

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 7. No. 23

7th April 1927

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

CONTENTS

- Tang Shin She:** The Threats of War of the Imperialists in Shanghai.
The Preparations for Provocation in Shanghai.
Hands Off China.
Appeal of the International Workers' Delegation in China.
Appeal of the Shanghai Trades Council to the Workers of the Whole World.
Appeal of the Central Council of the Soviet Labour Unions.
Storin: The Strategic Position in China.
M. Rubinstein: Industrial Shanghai.
Conference of the Trade Unions in Shanghai.
- China.**
Earl Browder: Letter from China.
- Union of Soviet Republics.**
Speech of Comrade Stalin at the V. All-Union Conference of the Leninist Young Communist League on 29th March 1927.
- Politics.**
J. Sochacki: Pilsudski's Campaign against the Revolutionary Peasant Movement.
Smolan: The Communist Election Victory in Stockholm.
- The Balkans.**
Chr. Kabakchieff: Fascist Bulgaria, a Tool of Imperialism and a Danger to Peace.
British Members of Parliament on the Terror in Bulgaria.
- Revolutionary Movements in the Colonies.**
Jar: The Continuation of the Morocco-Spanish War.
- The White Terror.**
L. F. B.: The Lives of the Arrested Hungarian Workers are in Great Danger.
The International Protest Movement against the Persecution of Workers in Hungary.
- Economics.**
F. Yeziarska: A Memorandum Addressed by the Italian Textile Industrialists to the Government.
- The Labour Movement.**
F. Wenzel: The Struggle of the Glass Workers in the Iser District.
Convocation of the IV. International Congress of the R. I. L. U.
- In the International.**
The 4th Party Conference of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.
Decision of the Plenary Session of the C. P. of Germany re Schlecht, Bartels and Grilevicz.
- For the Unity of the Trade Union Movement.**
The Meeting of the Anglo-Russian Committee in Berlin.
Comrade Tomsky on the Meeting of the Anglo-Russian Committee.
- Against Imperialist War.**
H. Günther: On Outpost Duty.
- Ten Years Ago.**
Manifesto of the Petrograd Soviet to the Workers of the World.
Lenin's Letters from Afar. III. and IV.
Chronicle of Events.

The Threats of War of the Imperialists in China.

By Tang Shin She.

The campaign of the imperialists against the Chinese revolution is proceeding systematically. In order to save **Wuchang** and **Kiukiang** from capture by the Canton troops the British, in September last, carried out the shootings in Wanshen and then concentrated their warships in the middle Yangtse and in Hankow in order to "protect British citizens". In order to prevent the capture of Shanghai, the British, on the 3rd of January last, provoked encounters with Kuomintang and trade union speakers' groups in Hankow, which encounters were intended to provide them, and did provide them, with the first pretext for sending warships, troops and aircraft direct from England to Shanghai, their last big point of support in China. The continual revolt and strikes of the revolutionary workers in Shanghai compelled the counter-revolutionary military rulers to retreat from the Chinese quarter of Shanghai in face of the Southern Chinese revolutionary troops. Immediately after this, Nanking, the next biggest town

between Shanghai and Hankow, fell into the hands of the Canton army. During their retreat, as has since been confirmed from several sides, the Northern Chinese troops along with the Russian white guardists in the uniform of the Canton troops, attacked the English, American and Japanese consulates in Nanking. The English and Americans used this as a pretext for directing their cannons against the century old cultural city of Nanking. Thousands of men, women and children were killed and wounded while innumerable ancient works of art were destroyed. Not content with this, the imperialists are now planning to send an international ultimatum to the Kuoming government containing a threat of war, and are dispatching further warships, and troops to China.

It can be seen quite clearly how the imperialists commence to intrigue before any approaching victory of the Canton troops. The capture of Shanghai by the revolutionary troops and the fall

of Nanking were of such far-reaching importance for the imperialists that, in order to find ways and means to proceed against the Chinese revolution, they did not even shrink back from arranging attacks upon themselves. The attack upon the British, American and Japanese Consulates was intended at the same time to provide a pretext for a common international intervention, which had failed hitherto owing to the disunity prevailing among the imperialists themselves. But even this time it proved impossible to create a united front because the Japanese imperialists, in their own interests, refused to take part in the bombardment of Nanking.

The enormous importance of Shanghai for the economic life of China and for the Chinese revolution is well known. The international working class, however, is probably less informed regarding the extraordinary importance of the town of Nanking with its vast population from the political and strategic point of view. Nanking is, to a certain extent, the protecting wall of Shanghai. The two towns are in contact with one another by means of water and also by railways. Nanking is at the same time the junction between Shanghai on the one side and Hankow, Tientsin and Peking on the other side. A thousand years ago Nanking was the capital of China. Since then it has always been regarded as the cultural centre of the country. The imperialists have always recognised the importance of Nanking. When, in the year 1860, the Taiping-peasant army marched on Shanghai from Nanking, the imperialists directly supported the Manchu troops against the revolutionary peasant troops and destroyed the chief camp of the latter in Nanking. Since that time Nanking has been in the hands of the imperialist lackeys, except for the short period of the revolutionary government in 1911. In the meantime numerous missionary schools have been set up and the town has even become the centre point of "Christian civili-

sation" in China. The passing of Nanking into the hands of the Chinese revolutionaries, therefore, means at the same time an enormous loss for the imperialists. The inhabitants of Nanking had to pay for this loss with thousands of killed and the destruction of their town.

The work of provocation of the imperialists is increasing in the whole of China from day to day. The international quarter of Shanghai is completely barricaded and separated from the Chinese quarter by barbed wire. The outposts of the British troops have been pushed forward far into the Chinese town. The Chinese population have for long demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from China. When, in February, the British first sent reinforcements to Shanghai, enormous excitement prevailed among the Chinese. The further dispatch of troops will only increase this excitement still more.

Will the Chinese revolution be destroyed by the threats of war by the imperialists? By no means! The revolutionary movement will only be strengthened still further as a result of such measures. It is known throughout the world that the bombardments carried out on the 30th of May and on the 23rd of June 1925 first fanned the revolutionary spark in China into flames. The advance of the revolutionary troops was tremendously accelerated by the imperialist bombardment and by the blood-bath of Wanshien. No shooting, no bombardment and no slaughter, however bloody, has ever caused the Chinese population to give way to useless wailings. The effect has always been to spread still further the revolutionary spirit. The Chinese people will continue to prepare for the struggle and will again and yet again bring into use the weapon of the strike and the boycott which is so dangerous for the imperialists. The Chinese will reply to war with war.

The Preparations for Provocation in China.

Leading Article from the "Pravda" of 2nd April 1927.

The international press and the official British Radio publish a communication of tremendous importance. The British Cabinet has already worked out the draft of an ultimatum which is to be presented to the national government of China. The text of this ultimatum has not yet been made public. The "Manchester Guardian" reports that the draft is being so prepared as to make it acceptable to the other powers. The British Foreign Office is endeavouring to come to an understanding in this question with Tokio and Washington. It is endeavouring to create an imperialist "collective guarantee", so that the threats against revolutionary China may be made in "solidarity", so that the guns of the imperialist dreadnaughts may thunder "in unison".

After the bloody revenge taken at Nanking, imperialism is preparing a new challenge, a new provocation. After razing the workers quarters in Nanking and killing thousands of peaceful citizens, what can this imperialist ultimatum be but an outrageous mockery of the Chinese people, a threatening harbinger of new revenge, a signal for new attacks?

The ultimatum contains a demand for the "compensation of the injured". Who is demanding compensation? Those who are really and solely guilty of the bloodshed in Nanking, those who have enveloped Nanking in the thick smoke of burning dwellings, those who are attempting to hold the great Chinese people by the throat, those who have least of all suffered "damage", those who have only suffered damage as a robber might suffer it by sustaining a slight scratch while engaged in robbery. Who is to pay "damages"? Those who are homeless, the widows and orphans of Nanking, the relatives of those whose bodies lay in the burning streets of Nanking. They are to pay damages.

According to the imperialists the ultimatum is a "worthy answer to the violence in Nanking". Whose violence? Perpetrated upon whom? It is only necessary to formulate these questions in order to realise the whole brutality and vandalism, the whole disgusting hypocrisy of those who have prepared the ultimatum. An ultimatum on account of the violence perpetrated in Nanking could only be rightfully prepared by the toiling masses of China and presented to their imperialist oppressors.

