invitation committee" was formed from among the delegates which, even before the Unification Congress was opened, summoned the 400 "free" delegates to organise "a fight in common" for the recognition of their mandates. This large conference of the 400 delegates resolved to address a letter to the Unification Congress and chose a deputation which should explain the reasons for the demand that the "free" delegates and the Communist Party should be admitted to the Unification Congress. The Unification Congress received and listened to the deputation — but only after it had resolved by 800 votes to 19 not to recognise the "free" mandates. Thus, Tranmael and the Social Democrats completed the split of the forces of the proletariat before the eyes of the whole working class of Norway.

The next step of the free delegates was the inevitable result of the situation thus created. The Conference of the 400 delegates constituted itself as a special congress and later as a special party: the "Unification party of the working class". For several days the Congress discussed both the general economic and political situation of Norway and the international situation. A programme of action and resolutions were passed dealing with the following questions: unemployment, the remission of debts and a moratorium for the poor peasants; against the Norwegian trade union movement affiliating to Amsterdam and in favour of the creation of a Russian, Norwegian and Finnish trade union committee; against capitalist militarism; against the pacifist disarmament slogan and in favour of the establishment of a workers and peasants defence militia. Further, a resolution on socialist construction in Soviet Russia and against the danger of intervention, a declaration of solidarity with the great Chinese revolution; finally the demands of the youth. The programme of action of the new "Unification party of the working class" is no Communist programme, but is based on the principle of the irreconcilable class war, and pledges itself to combat the 2nd International.

By its active participation in the collective campaign, the Communist Party of Norway has achieved an important political victory.

In the following points, we can summarize the most important factors of this significant success of the C. P. of Norway.

1. By its active participation in the collective campaign, the Party has succeeded in overcoming the danger of liquidation. Not our Party, but the liquidators were liquidated. A dozen of these traitors left the Party, but as officers without troops. The Party has remained united and compact, its capability of fighting was only strengthened by the secession of the Social Democratic foreign body. Only its extremely active participation in the collective campaign made it possible smoothly to assimilate the "Mot-Dag" and the "Labour Opposition group", which recently joined the Party.

2. The influence of the Party on the masses would have been very much weakened by any tactics of boycott, whereas it was considerably strengthened by its active participation in the collective campaign. A very considerable section of the trade unions had, up to that time, remained "neutral" between the Tranmael party and the Communist Party. The Communist Party has now succeeded in wiping out the fiction of the "political neutrality" of the trade unions. The great majority of the trade unions, which had, up to now, had no political connections, have joined the new "Unification Party" of the working class, and have thus been won for active revolutionary tactics.

3. The Communist Party now has in its hands, in the most effective way, the slogan of unity. Hitherto the clever demagogy of Tranmael has succeeded in making the Communists — in the eyes of the working class — appear responsible for all splits. The collective campaign has, for the first time, made it clear to the whole working class, that it is not the Communists but the Tranmaelists who are responsible for the split.

4. The union between the Tranmael party and Social Democracy and the simultaneous exclusion of the Communists and the free delegates is causing more and more discontent in the ranks of the Tranmaelist masses of workers. Tranmael has undertaken to lead the trade unions to Amsterdam and the new united party into the arms of the 2nd International. Friedrich Adler, the Secretary of the 2nd International, has already declared that the new united party will be affiliated to the 2nd International at its next congress. The times of Tranmael's demagogic centralist tactics have thus passed away for ever. By continuing systematically its present, wise tactics, the Communist Party will be able to break through the path to the revolutionary minded masses of workers, which has hitherto been barred by Tranmael.

5. Affiliation to the Tranmael party or political "neutrality" have hitherto been the only alternatives for the Norwegian trade unions. The formation of the new "Unification Party" of the working class, which already embraces the trade unions with a trend towards the Left, opens up to them new prospects. The Communist Party has been able to recruit for individual members and will, in the future, only accept individual members. As regards the question of the political inclusion of the trade unions, it has however nothing to oppose to the Tranmael party which is built up on the collective membership of trade unions. The foundation of the new "Unification Party of the Working Class", which is built up on collective membership, however, places before every trade union and every Labour organisation the alternative of either joining the "United Social Democratic Party" or of joining the "Unification Party of the Class Struggle".

## REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE COLONIES

### Against Imperialism and for National Independence!

Manifesto of the Brussels Congress.

The representatives of the Oppressed Peoples and of the working class who are assembled together in the Congress from all parts of the earth in order to guarantee their elementary rights and the mutual development of brotherly fellowship, have resolved:

A position, in which hundreds of millions of men are condemned culturally and violently to suffer material and moral stagnation and to remain the involuntary victims of foreign capitalist exploitation, whereby struggle to which this exploitation gives rise, constantly threatens the peace of the nations with new and bloody conflicts — this dangerous, critical, debasing and barbarous position can really not longer be tolerated. History has expressed its irrevocable sentence upon this shame, which has already lasted for centuries, and which in our own epoch has been strengthened afresh by the policy of imperialism and has attained dimensions hitherto undreamed of. For hundreds of years the unprotected, cruel and relentless exploitation of the over-seas Asiatic, African and American peoples and races has always been one of the chief sources from which European capitalism has fed itself. The indescribable yoking, enslavement and compulsory labour, the simple destruction and not only exploitation of all nations and races so that their very name did not remain, was necessary in order to construct the proud fabric first of all of European and then of European-American capitalism and of its so very cultured material and spiritual civilization. However, the young states which arose on the other side of the Ocean partly on the grave of other nations, of other civilizations and partly through amalgamation with native-born peoples, were compelled to defend their right to independent national existence against the aggressive self-seeking egoism of the capitalist mother-countries by war. And it was chiefly only the mutual hostilities of these capitalist mother-countries which provided the possibility for this struggle for national independence to be crowned with success.