The ultimatum contains an immediate threat to the Chinese revolution. The British imperialists threaten to blockade all harbours within the territory of the national government. This threat is not far removed from reality. The imperialist robbers have established themselves firmly in a great part of Shanghai and they are still there today. The imperialist warships which crowd Chinese waters are actually now blockading the Chinese coast. The international quarter of Canton, Shamien has already been turned into an armed fortress. Machine guns are trained against Chinese territory, barricades have been erected. New warships, new troop and supply ships are arriving in China every day. As a matter of fact, it is not merely a question of blockading Chinese harbours, but, should occasion arise, also to bombard them. Blockade or bombardment? This question is being asked by every worker, by every proletarian democrat. The real plan of the imperialists in China is to blockade and also to bombard Chinese ports, to defeat the Chinese revolution in any way and with any means, to intimidate the revolution and blackmail it. The instigators of the ultimatum, unparalleled in its insolent cynicism, are prepared and determined to carry out these plans.

"There is no one in China with whom we can negotiate" declares Die-hard, Galloper Birkenhead who would like to don the mantle of an imperialist Attila. The blue blood of Mr. Smith does not permit him to negotiate with those human beings who comprise a quarter of the population of the globe. The toilers of China are despised coolies for Birkenhead, "sharks or medusas". Is not the "impressive standoffishness" of this die-hard conservative swine really eloquent and refined?

The language of the bloody ultimatum, the iron language of the guns is the only language in which the British imperialists "wish to negotiate" with the Chinese people.

The significance of the ultimatum becomes immediately clear when one considers the circumstances in which it has been drawn up.

The Chinese revolution has made a tremendous step forward. If it goes on victoriously developing then it will radically alter the political physiognomy of the globe. The forces of the revolution will gain preponderance over the forces of capitalism. The Chinese proletariat is already occupying the foremost positions in the great struggle for emancipation. The

workers of Shanghai are becoming a source of invincible revolutionary energy. The influence of the Communist Party of China is growing. The proletarians of Shanghai have already written the slogan of the world revolution upon their banners. They appeal to the workers of all countries to unite. They have shown that they are prepared to fight against the imperialists to the bitter end.

The reactionary militarists have sustained a tremendous defeat at Shanghai and Nanking. With them the Chinese counter-revolution has suffered a decisive defeat. Mobilising the remnants of their forces they are undertaking a desperate effort, an attack upon the province of Hunan. This "attack" is an offensive of despair, it is one of the last cards of the Chinese reaction.

And just at this moment, when the Chinese working class has entered on a clear path and when the Chinese reaction is undertaking its last desperate rally against the revolution, just at this moment imperialism hurries to the aid of the militarist white guardists, the Chinese Denikens and Koltchaks. It is at such a time that the ultimatum is published, at such a time the sword of imperialism is drawn against China! "Chinese revolution, halt!" "Thus far and no farther!" "The revolution and the Kuomintang must break with the 'red workers'!" "Otherwise we will not negotiate. We will blockade and bombard." "Otherwise our intercourse will be conducted in the language of flying lead and steel." "Otherwise, intervention and a war of extermination!" That is the message of the ultimatum to revolutionary China, to the whole of toiling humanity.

All eyes to the East! There where four hundred and fifty millions of people are fighting for their freedom, where the young working class of China is accomplishing wonders of heroism, where the armoured cruisers of the imperialist marauders are steaming to and fro. A tremendous responsibility is being placed upon the shoulders of the whole international proletariat and especially upon the shoulders of the working class of Great Britain. The carrying out of the imperialist plans must be prevented. Preparations must be made against the ultimatum and its consequences. The "understanding" between the powers must be prevented. The swashbuckling policy of imperialism, the policy of intervention and provocation of a frightful war must be brought to an end. The peace between the peoples must not be destroyed. The international proletariat must fulfil its duty of assisting and supporting China to the uttermost.

HANDS OFF CHINA

Appeal of the International Workers' Delegation in China.

Hankow, 3rd April 1927.

The international workers delegation at present in China has directed the following appeal to the workers and peasants organisations of the whole world:

"A great danger is menacing the Chinese people. British imperialism is once again preparing a military intervention. Several places have already been bombarded by their battleships. By shameless provocation the British imperialists are trying to drag the other imperialist powers to their side in order to achieve their aim of crushing the Chinese revolution.

The assertion that Europeans were killed at Nanking by nationalist troops is an absolute lie being made the pretext for a military intervention. The killing of Europeans in Nanking was the work of agents provocateurs subsidised by the imperialists and by the defeated northern militarists. The truth is that British and American warships have bombarded Nanking killing over six hundred defenceless Chinese men, women and children.

The bloodbath of Nanking is only the continuation and development of the repeated provocations of British imperialists during the past few months in all parts of China for the purpose of justifying a military intervention. After the odious massacres at Shanghai, Wansien and Hankow, the latest atrocity at Nanking is but a shameful repetition of the criminal policy of imperialism in China.

Any armed imperialist intervention in China is pregnant with immense dangers not only for the Chinese people, but for the whole of humanity. An armed intervention of British imperialism in China will be the signal for a new bloodbath, a new world war.

In these tragic circumstances the Chinese people count upon the immediate action of the international proletariat to prevent armed intervention and its inevitable consequences.

During the last two months our delegation has visited hundreds of workers, peasants, merchants, students and women's organisations as well as the national army and the Kuomintang organisations in Southern and Central China. We have been received everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm. The Chinese people, of whom we have met many hundreds of thousands are fighting heroically for their national liberation and seek an effective alliance with the working class of the world. Our delegation considers it its imperative duty to denounce the crimes committed by imperialism against the Chinese people and to warn the workers against the imminently menacing dangers. We urgently request you to mobilise all your forces and the entire proletariat in order to prevent the shameful crime which the imperialists are about to commit.

Signed: The International Workers Delegation in China.
Tom Mann (Great Britain) Earl Browder (U. S. A.)
Doriot (France).

Appeal of the Shanghai Trades Council to the Workers of the Whole World.

Shanghai, 30th March 1927.

The Shanghai Trades Council has published the following appeal to the workers of the whole world:

"Shanghai, the greatest imperialist centre, is in the hands of the revolutionary people. The victorious revolutionary people's army has now two thirds of China in its possession including Shanghai, the basis and the last point of support of imperialism in the East. The armed workers of Shanghai have finally won victory over the Mukden bandits. After two days and one night of bitter fighting the workers captured Shanghai with the exception of the foreign quarters. The excellent fighting capacity of our working class is of the greatest importance for the development of the Chinese revolution. The working class in Shanghai together with all revolutionary elements has now formed a municipal organ whose delegates are elected by the masses of the people.

We have won a great victory, but this victory is only the first step for the imperialists are concentrating naval and military forces in Shanghai with a view to provoking war. It is our duty to consolidate the new government. We must concentrate all the forces of the revolution and drive the imperialist bandits from China.

The great victory is at hand! Join with us and we will overthrow imperialism and free the oppressed peoples of the whole world!"

Appeal of the Central Council of the Soviet Labour Unions.

Moscow, 29th March 1927.

The Presidium of the Central Council of the Soviet Labour Unions has published the following appeal to the whole organised proletariat of the Soviet Union protesting against the new and brutal attacks of the imperialists upon the Chinese people:

The British and American imperialists have perpetrated a new and unexampled act of violence against the Chinese people. Under the cover of alleged attacks by the national-revolutionary troops upon foreigners, the British and American warships have bombarded Nanking with their heavy guns. 7,000 Chinese citizens have been killed or wounded, and hundreds of houses have been destroyed. This new and inhuman act of violence has been committed simply and solely because the masses of the Chinese people have arisen and are struggling to free China from the clutches of the imperialists and their mercenaries.

It is not the first time that the imperialists have shed the blood of the Chinese toilers. But that which has happened in **Nanking** has placed every other act of vandalism, even the bombardment of **Shanghai** and **Wanhsien** in the shade.

Every time the imperialists have tried to drown in blood the movement of the Chinese people for emancipation, the result has been that the flames of hatred against the robbers and murderers have sprung still higher. It will be the same this time also. The atrocity of Nanking will only strengthen the determination of the toilers of China who are gathered under the banner of the **Kuomingtang**, under the banner of the **national revolution**, to bring the struggle to a successful conclusion.

The proletarians of the **Soviet Union** have felt the "culture" and the civilisation of the imperialist powers on their own bodies. For four long years the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union were compelled to struggle to ward off the attacks of the imperialists and their white mercenaries. And today when the same bandits attempt in China to force back the wheel of history with the assistance of the remnants of Chinese imperialism and of the remnants of the Russian white guardists and to crush the Chinese revolution, the proletariat of the Soviet Union is more than ever in a position to understand and appreciate the significance of the events in China. For those who wish to destroy the Chinese revolution are those who yesterday went to war against us and who are prepared to resume their attempts at the first opportune moment. The proletarians of the Soviet Union must be the first to raise their voices in protest against the unexampled act of brutality which has been committed by the imperialists, above all by the British imperialists. They must protest against the unexampled brutalities which are obviously only the commencement of a campaign against the Chinese revolution upon a still broader basis.

The Chinese workers are in the frontline in the struggle against the imperialist atrocities. The Chinese workers captured Shanghai under the leadership of their unions even before the national-revolutionary troops had entered the town. The international settlement of Shanghai has erected its barbed wire entanglements against the workers of Shanghai. But the fearless fighters of the industrial capital of China will not lay down their weapons. The Chinese revolution and the Chinese workers need the support of the workers of all countries. This support must be accorded to them and above all to the workers of Shanghai and Nanking. The Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions sends its warmest greetings to the heroic Chinese workers and their glorious unions who are fighting in the front ranks of the world revolution, and it appeals to all the organised workers and employees of the Soviet Union to raise their voices in protest against the brutalities perpetrated against the Chinese toilers.

Hands off China struggling to be free!
Down with the imperialist robbers!
Long live the great Chinese Revolution!

The Strategical Position in China.

By Storin.

The capture of Shanghai and Nanking creates a completely new, strategical position and a new relation of forces and of means among the belligerent parties in China.

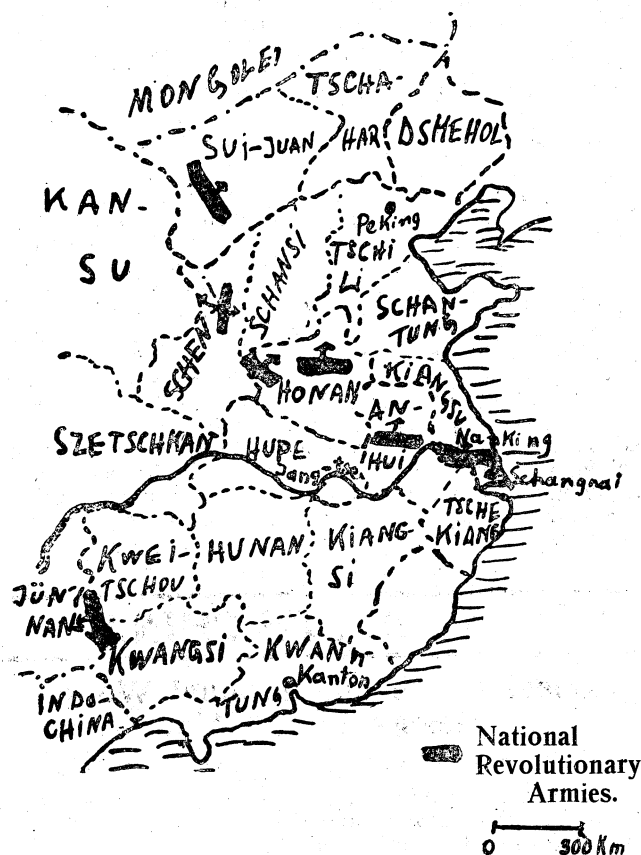
The decisive actions of the national revolutionary armies of Canton, which began in the summer of 1926, have led them to great military successes. These results were, to a considerable extent, assured by the clever strategy of the command of the Canton armies and by the policy of the national Government.

The hostile militarists have been destroyed one after the other, and the various endeavours of foreign imperialism to unite them into a harmonious whole, have so far not been crowned with success and will hardly be crowned with success in the future. The first campaign of the national revolutionary armies which developed from the South towards the North, inflicted a severe defeat on Wu Pei Fu's armies and led to their taking possession of the middle course of the Yangtse Kiang. After this first campaign, the national revolutionary armies embarked on a second operation, towards the North-East, in the direction of Shanghai. This campaign dragged on from the autumn of 1926 to March 1927. It took the form of a number of partial operations which suffered a prolonged inter-

ruption during the winter. After the obstinate and prolonged fighting in the district of Nantshang and Kiukiang, the attack of the Canton army developed uninterruptedly but slowly, both immediately in the direction of Shanghai and also along the coast of the province of Chekiang; it was however brought to a close by rapid and decisive action.

Now, the position of the Canton Government is becoming extraordinarily firm. The relation of forces and of means is changing completely in favour of Canton.

The Ngan Kuo Chun ("Army for the Pacification of the Country") which was created in November 1926 by the Conference of the Militarists in Tientsin, has now, to all intents and purposes, fallen to pieces. Like Sun Chuan Fang, Wu Pei Fu now possesses no actual power in the arena of the military and political fight in China. Nothing remained but the Shantung group of Chang Tsun Chang, which is already half shattered, and the Mukden group of Chang Tso Lin. The commander of the Ngan Kuo Chun could not succeed in achieving any simultaneous and harmonious actions of all the militarists. The Canton armies defeated them one after the other.

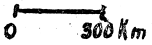


The collision between the national revolutionary armies and the troops of Shantung and Mukden alone demonstrated the dissension among the latter in their actions. Whereas Chang Tsun (Shantung) sent more than half his forces to the support of Sun Chuan Fang in the district of Shanghai and Nanking, Chang Tso Lin sent an inconsiderable part of his forces to the Northern part of the province of Honan without any connection with Chang Tsun Chang's operations. This shows us that we need hardly expect these two militarists in the future to act in common and in an organised way. They are prevented from this, on the one hand by the differences existing between them and on the other hand by the position taken by Yan Si Shang in the province of Shansi against the Mukden troops, which involves a certain amount of danger for them.

Neither are the internal affairs in the Mukden camp altogether satisfactory. Yan Yui Tin, the Chief of the Staff of Chang Tso Lin, is known to be in favour of giving up the fight against the armies of the South, and Wu Tsiun Sheng, the Tupan of the Manchurian provinces of Kirin and Holung Kiang, refuses to send his troops into the fight against Canton.



 National
 Revolutionary
 Armies.



The armed forces of Mukden amount altogether to 140,000. These forces are, however, widely dispersed. Chang Tso Lin cannot keep less than 50,000 to 60,000 in Manchuria, another 70,000 to 80,000 are occupying the province of Chili, while part of the forces (Tchan Sui Lan) have penetrated into the Northern district of Honan.

Chang Tsun Chang's army was about 100,000 strong, but it is also dispersed; a force of about 30,000 remained in the province of Shantung, and not more than 70,000 are distributed along the railway line between Hsuechow and Nanking. Now, after the decisive fights on the Nanking and Shanghai front, and after the occupation of Nanking by the national troops, Chang Tsun Chang could not but lose a considerable part of his military forces.

The seat of military operations, where the chief battles will take place in the immediate future, is a belt which, for military purposes, is comparatively narrow, between the Yellow Sea and the province of Shansi and part of Honan. The advance of the Mukden troops is being held up in the central part of the province of Honan by the ex-General Wu Pei Fu, who is now an ally of the national revolutionary Government, and also by Tsun Yun Ao and others. In view of this circumstance, the military forces of Chang Tsun Chan which have remained intact, may be beaten independently of the troops of Chang Tso Lin. In the district occupied by the Ngan Kuo Chun there is a more developed network of railways than in that occupied by the Canton armies. Nevertheless Honan, through which some of these railways pass, spoils this favourable position to a certain extent.

The strategical position of the Mukden group and of the Shantung group is difficult, in spite of their comparatively large military force, and makes it possible that they will be defeated one after the other.

In contrast to this, the position of the Southern troops has greatly improved, as the railway from Nanking to Shanghai and the whole basin of the Yangtse Kiang have fallen into their hands. The water of this river is very deep and even allows the passage of sea-going ships as far as Hankow. Before the seizure of the water-ways of the Yangtse, the different parts of the front of the national revolutionary army were very poorly connected. The lack of railways and the mountainous character of the district interfered with the connections between the troops which had penetrated into the provinces of Chekiang, Anhui and Hupeh. Now, that they have taken possession of the basin of the Yangtse, a strong base is being formed, which offers the Canton front a firm foothold and provides completely new conditions for further military action. There are about 700 ships in the Yangtse basin with a total tonnage of more than 350,000. The "Chinese Commercial Shipping Co." alone possesses about 40 large ships with a total tonnage of about 120,000. This river base, combined with the occupation of more railway lines, will improve the position of the Canton troops from day to day.

The armed forces of the national revolutionary armies have increased enormously in numbers during the last campaigns. This is a characteristic feature of civil war. The greater the success and the greater the tension, the more the armed forces grow. This is exactly the opposite to what we observe in armed fights between individual States. The military forces of the national revolutionary armies in the basin of the Yangtse, combined with the army of Feng Ju Hsiang in the province of Shensi and in the Western part of Honan are about 300,000 strong.