Every new capitalist state which appeared upon the arena of history, as happened at the end of the last century, in the case of Germany and later Italy, considered it necessary to pursue itself the course of oppressing and enslaving colonial

peoples. No single capitalist state considered itself to be an equally qualified capitalist power until it had brought other weaker defenceless nations into subjection to itself. This subjection was characterised by a complete Hierarchy, by a graduated system which leads from simple de facto control, from the veiled forms of dependence to unveiled slavery, and laterly also in geographically distant countries to the traditional forms of medieval feudalism and bodily ownership.

As the present time of the highest development of capitalist nations, at this epoch of imperialism, this barbarous cruel system has reached its highest pitch of perfection. The surplus of capitalist accumulation in the new shape of Finance Capital categorically required the final subjection of all parts of the world which are not yet capitalist. The end of the 19th. century and the beginning of the 20th. brought with them the final division of the world between a small group of imperialist powers. A few Great Powers and in them a few individuals, supported by the strength of accumulated capital and upon the strength of the bayonets and cannons of the most modern and perfect murder-machine, began to control the world. The conquest and enslavement of some nations led to the conquest and enslaving of others. The struggle of the groups of imperialist powers for the last stretches of territory which had not yet been finally parcelled out, for a fresh division of the world led finally to the greatest catastrophe and to the greatest crime in the history of humanity, to the world war.

But this terrible catastrophe which drenched two Continents with blood, did not destroy that awful system of which it was itself the fruit. The imperialist Powers have clung like limpets to the booty, which threatened to slip from their hands and which they had so dearly purchased. The murder of millions of men, among whom were hundreds of thousands of colonial slaves from India and from the French African colonies, who on all the fields of battle had fallen in the interests of the Slave owners, did not lead to any diminution of the number of the Powers, which are laying claim to colonial booty. Fascist Italy hastened to take the place of Germany and clamours ever more loudly and more shrilly for a share of the colonial territories, and even in Germany itself the privileged classes, which have restored their economic and political power and have already forgotten the bitter taste of foreign rule, are now striving to win for themselves the right to oppress other peoples. That is the inexcusable logic of that system under which mankind is suffocating. Less than ever can the present economic system, which has exhausted the European masses during the war, continue to exist and to grow without colonial excess profits and without the subjection of whole nations and whole continents. The less the old capitalism is in the position to ensure the well being of the European masses, and above all of the proletarian masses, the more is it compelled to seek in foreign continents for markets for its goods and its capital which can be controlled by force. The development of the monopoly of capital which was extraordinarily accelerated by the war, changed the small clique of the privileged classes of a few Great Powers — above all of Anglo-Saxon powers — into masters and despots of the whole world.

The world-war and its consequences clearly showed, however, that imperialist colonial capitalism, and capitalism in general was its own grave-digger. The explosion of the world war not only revealed the amazing internal dissensions, by which capitalist society was torn, but millions of men had to lose their lives in the attempt to adjust and smooth over these dissensions. This is not all that the world war revealed. In their inexcusable struggle against each other the imperialist powers were themselves forced to announce the slogan of self-determination. The oppressed, enslaved peoples took the Imperialists at their word so to speak. The belated and deceptive concessions, which were followed by a relapse into still more cruel oppression, all the methods of the cruel unsystematic patriarchal rule of post-war imperialism threw the masses which had already been upset by the war and by the whole economic development, into a still greater state of unrest. A mighty wave of the movement for national emancipation passed over immense regions of Asia, Africa and America. The banner of the revolt against slavery and conquest was raised in China and in India, in Egypt as in North west Africa, in Indonesia and also in the Philippines. The hatred of slavery and oppression, the longing for a better, freer and cultured life awoke in all corners of the exploited world.

After the world war, the National World Freedom Movement received a mighty push forward from the Russian revolution, which established the power of the proletariat and the peasant, which did not rest on exploitation and led to the transformation of the former robber empire of Russia which had oppressed hundreds of people, into a free federation of equal peoples. The greatest house of oppression in the world has been irreparably overthrown. The historical example of the Workers' State which rests upon the free league of nations and races, which has been built up upon the ruins of this house of oppression, lights up like a torch the path of the struggle for freedom of the oppressed and enslaved nations.