The arena of war, in which the national revolutionary armies will have to carry on their further action, possesses certain peculiarities. Although a large part of the province of Honan is occupied by allies of Canton, the political situation in that province is somewhat confused and there is no doubt that the advance of both the Canton troops and of Feng Yu Hsiang into this province will meet with resistance or at least with disloyal behaviour even on the part of some allies. This possible resistance must not however be regarded as decisive, and it may therefore be presumed that the attack of the national revolutionary armies on the militarists in the North can be carried out by strong forces on a wide front.

If we take into consideration the relations between the Shantung and Mukden groups and the dispersal of their military forces, a decisive attack of the main forces on that part

of Chang Tsun Chang's army which has still remained intact, seems most likely from the strategical point of view, the idea being to take possession of the province of Shantung after these forces have been finally shattered and then to attack Chang Tso Lin alone. The Mukden army will of course be able to take part in this fight to a certain extent but, in the present position, this will hardly be of decisive significance.

In connection with the fall of Nanking, we must undoubtedly expect an attack by the Canton troops in the Northern part of the province of Anhui in common with the troops of the Governor of that province — who has gone over to the Canton side — on Chang Tsun Chang's troops in the district of the Hsuechow to Nanking railway. There are plenty of troops for this purpose.

Still more complicated is the question of the advance of Feng Yu Hsiang over the pass of Tungkwan in the direction of Kai-feng. The question of the organisation of a hinterland for his army, 100,000 strong, in this province is not quite clear, although, on the other hand, nothing but an advance into the district of Kai-feng, and the formation of a base on the railway of Wutchang could improve his position. This operation is a complicated one and, for the reasons mentioned, it is of a political nature. From the strategical point of view, however, a movement of this kind which would give the Canton Government the opportunity of collecting enormous armed forces, has such obvious advantages that it would undoubtedly help to determine the success of a further attack.

The final defeat of Chang Tsun Chang will give the Canton armies the chance of entering into single combat with Chang Tso Lin. The situation created by these conditions, will inevitably lead to Yan Si Shang, the Governor of Shansi, with a new army, 50,000 strong changing sides. There are already quite a number of signs which indicate this. At the same time there can be no doubt that the vacillating generals of the province of Szechwan, Yan Sen, Liu Sian and others, will finally decide to join the Kuomintang.

It is difficult to predict the further nature of events; one thing, however, is quite clear, namely that the economic accessories, the favourable political situation and the relation between the armed forces will ensure the success of the Canton Government in its fight against Chang Tso Lin.

This is the strategical situation in China in broad outlines. The national revolutionary armies now have on their side a number of important advantages which must be turned to account for decisive and bold action against the militarists of North China. The fighting force and the political firmness of the revolutionary troops and the support they receive from the workers are a reliable guarantee for the further success of the Chinese revolution.

Industrial Shanghai.

By M. Rubinstein.

Even when one knows the chief facts and figures about the development of the industry and trade of Shanghai, the American boom of its development makes a surprising impression when one approaches the town from the sea.

Silently the vessel steams up the yellow, muddy delta of the Yangtse river. Round about are numerous ships entering the river itself. The mighty river is navigable to a length of 2000 kilometers, as far as the gorges of Setshwang. In its valleys live about 200 million persons — an eighth of the population of the world.

The Yangtse connects the most fruitful and richest districts of China with the sea. Rice, tea, tobacco, cotton and silk — in the last few decades coal, naphtha and metal also — float down the river in thousands of junks and vessels; up the stream however, machines, material, cigarettes and petroleum are being transported.

It is obvious that a port at the mouth of so great a river is extremely important; it is the gate to a country larger than the whole of Europe, to a country which is steering rapidly towards the sphere of modern industry and modern trade. Each of the great imperialist robbers would like to put the key of this gate, through which 60% of the whole trade of China passes, into his own pocket.

Shanghai is not yet in sight. For a long time we steam past low, marshy, fairly desolate banks. Here and there we

see one of the uniform type of tugs of the "Standard Oil" and the "Asiatic Naphtha Company". Only the numerous advertisements which remind one of the approach to Berlin or London, speak of the proximity of a large town. We come to a turn. After the ship leaves the broad delta of the Yangtse, it steams up the Wampu on the banks of which Shanghai is situated. On the right, a small strip of land which separates the two rivers, on this strip of land one sees a whole forest of chimneys and numbers of factories and docks.

This is Wutsung, one of the numerous small industrial towns which have sprung up round Shanghai. Here are to be seen the Chinese textile factory Wingon with American automatic looms, the new factory for textile machinery, which works day and night in order to equip the newly built factories and many other works.

The river gets much narrower. In two, almost uninterrupted swarms the steamers pass up and down the river, English, French and American cruisers and gun-boats, green monsters of the "Canadian Pacific", the "Presidents" of this dollar line, which are distinguished by their peculiar cranes — one of them starts on a world tour every week, the well-built motor-boats of the Nippon-Yussen-Kaisha and innumerable freight-boats of all nations, in all shapes and sizes. It is impossible to count them. The Japanese flag is the most frequent; from year to year it is ousting the English flag more and more. Perhaps it is an illusion of the memory, but the Wampu seems to be much busier than the Thames or the Elbe in 1926.

Even in 1924, the port of Shanghai had outstripped Hamburg in the tonnage of its freight-boats, it will soon out-distance London, according to other accounts it has already out-distanced it and is, to-day, according to one calculation the third, and to another calculation the second largest port in the world. In 1925, the tonnage of the incoming and outgoing ships amounted to more than 30 millions and the turnover of goods in the same year to two milliards of roubles. On the banks of the river, factory buildings, chimneys, cranes, masts and wireless stations stand side by side.

We see the electricity works with a horse power of 160,000, a gigantic building which is always being extended. The current consumed in Shanghai, which was 50 million kilowatt hours in 1913, increased in 1925 to 350 millions.

Further we see the Kainanki ship-building yards which work according to the latest technical achievements and build ships of 10,000 tons. At present they are building gun-boats for the United States. Further we see the textile factory "Evo", which has become famous since last year's strike.

Now we come to the town. On the left, lies Putung (the "Brooklyn" of Shanghai), one sees at once the rapidly growing workers' quarter whence hundreds of ferries and small steamers carry the workers to and from the town; on the right are the buildings and factories of the Yangtsepu district.

There are few towns in Europe which can boast of so concentrated, extraordinary, precipitate a development of heavy industry as can Shanghai. When one sees the two rows of factories and ship-building yards along the river banks, working day and night in two shifts of 11½ hours with an average wage of 20 to 30 shillings a month, one almost feels one is back in distant Lancashire, the cradle of European capitalism.

In Shanghai there are at present 250 modern factories with 450 000 industrial proletarians. The first place is held by the cotton factories with almost two million bobbins, more than half of which are a present in Japanese hands. Then come the 80 silk mills with 120,000 workers, almost exclusively women and children, and 70 mechanical knitting factories.

Shanghai's industry however, does not restrict itself to textile industry, as many people imagine. It also has a large arsenal, iron and steel works in Putung, the above mentioned factory for textile machinery, about ten ship-building yards, the largest of which also produce railway waggons and tram-cars, bridges, boilers etc., then a factory for producing small motors and transformers and a number of works for manufacturing metal-ware.

Shanghai has two electric bulb factories which are constantly increasing their production and even export some of their goods.

The large tobacco factories are rapidly developing. (Since May 1925, 40 new factories have been opened.)

The large, new cement factory, which employs German hands, must also be mentioned, 17 glass factories, 8 match factories, 4 paper mills, 19 steam mills, a large printing works (the Chinese printing works "Commercial Press" works with the newest technical methods, it employs more than 2000 workers. This is a large, combined undertaking, with a large distributing apparatus; it produces printing machines and all imaginable accessories, cinematograph films; it employs permanently more than 100 authors etc. etc.).

Finally, there are many large leather factories. Oil mills, sugar factories, large factories for the production of extract of eggs, albumin and many other works complete the many-sided manufacturing industry of this town of three millions.

Numerous garages and repairing workshops serve the rapidly growing motor traffic.

The production of films which began last year, is also developing by strides.

To put it briefly, there is hardly any kind of manufactured goods which is not produced in Shanghai, if only on a small scale. This finally abolishes the absurd legend of the "natural" industrial capacity of the white race.

The building trade in Shanghai is also very important; in spite of the extraordinary cheapness of labour, it is almost entirely mechanised.