No one can throttle again this mighty way for freedom and independence. Only fools and miserable Philistines and routine men can believe that the civilisation today and the whole future of the world can be confined to Europe and the United States of America. The National Freedom Movement of the Asiatic, African and American peoples is in its extent a world miracle. And it alone — organically connected and associated in growth with the struggle for freedom of the proletariat of the old capitalist society — will be able to change our planet into a civilised world. It alone will open a new chapter in the history of the world through the liberation of the world — the history of which for the first time will be a real world history, the history of mankind throughout the whole world. Already the Chinese revolution alone, the movement for freedom on the part of 400,000,000 oppressed people — is a fact of world historical importance, which throws many of the "great" outstanding facts of European history completely into the shade. Let the rulers of the old small part of the world renounce their antiquated illusions which no longer correspond to the present time, and which today inevitably make a miserable and ridiculous impression. The whole world is moving and the smallest jolt in any part of it causes a mighty repercussion over an immense extent of territory. The example of tiny Nicaragua showed that a lasting opposition even against the most powerful giant is possible, thanks to the publicity which this opposition awakes among a number of stronger peoples which are equally concerned with the necessity of defending their own independence.

Without the most bitter opposition, however, the imperialist oppressors will not give up their booty. The young Turkish Republic had to use the whole of its strength in a new war. She had to transfer her capital to the interior of the country in order to protect her independence from the attacks of the robbers. Already since the world war we have witnessed new colonial wars in Morocco and Syria. Under pressures of the national movement Great Britain has finally found itself obliged to grant, on paper, a kind of independence and self-government to Egypt. Britain continues, however, with the help of the military forces which have been left behind in this country, to violate the rights of the Egyptian people in the most brutal manner, and clings all the tighter to Sudan, which has never forgotten the blood-stained, heroic deeds of Lord Kitchener.

In order to maintain their power, and at the same time in the name of so-called "prestige", one of the most hypocritical, one of the most base and shameless of Imperialist conceptions, the robbers of today, who are so proud of their culture and of their Christianity, show themselves capable, now as formerly, of the most inhuman cruelties and most barbarous acts of revenge. Who can forget the recent cruel dealing of the Dutch Planters Government with the rebels of Dutch India? There compulsory labour and slavery still exist. Who can forget the bestial cannon salvo at a distance of six meters upon unarmed Chinese at Wanhsien, by whose blood the Yangtsekian river was coloured red? Who does not remember the cannibal and triumphant tone of the descriptions given by the leading organs of the press of the highly cultured English nation, of this unheard of massacre? Who in India has forgotten with what brutality an unarmed crowd on the market-place of Amritsar, of which the gates had been closed, was fired upon? Who has forgotten that General O'Dyer received an honorable distinction from the adherents of the brutal proceedings?

The necessity of restoring the disturbed foundations of economic life, the fear of revolution and the exhaustion of the world-war, which has not yet been overcome, compelled the imperialist powers to maintain some kind of peace in their mutual relations. For this reason "pacifism" has become the favoured expression both of European and of American diplo-

macy, which had prepared the greatest war in the history of mankind. "Pacifism", is, however, not an exportable commodity, it serves so to speak for the internal need of imperialist powers. It is not applicable to those countries which imperialism regards as its colonies or semi-colonies. Here, on the contrary, the unveiled and unrestricted violence of the mailed fist is dominating, here European-American militarism can make its highest show and prepare for big battles.

The official European-American pseudo pacifism is the expression of these facts (except those already mentioned), that by the wedge of world antagonisms which separate the imperialist powers from each other, the principle stage of world-war has been removed from West to East — to the Pacific Ocean. Here on the shores of the great Ocean we find the most important and the most valuable objects of imperial interest, and the struggles going on on both sides of the ocean in which the armed forces of the imperialist powers and their assistants are engaged, are only the preliminary fights which announce the great collision which brings intense misery to mankind.

British diplomacy is constantly, indefatigably and energetically busy drawing other imperialist powers into an armed conflict with China. After the visit to Rome of the worst adventurer of our time, the hero of Gallipoli, Mr. Churchill, to that other ruthless adventurer, Mussolini, Fascist Italy, though it has very little interest in China, is doing its utmost, naturally, to raise its prestige and to get sooner or later some other advantage in the world. It is trying its best to offer its services to England by sending dreadnoughts to the Chinese waters. England itself is actually in a condition of war with the forces fighting in China on behalf of their liberation, represented by the Canton Government and the Kuomintang.

Only the success of the South Chinese armies, only the fear of complete defeat, only the misfortune of the first effort to create an armed conflict against Revolutionary China, have compelled the London Government to enter into negotiations with the Canton Government. At the same time, however, while these negotiations are in progress, they support the worst enemies of Chinese freedom (as one of the worst examples, we mention Chang-Tso-Lin who has transformed himself from a simple robber and political dandy to a military "satrap") and a fearful campaign has been set on foot against the Soviet Union, the only friend of young China. But above all, these negotiations are accompanied by extensive transportation of military troops to Shanghai which the victorious armies are approaching.

The whole of the working class in England is already protesting energetically against this new war danger. The national struggle for the freedom of this greatest nation of Asia is threatened to be strangled and there is the danger that a new crusade will begin also against Soviet Russia. This, because in the eyes of the imperialist world there is no greater crime than moral solidarity with the liberation-movements of an Asiatic nation.

On the other side of the ocean North American imperialism is, by open hostility, securing for itself power over all transport routes which will enable it to mobilise its naval forces. It threatens the independency of Mexico, where for the first time democratic power has established itself and makes efforts to protect the sovereignty of the country against the shameless and continual aggressions of foreign powers, especially against that of North-American monopolistic capital.

Thanks to the protests in democratic circles in the United States, to the growing indignation of Latin American countries, upon which North American capital would also force its domination, and above all, thanks to the firm attitude of the Mexican Government itself, Kellogg and Coolidge have been forced into a provisional retreat.

It would be ridiculous, however, to be blind to the danger of war which is threatened here. The imperialist powers buy and sell whole nations and populated continents like cattle. Always and everywhere, we see the same picture — on the one side dozens and hundreds of millions who strive for independence and freedom, and on the other side small but powerful minorities of exploiters who strive to secure extra-profits in underhand ways of privileged trade, by export of capital and by monopolist control of the most important raw material, such as cotton, oil, copper, iron, etc.

Military action in Europe has ended. Before the war recommences on the plains of Europe and the coast of the

Pacific Ocean, still wet with blood, it will be continued in one form or another in Asia, Africa and Central America where already a collision is in course of preparation.

No pacifist alarm will mask the cruel and shameful fact that the world will not get out of the war conditions and that slavery and exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries will remain the ceaseless source of war.

Under these conditions, this Brussels Conference has decided to found the "League Against Imperialism and for National Independence". We announce to all oppressed people and all oppressed classes of the dominating nations, the foundation of this League. We appeal to all who do not profit from the oppression of others and who do not live on the fruits of this oppression, and to all who have modern slavery and are longing for their own freedom and the freedom of their fellow-men, to affiliate to us and to support us.

The oppressed and enslaved people have confidence above all, in the support of the advanced working class of all countries who, like themselves, have nothing to lose but their chains. But also the broadest masses of peasants and the mass of the middle class and intellectuals in the dominating countries are also victims of the suppression of colonial countries because this oppression at best, only brings to them miserable sops on the one hand while on the other hand it brings to them the increasing burden of militarism accompanied by all the horrors of warfare. The emancipation of the oppressed colonial peoples, vassals and those subjugated by violence, will not diminish the great accomplishments and possibilities of the material and spiritual culture of mankind, but will increase them on a scale never yet experienced. And in this sense the oppressed and enslaved nations, which represent the overwhelming majority of mankind, like the proletariat, can conquer the world, the world of the future.

Oppressed Peoples and Oppressed Nations,  
Unite!

## THE WHITE TERROR

### A Cry for Help from the Victims of the White Terror in Bulgaria.

Not only does the blood-thirsty Government of Liaptshoff and Zankoff take no interest in the fate of thousands and thousands of women, widows and orphans of the workers and peasants who have been murdered or have "disappeared without leaving a trace", it even prohibits all activity for providing relief for these victims. In spite, however, of the cruel persecution of those who want to give help, the cry and the demand for State help and for free permission to give relief, are growing louder and louder.

In the last few weeks the widows and orphans have themselves taken the initiative and have placed themselves at the head of the fight for their demands. The following is a copy of a memorandum signed by 88 wives of the murdered and "disappeared" workers of Sofia, addressed to the Prime Minister (copies having been sent to the Minister of the Interior, Minister for Justice, the Parliament, the fraction leaders, the President of the Bulgarian Women's League and of the League for Human Rights (and to the Press):

To the Minister,

For the past three years during the civil war, our husbands, sons and brothers have been murdered or have completely disappeared. They were the only support of our families. Our situation is constantly becoming worse and, at the present moment, the serious economic crisis, unemployment and rise of prices have made it unbearable.

A law has been passed in Parliament and has come into force with regard to those who have disappeared, on the basis of which the families of those killed in the outrage on the cathedral or who have met with their death in the pursuit of robbers, have several times received State support. In spite of the express terms of the law, however, no one troubles about us, who have also suffered from the same events. An extraordinarily large number of families has met with this fate. In Sofia alone, the number of families of those who have "disappeared leaving no trace" is more than 300. The number of the families of those who are imprisoned or who have fled the country, is much larger still.

For this reason we, the mothers, wives and children of those who have disappeared, or who have been murdered or imprisoned, raise our voice before society and before Parliament and demand:

Adequate State compensation for the families of those who have been murdered or imprisoned, in the same measure as the victims of the outrage on the cathedral were compensated. Most of the relatives of those who have disappeared have legal documents as proof, and they have a legal claim to State compensation. For this reason we demand immediate State support and complete, unconditional amnesty for the political prisoners and emigrants.

Until this has been granted, we call upon you, the Prime Minister, to permit the formation of a general people's relief committee for the support of the victims of the events referred to. It should be the duty of this committee to support those families which are in the greatest distress and in danger of starving to death. This committee, the members of which should be representatives of all classes of the population and all political shades of opinion, should be entrusted with the task of caring, in common with us, the victims, for the necessitous families of the victims.

Here follow the signatures and addresses of 88 widows of the victims.

A report in the newspaper "Novini" of February 8th 1927, according to which 30 free-thinking intellectuals were arrested in one night in the little town of Orchanie (4000 inhabitants) and have since "completely disappeared", i. e. have been murdered, shows how large is the number of those who "disappear without leaving a trace" in Bulgaria.