As is proved by the importance of its port, Shanghai is a great commercial centre. In close proximity to the harbour are gigantic warehouses, grain-elevators, offices etc. which employ thousands of transport workers, clerks and agents.

The narrow, crowded, noisy Nanking road, the scene of the historical shooting of May 30th, is illuminated by the electric light advertisements of three large warehouse stores which are in no way inferior to the large stores in Europe.

Shanghai is also an important financial centre. As soon as the steamer passes the bridge, through the small Suchoi river, full of houseboats (a miniature of the Canton river-town), the so-called Bond begins, that notorious part of Shanghai which "dogs and Chinese are forbidden to enter". Motors and rickshaws glide swiftly to and fro on the asphalt. Immediately behind the British Consulate begins a close row of palatial banks and offices built of stone. About 20 large international banks show by their external appearance alone that they are the masters of these factories and railways, of the shipping lines and dock warehouses. These are, as a matter of fact, the tentacles which seize on the labour of millions of coolies and of some tens of millions of poor peasants and squeeze from them dividends of 100% for the mad luxury and the wild revelry of the Shanghai bourgeoisie.

The gigantic building of the English "Hongkong-Shanghai Bank", one of the best constructed bank buildings in the world, raises its head among all the stone palaces of the Bond. It forces all the surroundings into the background. This is the centre of English interests in China. From here are conducted the operations of the British fleet and of the Chinese mercenaries, the town administration of the "international" settlement, the shooting of Shanghai workers, the English Press of Shanghai — the most despicable Press in the world — and the English police which consists of Indians, Russian White Guardists and Anamites.

In one or two generations, two million Chinese coolies have built up this fabulous city on a desolate swamp, the newest, the most modern metropolis of the world.

European and American technique has been transplanted here in its latest form of development, and with it came into being half a million proletarians in Shanghai. In the course of a few years, their class consciousness developed, and the ideas and experiences, the teaching and methods of the class war were also transplanted thither in their latest forms of development.

Since May 1925, there has been no day without strikes in Shanghai. In 1925, there were more than 300 strikes, during which 375 million hours of work were lost. The general strike and the insurrection of March 21st inscribed new, glorious pages in the history of the fights of the Shanghai proletariat.

Shanghai is often called the Paris, sometimes the New York of the Far East. For the working class however, it has become the Petrograd of the East and it will not be long before it is the Leningrad.

Conference of the Trade Unions in Shanghai.

Shanghai, 4th April 1927.

The Conference of the Trade Unions of Shanghai in which over a thousand delegates participated, is concluded. Following the reports on the political situation and the victorious revolt in Shanghai, a resolution was adopted according to which the fight for the handing back of the foreign settlement is to be conducted by means of political methods of struggle, but without a revolt, and that only in extraordinary circumstances is resort to be had to the weapon of revolt.

The conference decided to continue the fight against all shades and description of reaction, to support the national and the local governments, to extend the armed self-defence of the workers and to consolidate the alliance between the workers and the soldiers.

On the report on the position of the workers in the factories the following demands were put forward: improvement of the economic position of the workers, human treatment on the part of the factory managements, granting of certain rights to the workers, social insurance etc. Resolutions were also passed regarding reorganisation and development of the workers' defence, further, regarding the consolidation of trade union discipline and the uniting of the labour movement.

The Conference elected a new Council, consisting of 41 members. Wen Shi Hua was elected as President of the Council.

In conclusion the Conference directed an appeal to the workers in which are set forth the tactics and the demands of the trade unions.

CHINA

Letter from China.

By Earl Browder.

On Sunday, Feb. 27, Tom Mann, Jacques Doriot, and myself were the guests of the joint committee of the Seamen's Union and the Railwaymen's Union at a large meeting held in the Railway Administration building just outside Canton at the terminal of the Kwong Tung Yueh-Han Railway. It was an excellent trade union mass meeting, full of interest and deserving a story of itself, but I started out to write about the facts I learned there of the Railwaymen's Union, which is a subject of more permanent importance.

It is only in the territory of the Kuomintang government that trade unions are allowed to function legally. Railwaymen in the North tried many times to organise openly, but the militarists, notably Wu Pei-Fu, executed their leaders. The unions are therefore secret outside the area of the Canton forces. Up until a few months ago when the Canton expedition started North against the militarists, the Province of Kwantung was the only one in which the Railwaymen's Union could function openly. It is here, therefore, that the Union is the most firmly and permanently organised.

The Railwaymen's Union has played a foremost part in the struggle for national freedom. When the reactionary tool of the British, General Chen Chiung-Ming, attempted to overthrow the Kuomintang government in Kwantung towards the end of 1925, the railwaymen called a general strike against Cheng Chiung-ming, placed all forces at the disposal of the Kuomintang, and thus played a decisive part in the wiping out of the reaction in November, 1925.

There are six railways in Kwantung Province. The Union has a department for each Railway, of which the following is a list, with the number of union members in each (approximate, basis of representation at Congress held on February 7, 1927)

Canton-Hankow (southern, Kwong Tung Yuch-han)	2,000
Canton-Samshui Railway	800
Canton-Kowloon (Chinese section)	1,000
Samshui-Shiuhing	1,600
Souming	1,200
Kowloon-Canton (British section) secret organisation.	

All railway manual workers are organised into a single, solid union, which includes practically every railway worker in the province. The form of organisation is built up from the bottom on the following lines:

Lowest (basic) unit, nucleus of ten workers.

Railway Section, general meeting of all workers, which elects a section executive.

District (or Division) the highest organ of which is the joint meeting of the Sections composing it.

Union Branch, for each separate railway, headed by an Executive Committee of 15 members elected by general vote of all workers on that railway.

Kwantung Provincial Union, uniting six Branches, under an Executive of 19 members, elected by Provincial Congress. This is itself a branch of the All China Railwaymen's Union. General headquarters in Hankow.

The Provincial Union held its last Congress in February, only a few weeks ago with over 400 delegates attending; while the All China Union holds its first congress next week in Hankow.

Among the members and leaders of this union, as of most Chinese unions, one finds the same types as in America or England, only the Chinese are more uniformly revolutionary and class-conscious. The Kwantung Union having an exceptionally able and loyal group of leaders, outstanding among which I recall, the Secretary, Comrade Lee Lit, the Organiser, Comrade Wang Sun, the Secretary of Propaganda, Comrade Luk Fan, and the general advisor, Comrade Zang Yun.

The Union maintains a uniformed and drilled body of 600 armed pickets, which serve to some extent as guards against bandits and counter-revolutionists, and as a reserve for the revolutionary government.

At the particular place which we visited, the Union Clubs is the former residence of the Chief Engineer of the railway. It is a commodious house with large gardens, in which has been erected a meeting hall for the workers which will accommodate some thousand workers at one time. The offices of the Union for this Branch are housed in this Club.

This is but one small sample of the tremendous network of organisation of the masses of workers and peasants, which is the secret of the overwhelming power with which the Kuomintang armies have swept the militarists out of their way in the march to the North. Everywhere they come, they are welcomed as the liberators of the masses, making possible trade union and peasant organisation wherever the power of the Kuomintang is established.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

Speech of Comrade Stalin at the V. All-Union Conference of the Leninist Young Communist League on 29th March 1927.

Comrades, allow me to greet you in the name of the Central Committee of our Party (Applause). Allow me to wish you success in the arduous work of organising and politically enlightening the working and peasant youth of our country. With us the Young Communist League has always marched in the first ranks of our fighters. We will hope that the Young Communist League will also continue to be in the front ranks and will hold aloft the flag of socialism (Applause).

Now, however, after conveying greetings, allow me to proceed to deal with two questions regarding which some of your comrades in the Young Communist League have just spoken with me.

The first question is the question of our industrial policy. This, so to speak, concerns our home affairs. And the second question is the question of the events in Nanking. This concerns foreign affairs.

Comrades, the main line which our industry must follow, the main line which must determine all its further steps is the line of systematic reduction of the cost price of industrial production, the line of systematic reduction of the selling price of industrial goods. This is the broad highway along which our industry must continue to proceed if it is to develop, if it is to lead agriculture, if it is to strengthen and extend the foundation of our socialist economy.

Whence does this line originate?

Wherein lie the causes which determine the necessity and the expediency of such a line?

This line is determined by at least four main causes.

The first cause consists of the fact that an industry based on high prices is not and cannot be a real industry, for such an industry must inevitably degenerate into a hot-house plant which is not and cannot be capable of life. Only an industry which systematically reduces the price of goods, only an industry which is based on the systematic lowering of the cost price of production, only an industry which, therefore, systematically improves its production, technic and organisation of work, its methods and forms of economic administration — only such an industry can we make use of, for only such an industry can proceed forward and guarantee full victory to the proletariat.

The second cause lies in the fact that our industry is based on the home market. We cannot compete with the capitalists on the foreign market, and have not the possibility of doing so. For our industry, the chief market is the inland market. It follows from this, however, that our industry can only develop and become firm to the extent to which our home market, the absorbing capacity of this market, the mass demand for industrial goods develops and becomes firm. What, however, will determine the extension of our home market and the increase of its absorbing capacity? They are determined, among other things, by the systematic reduction of the price of industrial goods, i. e. by the same main line of development of our industry of which I have already spoken.

The third cause lies in the fact that without a systematic reduction of the price of industrial goods, without a systematic cheapening of industrial goods, it is impossible to think of maintaining those conditions which are necessary for the further raising of wages. In the first place the workers themselves are consumers of industrial goods, so that the reduction of the price of these goods cannot but be of serious importance for the maintenance and increase of real wages. In the second place the reduction of the price of industrial goods determines the stability of the price of agricultural products, which, in the towns, are mainly consumed by the workers, which likewise cannot but be of serious importance for the maintenance and increase of the real wages of the workers. Can our socialist State straightaway systematically increase the wages of the workers? No, it cannot do so straightaway. It follows from this, however, that the systematic reduction of the price of industrial goods is one of the most necessary preconditions for the steady raising of the standard of living of the working class.

Finally, the fourth cause lies in the fact that without a reduction of the price of industrial goods we cannot maintain that alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, between industry and peasant economy which forms the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. You know that the peasant pays too dearly for industrial goods, for machines etc. You know that this circumstance calls forth serious discontent among the peasantry and renders difficult the growth of agriculture. What conclusion is to be drawn from this? The only conclusion to be drawn is that we must conduct a policy of systematically reducing the price of industrial goods if we really wish to maintain the alliance, the bond between the working class and the peasantry and to develop agriculture still further.

What, however, is necessary in order to render possible and to carry out completely the policy of reducing the cost price of industrial production and the selling price of goods? For this there are necessary a fundamental improvement of the technique of production, a thorough improvement of the organisation of work in the factories, a thorough improvement and simplification of the entire economic apparatus and a decisive fight against the bureaucratism of the economic apparatus. All this is characterised by us as socialist rationalisation of production and of the economic administration. Our industry has entered on that stage of development in which any considerable increase in the productivity of labour, any systematic reduction of the cost price of industrial production will be impossible without the application of a new and better technic, without the application of a new and better organisation of work and without the simplification and cheapening of our economic apparatus. We need all this not only in order to raise the productivity of labour and to reduce the price of industrial goods, but also in order to use the savings achieved on this basis for the further development and extension of our industry. For this reason we need socialist rationalisation of production and of the economic administration.

I believe, therefore, that the latest decision of the C. C. of our Party regarding the rationalisation of production and of the economic administration is one of the most important decisions of our Party determining our industrial policy in the next period.

It is said that rationalisation demands certain temporary sacrifices from certain groups of workers, including the youth. This is true comrades. The history of our revolution shows that not a single important step has been made without certain sacrifices on the part of individual groups of the working class in the interests of the entire class of the workers in our country. One need only call to mind the civil war, although the present trifling sacrifices in no way compare with those serious sacrifices which had to be made at the time of the civil war. You see that those sacrifices of ours have already been paid back with interest. Is it necessary to point out that the present inconsiderable sacrifices will be repaid in the near future with interest? Therefore I believe that we should not shrink from certain trifling sacrifices in the interest of the whole of the working class.

The Young Communist League has always stood in the front ranks of our fighters. I do not doubt, therefore, that the Young Communist League will also now occupy the place which is due to it in the question of the carrying out of socialist rationalisation.

Permit me now to proceed to the second question, to the question of the events in Nanking. I believe that the events in Nanking were not unexpected by us. Imperialism cannot live without acts of violence and plundering, without shootings and bloodshed.

Wherein consists the political significance of the events in Nanking?

They show that a change has taken place in the policy of imperialism, a turn from armed peace to armed war against the Chinese people.

Before the events in Nanking imperialism had endeavoured to conceal its intentions behind oily phrases regarding peace and non-intervention in the inner affairs of other countries, behind the mask of "civilisation" and "love of humanity", with the League of Nations etc. After the events of Nanking it discarded the oily phrases as well as non-intervention and the League of Nations and every other mask. Imperialism now stands before the whole world in its entire nakedness as an open robber and oppressor.

Bourgeois pacifism has again received a crushing blow. For what can the lauders of imperialist pacifism of the type of Boncour, Breitscheid and others place against the fact of the shooting of the inhabitants of Nanking than their own lying pacifist speeches?

The League of Nations has again received a severe rebuff. For who, apart from the lackeys of imperialism, can regard as "normal" the fact that one member of the League of Nations shoots down the population of another member of the League of Nations, while the League of Nations itself, however, is compelled to remain silent as if the matter in no way concerned it.

It is proved that our Party was right when it declared the sending of troops to Shanghai to be a prelude to military attacks against the Chinese people.

For who, except those who are blind, can now fail to see that the troops in Shanghai were necessary for imperialism in order to proceed from words to deeds. That is the meaning of the events in Nanking.

What could be the intentions of the imperialists who have embarked on the adventure of Nanking?

It is possible that the imperialists, when they tore aside the mask and turned their artillery on Nanking, wished to turn back the wheel of history, to put an end to the growing revolutionary movement in all countries and to conduct the fight for the restoration of that relative stability of world capitalism which had existed up to the outbreak of the imperialist war. It is known that capitalism emerged from the imperialist world war wounded beyond recovery. It is known that ten years ago the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union broke through the front of capital and delivered it a blow from which it cannot recover.

It is known that the imperialist war shook the foundations of imperialist rule in the colonies and dependent countries. It is known that, ten years after the Russian October, the Chinese workers and peasants have likewise begun to break through the

front of capital; and there is no reason to assume that they will not break through completely. It is possible that the imperialists wished to sweep all this aside with one stroke and turn over a "new page" of history. And if they really desired to do this, it must be admitted that they have become childish. For only people who have become childish can believe that the laws of artillery are stronger than the laws of history, that it is possible to turn back the wheel of history by the bombardment of Nanking.

It is possible that the imperialists, when they fired on Nanking, wished thereby to intimidate the suppressed peoples of the other countries who are striving for freedom, as if they wished to say to them: Take a warning from Nanking! That, comrades, is not quite out of the question. The policy of intimidation has its "precedents" in the history of imperialism. But there is no doubt that this policy is futile and cannot achieve its aim. Russian Tsarism in its time employed this policy "with success". What was the end of it? You know that it ended with the complete collapse of Tsarism.

Finally, it is possible that the imperialists, in bombarding Nanking, wished thereby to hit the Chinese revolution in the heart and to render impossible, in the first place, the further advance of the Southern troops and the unification of China, and secondly the carrying out of those conditions regarding the concessions which were laid down in Hankow. This is quite possible, and perhaps quite probable. That the imperialists do not wish a united China and prefer to have two Chinas in order "to manoeuvre more successfully" has already been blabbed out repeatedly by the capitalist press. As regards the concessions of Shanghai and the other concessions, there can be no doubt that many of the imperialists are not favourably inclined to the agreements worked out and confirmed in Hankow. And now the imperialists wished by the bombardment of Nanking, to say openly that they prefer in the future to carry on negotiations with the National government under the pressure and to the accompaniment of artillery. It must, however, be remarked that up to now they have achieved **one thing**: the deepening of the hate of the Chinese against imperialism, the welding together of the forces of the Kuomintang and a new swing to the Left of the revolutionary movement in China. Can there be any doubt that for the time being the imperialists have achieved the exact contrary to what they wished?

These are the results and the perspectives of the events in Nanking.

This is the policy of the wiseheads in the Conservative camp.

It is a perfectly true saying that, those whom the Gods wish to destroy they first drive mad. (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.)

POLITICS

Pilsudski's Campaign against the Revolutionary Peasant Movement.

By J. Sochacki (Warsaw).

On March 21st, a Government proclamation was posted in the streets of Warsaw and of all other towns of Poland, in which communication the Minister of the Interior announced to the public that he had thought fit to declare the "illegality of the Independent Party". The reason advanced by the Pilsudski Government for this decision is "that the Independent Party opposes the present constitution by undermining the State structure from within and by submitting to the influence of the Communist Party". Finally, the announcement warns the population against joining, or belonging to, the Independent Peasant Party as a prohibited body and points out that any one belonging to or collaborating with the party in question will be prosecuted with the entire rigour of the law.