## TEN YEARS AGO

### Proclamations of the Bolsheviki in the Last Weeks of the Tsarist Rule.

"Down with the War! Up with the Civil War!"

Verbatim text of a printed proclamation distributed in Siberia at the beginning of February 1927.

Comrades!

The most infamous of all wars known to history has, for the last two and a half years, been devastating a large part of the earth. This war is destroying the most valuable inheritance of mankind; it is threatening to bury under its ruins everything of which Europe boasted at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Why are those people suddenly beginning to speak of peace, who had dreamed of trampling the whole of Europe under the iron heel of their armies? Germany and her allies are not speaking of peace because a conscience has awakened in the mind of the German Ministers, nor even because their forces are exhausted.

No! Nothing has changed in the mind of the Ministers who have condemned the flower of their nation to death only that they may conquer new territory, only that they may rake in new profits for the capitalists of their country.

Not a love of peace and not weakness have forced the Governments of Germany and Austro-Hungary to make offers of peace. It is the threat of revolution, which is growing beyond their control, that has decided them to take this step.

Our comrades, the proletariat of Germany and Austro-Hungary, have long ago taken up the fight against the devastations of war. They were the first to inscribe on their banner the slogan dear to us: "Down with the war!"

For two years they have fought bravely and tenaciously under this banner. The German Government has thrown them into prison and has fired on the crowd in the street. The blood shed for the cause of freedom, for the cause of mankind, will not be absorbed in vain, not without fertilizing the barren soil, as is the blood of those who die on the battle-field. In Germany, the army of the proletariat, which has risen to fight for the restoration of peace, is growing from day to day, despite all violence.

The voice demanding that the war be stopped, is heard more and more distinctly, sounds more and more threatening. The waves of the people's wrath are dashing, with greater and

greater violence against the walls of the palaces. This angry sea is causing thrones to totter.

The Governments of the countries fighting against us are beginning to speak of peace. It is not difficult to see on what they are reckoning. They are making proposals of peace to their opponents. If their enemies reject the peace negotiations, they will say to their nations: "We have done everything in our power to put an end to the shedding of blood. You see for yourselves that the possibility of putting an end to the war is out of our hands. We are being attacked, we must defend ourselves."

The success of this manoeuvre would be a death-blow to the movement of the German workers against the war. The flames of war are flaring up with fresh vigour. New streams of blood, new piles of corpses, more victims called to the colours! How will it all end? When will this madness cease?

The whole manoeuvre of the German Government is based on the presumption that the German proletariat is alone in its struggle for peace. The German Government has staked everything on the hope that the workers of Russia, England and France will not support the workers of Germany in their demand: "Down with the war!"

It is the popular movement alone which has compelled the Governments of the countries fighting against us to make offers of peace. Only the people can compel the Governments of Russia, England and France to accept these offers of peace. Will the call of our brothers, the German workers, find an echo among the Russian workers? Will the Russian workers support them in their great and difficult struggle for peace?

The moment has come when the fate of Europe is to be decided. The question is to be decided as to whether the offer of peace made by the Governments of the countries which are fighting against us, is to be a step towards peace or towards a further intensification of the fury of war. This question is on the point of being decided, and no one can keep aloof from this decision in whose breast a heart still beats, whose brain has not ceased to form clear thoughts, whose conscience is not dead.

Comrades! Which of you has not in his mind, cursed this present, futile inhuman war? Any cry emitted between four walls is useless, when what is needed is action.

Every day of the war costs 25,000 human lives. Every hour the war continues demands the lives of thousands of human beings and destroys the happiness of thousands of families. Every hour by which we hasten an armistice, will save hundreds of comrades and brothers from perishing.

It is a crime to keep silent at such a time. He who holds his tongue to-day, shares the responsibility for the continuation of the war . . . What are we to do? What must we get accomplished?

We will tear the mask from the faces of the hypocrites who speak of peace whilst at the same time they feed the flames of the world war.

What we desire is that the solution of the question of peace or war be taken out of the hands of the secret Cabinets of diplomacy, where all questions are solved by intrigue, corruption and treachery, and entrusted to the peoples.

Peace negotiations must be commenced at once.

All proposals made by the Governments of the countries fighting against us must be made public and discussed by the whole nation.

When the proposals of both parties have been made known, we and our comrades in Germany and Austro-Hungary will be faced by the same tasks.

We shall resist the lust for conquest of our ruling classes. Our comrades on the other side of the front will continue their courageous fight against the plans of conquest of the capitalists of their countries.

Together we shall fight for peace on the basis of the recognition of the rights of the peoples. We cannot, however, entrust the peace negotiations either to our Government or to our National Duma.

We declare that the voice of the Government and of the Duma is not the voice of Russia, is not the voice of the people. In the hour when the fate of the people is being decided, it must not be left to a handful of sycophant courtiers of Nicholas II and Grigori Rasputin.