A few hours after the appearance of this proclamation, the Central secretariat and the publishing premises of the party organ were subjected to a minute visitation. The premises were closed and the appearance of the paper was forbidden.

The same day saw a similar proclamation in the eastern regions, which are mainly inhabited by White Russians; in this instance it was the White Russian Peasants and Workers Party "Hromada" which was declared to be illegal.

At the same time the private apartments of numerous members of the Independent Peasant Party and the Hromada were searched in all parts of the country and numerous arrests were made.

A new period of Fascist terrorism has set in. At the beck and call of the dictator of present-day Poland, the revolutionary movement of the peasants represented by these two parties is to be relegated to the nether-world of illegality. Fresh hundreds and thousands of peasants and workers are to be sent to prison for the mere reason that they would not suffer themselves to be deprived of their good right to organise their ranks for a struggle for their aims and their existence.

The "declaration of illegality" in the case of the Independent Peasant Party and the Hromada, is an immediate result of the failure of the former dastardly attacks of Pilsudski on these two organisations. In January last, the deputies of the Hromada were arrested and in the same connection a disgusting campaign of lies and calumnies was initiated, the arrested deputies being accused of espionage, of having received gigantic sums from foreign Governments, etc. It was hoped that these means would lead to the intimidation of the members of the Hromada, to its internal decay, and to the creation of advantages for the opportunist parties of White Russia, such as the White Russian Christian Democrats (the group of the priest Stankiewicz) and the White Russian peasant organisation known as the "Selanskij Sojuz (the group of the deputy Jeremicz).

The attacks of the Government, however, met with immediate resistance on the part of the working masses in western White Russia. In reply to the violent measures of Pilsudski, meetings of protest were held and attended by great masses of people, who were subsequently dispersed with bloodshed by the police and members of Pilsudski's sharpshooter organisations. In consequence, again, thousands of protesting resolutions were addressed to the Government and to Parliament from all parts of western White Russia, while the Hromada increased daily in numbers, figuring at that time at about 100,000 members.

Nor did the provocative attacks of Pilsudski's Fascist Government on the deputy Silvester Wojewodzie, one of the leaders of the Independent Peasant Party, meet with any greater success.

The increase in the occurrence of formidable struggles, as illustrated inter alia, by the general textile workers' strike, forced Pilsudski to more feverish activity.

The real programme of the so-called "moral reform" movement in Poland consists in the object of seizing the workers and peasants by the throat, so that they should be unable to resist the offensive of the capitalists and large landowners.

This new plan of campaign against the workers and peasants is naturally in close connection with the war intentions of Pilsudski, in regard to which the great movement among the peasants and workers formed the main obstacle.

The opportunist fractions of the working and peasant classes led by the notorious P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party), raise mild protests at the obviously Fascist procedure of Pilsudski. In reality, however, they are glad that the action of the Government against the radical workers' and peasant movement will benefit all kinds of sworn traitors to the workers' cause. The most preposterous things had occurred. The workers and peasants had not even listened to such "recognised" leaders of the labour movement as Daszinski, Zulawski, Niedzialkowski or other leaders of the "Wyzwolenie" and the "Peasants' Party" (Stronictwo Chlopskie).

As a matter of fact, a united Fascist front has been formed, including all elements from the National Democrats to the P. P. S. The leaders of this latter party of social traitors, in particular, played a despicable part throughout the attacks on the Independent Peasant Party. Among other things, the "Robotnik", the central paper of this party, constantly wrote of the Hromada and the Independent Peasant Party as of Communist parties, denouncing the individual leaders of these two parties as Communists. And can we be surprised at the methods adopted by the leaders of the P. P. S.? Fascism, we must remember, has saved them from the verdict of the working masses; while proclaiming their "opposition", they have two Ministers in the Fascist Government, viz. Moraczewski and Jurkiewicz.

Pilsudski is leading the attack against two great organisations of the town and country population at a time when the Parliament is engaged in "working" at the anti-Communist Bill. The proposed law is to fetter the entire peasant and labour movement with a series of severe enactments. In this connection, the National Democratic Party is carrying on a campaign among its members.

In issuing his orders, Pilsudski says: "It is my will that as from to-day, the Hromada and the Independent Peasant Party shall cease to exist." With a powerful voice the workers and peasants will reply: "We did not bend to the Tsar, and to-day we shall not bend to the Fascist dictatorship." Our answer to the Government orders is to call upon the peasants and workmen to unite under the red flag of revolutionary combat. Join your organisations in masses. Create a powerful front of workers and peasants against the Fascist dictatorship and for the foundation of a workers' and peasants' Government.

The Communist Election Victory in Stockholm.

By Smolan (Gothenburg).

The overthrow of the third "Labour Government" in June 1926 appears to have opened the eyes of numerous workers, showing them that the bourgeoisie will only adhere to the coalition so long as it is advantageous for them to do so and that they have no scruples about abandoning their Social Democratic satellites once the latter have fulfilled their momentary tasks.

The increasing radicalisation of the masses was already apparent on the occasion of the trade union congress in September, where a great portion of the delegates followed the Communists and where the Social Democrats had serious difficulty in preserving their hegemony.

During the provincial and borough elections of last year, the Communists succeeded in making considerable progress, which is all the more to be appreciated seeing that, firstly, the Social Democrats were again in opposition and therefore carried on in a very radical manner, while, secondly, hundreds of thousands of the younger workers and the unemployed were excluded from the elections and, thirdly, the greatest achievements were attained among the workers of the big industries in keen competition with the other parties.

On the occasion of last year's borough elections, the Communists succeeded in doubling, or even trebling, their votes in a whole series of industrial constituencies. At Gothenburg, the second in size and the most industrialised among the towns of Sweden, the Communists gained seven mandates and 7100 votes as against three mandates and 2160 votes in 1922. It was only thanks to the Communist activity that it was possible to maintain the labour majority, for the Social Democrats lost much ground, forfeiting no fewer than five of their mandates.

It was not until March this year, that the municipal elections took place in the capital city of Stockholm. Here the Communists increased their number of votes from 6800 to 15,820, or by no less than 129 per cent., capturing two mandates from the Social Democrats and one from the Right. Being one of the smaller parties, they were obliged to raise 1758 votes for each of their nine mandates, as against only 1500 demanded of the Social Democrats, who attained 65,000 votes in all, or 16,000 votes less than in 1924.

The entire bourgeois press expresses regret at the Communist advance, the "Svenska Dagbladet", the special organ of the big capitalists, remarking that

"this year's election is nothing but a victory of the Communists over the Social Democrats. The Social Democratic Party is decidedly on the wane."

The electioneering campaign at Stockholm was preceded by a violent and comprehensive political feud in regard to military matters, in which connection the Social Democratic leaders proved faithful henchmen of the darkest reaction. The Navy Commission appointed by the last Riksdag appeared before the public in January with a motion that a further 106 million crowns be granted for the next ten years for the purpose of supplementing the fleet which even now is fairly extensive. All the representatives of the different parties declared themselves unanimous with the "experts"; indeed, the Bill of the Navy Commission had been worked out by the chairman

of the Social Democratic Party, the former War Minister P. A. Hansson, although at the Riksdag elections of 1924 the Social Democrats had promised a substantial reduction of military expenditure, on the strength of which promise they succeeded in defeating the bourgeois parties and in forming the third "Labour Government".

Among the working class, the Bill aroused the most vehement indignation, and the Social Democratic members of the Commission were designated not only by the non-party workers and the Communists, but also by their own comrades, as traitors and as accomplices of the Right. Innumerable public meetings were held, at which vehement resolutions were adopted against the Navy Commission, while numerous assemblies among members of the Social Democratic Party also demanded the resignation and even the expulsion of the Social Democratic members of the Commission. In many towns, the juvenile Communists succeeded in forming a united front with the juvenile Social Democrats, and at many common big meetings resolutions were passed against any defence of the capitalist country. Heckled and attacked by the Communists at their own meetings, the Social Democratic leaders fully lost their heads, and it was only very rarely that they ventured to take part in a discussion, which in such cases generally ended to their disadvantage.

The reasons advanced for the extraordinary zeal in the interest of armaments were very poor and feeble. The one declared that "by means of a powerful fleet, Sweden's neutrality could be maintained in the event of an Anglo-Russian war" (while in the same breath they admitted that according to the statutes of the League of Nations Sweden would be forced to play an active part in the eventuality of a war initiated by Russia). Others again pointed to the "enormous preparations of imperialist Soviet Russia", which country they naturally designated as the actual disturber of the peace. They failed however, to preserve any uniformity of argument, the one trying by means of lectures and newspaper articles to persuade the public that the most efficient arms were the very ironclads of the so-called "F" type which their party had considered out of date in 1914, while the others favoured submarines and gases as the most effective means of destruction. A discussion which is highly characteristic of the decline of the "down-with-war" Social Democrats of post-war days.