In no case can the Duma, which was elected by the landed proprietors on the basis of the law of June 3rd, speak in the name of the people when that hour comes; the Duma which consented to the condemnation of the Labour deputies and which

drove from its meetings the deputies of the Social Democratic fraction, the only fraction whose hands are not stained with the blood of those murdered in the war, the only fraction in which the people has faith.

The Government and the National Duma are equally responsible for the present war. The Government and the Duma have led the country to the edge of an abyss, and the people cannot entrust its fate to them. The decision as to the question: war or peace, must be placed in the hands of the people itself. Forces will arise from the midst of the people, which will heal the wounds it has suffered through the war. Once more our cry echoes throughout the country demanding a Constituent Assembly.

Our country is at the parting of the ways. The whole of Europe is at the parting of the ways.

Only the united forces of the proletariat of all countries can quench the fire of the world war.

Our comrades in Germany have raised the banner of the fight against war. Across the trenches they are reaching out their hands to us; they are prepared to cast away their blood-stained weapons.

It is now our turn. What shall we say? What answer shall we give to their appeal?

We greet them heartily! We will say to them: Your banner is our banner, your cry is our cry" Down with the war!

Peace negotiations must be started at once.

All civil liberties for the free discussion of the terms of peace by the people must be established without delay.

A Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of general, equal and secret franchise should be summoned at once to conduct the peace negotiations, to conclude peace and to regulate the life of the country.

These are our demands. In the struggle to have these demands fulfilled, the proletariat of Germany, Austro-Hungary, England and France are our allies. Let our old cry: Proletarians of all countries, unite! echo throughout the whole world which is looking to the working class to save it and to set it free!

Down with war for the subjugation of other nations!

Hurrah for civil war and the liberation of the whole of mankind!

Down with arbitrary rule! Long live the Constituent Assembly!

Down with all the enemies of freedom!

Long live the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party!

January 1917.

The Committee of the Labour Union.

## DOWN WITH THE TSARIST MONARCHY! — DEMAND A PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF THE WORKERS AND THE VILLAGE POOR!

Manifesto of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviki in the Second Half of February 1917.

Russian Soc. Dem. Labour party.

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Comrades!

The noose, which the ruling classes have thrown round the neck of the European peoples is constantly being drawn tighter. Millions of human lives have been destroyed. The flower of the youth of the people has perished or has returned crippled. Millions of stalwart young men are languishing in prison. Work has stopped, starvation is striding through the country. The two years' slaughter for the benefit of the strong ones of the world has cost the lives of 15 millions in all the countries at war. What a monstrous crime! What a disgrace for those who started this decimation of the best forces of the peoples! The great and difficult task of putting an end to this crime, rests on us, the proletarian vanguard of enslaved Democracy, which is shedding its blood for an alien cause.

Has, during these two and a half years, a single, feeble voice of reason been raised from among the ruling classes, in whose hands is the fate of the peoples they are oppressing? Two years

have passed since the National Duma condemned the representatives of the Russian working class. The National Duma which, at its sessions, prattles about the flourishing industry of Russia, is devastating the country and handing it over to those hungry wolves, the landowners, the capitalist employers and the bankers. When our deputies were torn from the midst of the National Duma and, after a quick settling of accounts, banished to the cold and distant regions of Siberia, the landowners and capitalists in the Duma rubbed their hands with joy that they could now speak "more freely". For two years the Duma has kept silence while its rights have been trodden underfoot. It will maintain this silence even on the second anniversary of the banishment of our deputies. At the same time, it and its agents asseverate loudly and vociferously that the subservient speeches of the "fellow" members have found a sympathetic response among the working class which they have beheaded. There are even some groups of workers with chauvinist tendencies who, dazzled by the storm of war, carry the ideology of the Duma Liberals into the circles of the workers.

Now, when it is planned to summon the National Duma on February 14th (27th), the most imposing rumours are being circulated as to its intentions. It is not difficult to guess that the National Duma has no intention of doing anything new, but that the Liberals in the Duma are once more prepared to clench their fist behind the back of the workers who have raised their heads. In the factories the cry has gone forth to support the National Duma, nay, even urging towards a decisive step — by presenting the demands of the workers at the gates of the Tauric palace. This appeal is not only useless, it is treacherous. Those who are so credulous as to have hopes of obtaining anything from the inhabitants of the palaces of the Czar and of the ruling classes, will pay dearly for the procession of the people to present their petition at those palaces. When they are suffering from a lack of gunpowder, the Liberals and the Liberal Labour politicians love to present themselves to the people as decided champions of the people's cause. Their true intentions however, they conceal. Comrades! They are demanding your help, they are demanding that you make it possible for them to hand over the country still more completely to the slaughter of war and to the war being carried on eternally "to a victorious end". They do not say it openly, but that is the dream they cherish in secret.

When the Liberals shout about their discontent with the present Government and in secret are dividing up between them the future Ministerial posts, when energetic phrases about doing away with the present power escape them or when they speak of a "Provisional Government" to be based on the organised people, but with all these sounding words make no mention of the war, we know what their fine language means. We are firmly convinced that this severe trial of the people and this mockery of the people will only cease under the mighty blows of Democracy. We must explain to the Liberals that all our efforts are directed against the war which they have kindled, that we are offering them war without quarter. We are opposed to the Tsarist monarchy, which you love so dearly because it shields your greed and your dark deeds. We are opposed to the Tsarist monarchy against which you want to fight, but the defeat of which fills you with dread, as the Tsarist Government alone makes it possible for you to treat the people as your plaything. We are in favour of a Democratic Republic which places the power in the hands of the people itself. We are in favour of a provisional, revolutionary Government of the workers and the village poor. Such a government would be able to summon a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of a general, equal, direct and secret franchise. We are opposed to the chauvinist, criminal greed of the National capitalists, who are dividing up the world, who are inflicting deep wounds on the world. We are in favour of international solidarity amongst the workers, which will bring peace and happiness to mankind.

On the tenth of February (February 23rd, new style — Ed.), the day when Tsarist justice raised its hand against our deputies, who devoted their strength to the fight for our slogans, we send them our fraternal greetings. We demand their immediate return and we shall celebrate this day by a one-day strike as a sign of our readiness to sacrifice our lives in the fight for the slogans which our deputies proclaimed openly.

Down with the Tsarist monarchy!

War against war!

Long live the Provisional Revolutionary Government!

Long live the Constitutional National Assembly!

Long live the Democratic Republic!

Long live international socialism!

The Petrograd Committee of the R. S. D. L. P.

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**"THE TIME FOR AN OPEN FIGHT HAS COME!  
OUT INTO THE STREETS!"**

Proclamation of the Bolsheviki on March 10th (February 25th) 1917.

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Life has become impossible! No food! No fuel! No clothing!

At the front — blood, mutilation, death. Levy after levy of troops, and transport after transport. Our sons and brothers are led to the human slaughterhouse like herds of cattle.

It is no longer possible to keep silent!

The allow our brothers and sons to be led to the slaughter while we ourselves perish of hunger and cold, and still to remain silent — that would be unthinkable, criminal, despicable cowardice.

It is in vain that you try to save yourselves. If not prison then shrapnel; if not shrapnel — then disease or death from starvation!

It would be unworthy of us to hide our head in the sand and not to look forward. The country is devastated. There is no bread. Famine is approaching. Still worse things are to come. We are faced by epidemics, we are faced by cholera...

When we demand bread, we are answered with lead! Who is responsible?

The tsarist power and the bourgeoisie are responsible. They are robbing the people at the front as they are robbing the people at home. The landed proprietors and the capitalists are enriching themselves through the war; by now they can hardly count their profits. They are dragging the war on eternally. For the sake of war profits and of the conquest of Constantinople, Armenia and Poland, they are driving the people to the slaughter. There are no limits to their brutal greed.

They will never renounce their profits and put an end to the war out of good will. It is high time to bridle the reactionary bourgeois beast.

The Liberals and the reactionaries, the Ministers and the National Duma, the aristocracy and the agricultural administration — all have united during the war into a blood-thirsty horde.

The Tsarist Court, the bankers and the priests are scooping in gold. An idle band of robbers is gnawing the bones of the people, is drinking the blood of the people. And we are suffering. We are perishing. We are starving. We are working ourselves to death. We are dying in the trenches. We cannot keep silent!

Up then and fight! Out into the street! For yourselves, your children and your brothers!

In Germany, in Austria, in Bulgaria, the working class is raising its head. In those countries, it is fighting against its blood-thirsty bourgeoisie for peace and freedom. Let us help it and ourselves! Let us help by fighting against our own oppressors! Rise! Organise yourselves for the fight! Form committees of the Russian Social Democratic Labour party in the workshops, in the factories, in the provinces, in the towns, in the districts, in the barracks, in the whole of Russia. They will be fighting committees, committees of freedom. Explain to the peasants, to the petty bourgeois, to the soldiers, that their salvation is only possible through the victory of the Social Democrats.

The time for open fight has come. Strikes, meetings, demonstrations, do not weaken the organisation, but strengthen it. Make use of every opportunity, of every day which offers itself! Always and everywhere with the masses and with your own revolutionary slogans!

Let the accomplices of capital call our mode of action "a game of change with strikes" and describe it as putchism. Our salvation is to be found in an immediate and continued fight and not in postponing the fight indefinitely. Call all to join in the fight! It is better to die in the glorious fight for the cause of the workers than to lay down one's life for the profit of capital or to perish from hunger and overwork. Individual actions may

grow into a revolution throughout Russia, which again will give an impulse to revolution in other countries.

We have a hard fight before us, but a real victory awaits us. Rise as one man under the Red banner of revolution!

Down with the Tsarist monarchy!

Long live the Democratic Republic!

Hurrah for the eight hours' day!

The whole land of the landowners to the people!

Down with the war!

Long live the fraternal alliance of the workers of the whole world!

Long live the Socialist International!

### THE DEMONSTRATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

(March 8th — February 23rd o. st.) 1917, and the Development of the Strike Movement in Petrograd on March 9th & 10th.

In the Streets of Petrograd between March 8th & 10th.

The following description was given in the first issue of the "Pravda" to appear after the February revolution. Ed.

On February 23rd (March 8th), "International Women's Day", a strike was declared in the majority of the factories and works. The women were in a determined fighting mood; not only the women workers, but also the masses of women who had had to stand in the queues for bread and petroleum. They held meetings, they dominated the street, marched in the direction of the Duma building, and demanded bread, they held up the tramway traffic. "Come out, comrades!" was their energetic cry. They entered the workshops and factories and fetched out the workers. Altogether this "womens day" was exemplary, and the revolutionary spirit began to rise from that day onwards.

The fighting mood of the people found expression in demonstrations, meetings, and collisions with the police.

In the King sugar factory the police attempted to intervene, but was received with a hail of stones and forced to retire. There were also collisions in other quarters of the town and the tramway traffic over the Samsoniewski Bridge was interrupted.

On the Petrograd side of the river perfect quiet reigned in the morning. There was no indication whatever of a strike. At three in the afternoon, however, the entire district woke up. Apparently the movement commenced on the Bolshoy Prospect in front of the Filippov bakery, which was wrecked by the women who had been standing in line before it for several hours. These women then proceeded to the "Pekar" bakery in the Kamennostrovski street. When here again they were told that there was no bread available they grew excited. It was only the iron rails which prevented this bakery from also being demolished. The police refrained from interfering; they said: "We value our lives too much". At the same time the factories stopped work and a crowd of workers marched through the Bolshaya-Dvoryanskaya street to the Troitzky bridge. The crank of the foremost tramcar was removed and the entire tramway traffic thus impeded.

From all parts of the town the workers flocked to the Nevski. About four o'clock the tramway traffic on the Insheffernoye, Sadovaya, and Nevski avenues (The main thoroughfares of Leningrad. Ed.) was likewise suspended. A group of juvenile workers approached, removed the starting lever of the engine, and brought a whole series of cars to a standstill. The streets were full of police, on foot and mounted, and these drove a wedge into the crowd and struck at the people with their knouts. Along the Nevski Prospect, cossacks armed with lances paraded. It was only towards ten at night that all became quiet and the streets were deserted.

On the following day, February 24th (March 9th), the strike spread to yet more works. Many thousands collected on the Nevski. At the Liteini bridge, the masses approaching from the Vyborg side of the river, encountered a wall of cossacks, whose colonel brandished his drawn sword. A workman was

wounded, and the colonel's sword was wrenched from his hand and flung over the railing into the Neva. The cossacks said: "Press harder, and we shall let you pass."

On Saturday, February 25th (March 10th), the remaining factories, the printing works, and the tramways joined the movement, and the strike became general. In tens of thousands, the crowd flocked towards midday to the Square in front of the Kasan cathedral and the streets surrounding it. The attempt was made to hold meetings and demonstrations, and in several instances collisions occurred between the crowd and the police. The crowd gradually grew. It included many resolute adult workers, who marched in serried ranks behind the red banner across the Nevski Prospect to the Snamenski square. The number of demonstrators amounted to tens of thousands. A meeting of several hours' duration was interrupted by the intervention of the mounted police. A number of orators addressed the crowd in front of the Alexander monument. The police began to shoot, and one of the speakers fell wounded. Some were also killed.

At this critical moment, something happened which aroused great enthusiasm among the crowd. The cossacks fired a volley at the mounted police, who retired in full gallop to the Gentsharnaya street. The commander of the police forces fell dead, his head split by a swordcut. The cossacks were greeted with loud cheers, the people acclaiming them with waving of caps and handkerchiefs. The crowd rejoiced. On all sides confidence grew that the soldiers would refrain from firing. When the soldiers took aim, some individuals ran forward with cheers towards their ranks and called upon them not to fire but to join the people. From the Snamenski square the crowd of demonstrators marched along the Nevski Prospect . . .

## OBITUARY

### Comrade Arthur MacManus

Comrade Arthur MacManus, member of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Great Britain, died on Sunday last the 27th ult.

Arthur MacManus was one of the best leaders of the C. P. of Great Britain. He was born in Scotland of Irish parents. An engineer by profession, during the war Comrade MacManus came forward as one of the leaders of the revolutionary shops stewards movement. He was one of the labour leaders who at that time led the 48 hours strike on the Clyde and was deported by the British government. Up to the time of the Amalgamation Congress in 1920, at which the Communist Party of Great Britain was founded, Comrade MacManus was a member of the old Socialist Labour Party. As an engineer MacManus was a member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union where he rendered good service the cause of revolution.

He was chairman of the Communist Party and occupied himself in the last few years mainly with the problems of the national revolutionary struggles for freedom in the suppressed colonies. As one with a good knowledge of these movements and an excellent agitator, he rendered the English revolutionary labour movement and also the international working class invaluable service (he was repeatedly representative of the C. P. of Great Britain in the Executive of the Communist International). His name was particularly hated by the English bourgeoisie.

In recent times the state of health of Comrade MacManus left much to be desired. This was particularly the case after he had served the term of imprisonment to which he was condemned at the well-known great Communist trial. He nevertheless participated in the Brussels Congress of the Suppressed Peoples. Unwearied service in the interest of the emancipation of the working class prematurely consumed his powers before he had reached his prime. The English and the international working class lose in him a devoted, faithful and capable fighter.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has expressed its sympathy to the C. P. of Great Britain on the passing away of Comrade MacManus.