Under the strong pressure of the masses the party chairman, Hansson, was finally obliged to beat a pitiable retreat by declaring that he would "loyally" submit to the decision of the majority of his Riksdag fraction. In this campaign, which is not yet at an end, Hansson and the other Social Democratic leaders have certainly reaped no laurels, but by their reactionary and anti-labour attitude they have done much to accelerate and promote the Left orientation of the class-conscious workers of Sweden.

THE BALKANS

Fascist Bulgaria, a Tool of Imperialism and a Danger to Peace.

By Chr. Kabaktchieff.

After the coup of June 9th, 1923, the Bulgarian bourgeoisie was in a position, at least temporarily and partially, to confirm its political and economic predominance. In this, however, it only succeeded at the cost of a total enslavement of the country to European capitalism and of its conversion into a colony of the European capitalists and imperialists. European capital, moreover, is not penetrating the country in the form of industrial investments for the purpose of stimulating Bulgarian industry, but in the shape of bank and commercial capital with a monopoly for organising the export of agricultural products and for robbing the wealth of the nation.

The Liaptcheff Government has secured the support of the British, French, and Italian bankers by the grant of certain large concessions (for pig-breeding, timber, etc.) and the vice-controllorship of State finances, the National Bank, etc. Bulgaria is not at liberty to determine its own customs policy, the increase or reduction of its taxes, the budget, etc., without consent of the European bankers. The Fascist Zankoff and

Liaptcheff Cabinets completed the colonisation of the country by European imperialism.

The Liaptcheff Government is falling more and more into the hands of the imperialist Governments which support it, seeing that its own authority in Bulgaria is already greatly shaken.

The hopes entertained by the Left bourgeois parties and its adherents among the petty bourgeois elements, that Liaptcheff would put an end to the wild and murderous conduct of "irresponsible" elements, have not been fulfilled. The Liaptcheff Government has lost all support among the people; nay, more than this, for now its only means of remaining in office consists in violence (military, police, Fascist organisations) and in the continuation of the White Terror by means of fresh wholesale arrests and individual and wholesale murder.

But not even the ruling bourgeois coalition, the "Democraticheski Sgovor" (Democratic Union) can be said to back the Liaptcheff Government wholeheartedly. Within the Sgovor there is a fight between various cliques for power and booty, the one wing being formed of the conspirators of June 9th headed by Zankoff and General Russeff, while the other wing desirous of regaining the power completely for the old, bourgeois parties, consists of bourgeois elements under the lead of Liaptcheff.

The Zankoff-Russeff wing carries on the struggle against Liaptcheff underground and is preparing to take over the governmental authority and to continue the regime of an open military dictatorship. This wing is backed by the majority of the officers' league, the officers and petty officers of the constabulary, and the Fascist organisations, and has already made a definite attempt (in May, 1926) to bring about the fall of Liaptcheff. They failed for lack of support on the part of the Court, the embassies of foreign states and of General Volkoff. There is no saying, however, but what the Liaptcheff Government, which was thus saved by General Volkoff yesterday, may not be driven out by him to-morrow. He became Minister of War in the Zankoff Cabinet and retained his post in that of Liaptcheff, though at the same time he is the confidant of the Fascist Government of Italy. It is through him that Italy might succeed in involving Bulgaria in its own bellicose plans.

There are two dangers to be taken into consideration in the case of the Liaptcheff Government. On the one hand, the military and Fascist organisations are gaining in strength and size under its protection and threaten daily to plunge the country into disturbances, upheavals and bloodshed; on the other hand, the policy of the present Government is turning Bulgaria into a tool of Italy and Great Britain, whose great imperialistic and counter-revolutionary plans may force the Bulgarian people into a new war which would mean its destruction and complete subjugation.

The Fascist regime in Bulgaria, however, is not only a constantly growing danger for the Bulgarian people, but also a danger for the other nations in the Balkans. The reactionary, nationalist, and militarist Governments of Yugoslavia and Roumania find a prop in this Bulgarian administration.

So as to gain the friendship of Pashitch, Zankoff organised a massacre among the Macedonian revolutionaries in September 1924.

To secure the friendship of Averescu, Liaptcheff gave orders for the dissolution of the Dobrudja organisation and connived at the murder of its most prominent leaders.

Thus the Fascist regime in Bulgaria has come to support the subjugation of national minorities in Yugoslavia and Roumania, countries in which great numbers of Bulgarians reside. The Fascist regime has become the main support of Balkan reaction, which combats with fire and sword the workers and peasants of the Balkan countries in their struggle for social liberty. And finally, the war in which Bulgaria may be involved by this same Fascist regime, will inevitably set fire to the entire Balkan peninsula, entailing fresh misery and bloodshed among the Balkan peoples.

Only the overthrow of the Fascist regime in Bulgaria, which is based on the imperialist Governments of Great Britain, Italy, and also France, will finally annihilate this hotbed of conspirators, murderers of the people, and imperialist agents, who are constantly engaged in planning new wars and massacres.

In its fight against the Fascist regime, the Bulgarian proletariat reckons on the powerful support of the proletariat of the other Balkan countries and of the whole world.

British Members of Parliament on the Terror in Bulgaria.

Vienna, 29th March 1927.

R. C. Wallhead a member of the British Labour Party and of the British House of Commons who has visited Bulgaria for the purpose of study, writes in today's number of the "Arbeiter Zeitung":

I have just come back from a journey to Bulgaria and the proofs that I was able to see there convinced me of the justice and the statesmanlike nature of the protest made by comrade Vandervelde recently in Geneva against the terror in Bulgaria. Sir Austin Chamberlain did not raise the prestige of his government when he prevented the discussion upon this point. He proved by this that he is prepared to support the reaction everywhere and that he has been successful in identifying his country with those elements in Europe whose final aim is the destruction of all civilisations. Fascism seems to exercise an unhealthy influence upon him. Italy, Bulgary and Hungary are a very unpleasant trio.

As far as I have been able to discover, no one in Bulgaria denies that there is a frightful terror there and it must be said that it is carried on with the toleration of highly placed personalities in the closest touch with the government. In an interview which I and my colleague Grenfell, who is also a member of the British House of Commons, had with the Bulgarian Prime Minister Liaptchev, I stressed the urgent necessity of a general political amnesty to take place before the coming elections in May. The answer to this was that such an action would bring with it the danger of a recrudescence of the acts of violence in a still greater degree. It is generally recognised that this danger exists. Comrade Pastuchov the leader of the Bulgarian social democrats also recognised this, but was prepared to take the risk.

The danger is in the fascist organisations which support themselves upon formations of one-time officers and bourgeois elements. Fascism is the greatest enemy in Bulgaria and I wish nothing more than that the struggle against fascism in Bulgaria and also in Austria will be successful at the coming elections.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE COLONIES

The Continuation of the Morocco-Spanish War.

By Jar (Madrid).

After Abd-el-Krims surrender, the Spanish imperialists imagined that the Morocco problem had been solved entirely according to the aims of the Liga Africanista. But subsequent events have shown that the Riffians, as they always were, are still ready to fight for the independence of their country.

The surrender of Abd-el-Krim created a very dangerous situation for the Riffians as it meant the end of a single and centralised leadership or command by means of which they had accomplished so much since 1921.

Since June 1925, the Riffians have lacked such leadership; nevertheless they are continuing to defend their country. Keriro, one of the more brave and intrepid chiefs, was killed whilst fighting in December last. Since Abd-el-Krim's surrender he was the leader possessing the greatest authority in his tribe. Of late the two brothers Tensamani and some other chiefs have been leading the struggle against the Spanish forces.

Spanish imperialism has not yet secured control over Morocco. There are parts of this country on which the Spanish soldiers have never trod. Nearly every day the Spanish army has skirmishes with the natives. Of late the Spanish forces have been involved in quite important combats with the Ktama tribe: Mohamed el Fost, leader of the Riffian troops in the Spanish service, was killed in one of these encounters. The Ktama tribe is one of the most active in the fight against Spanish imperialism; it is led by illustrious chiefs, the brothers Tensamani already mentioned, and the chiefs Elil and Hadjil, the later from Ghomara.

On the 14th of February a Spanish convoy was captured in the territory of the Beni Aros tribe. During the night the convoy's camp was surrounded and attacked; the entire force was captured, together with the supplies it was conveying to the Spanish post. In the territory occupied by the Jebel Habib, a tribe in the extreme West of the Spanish zone, the tribesmen have been attacking posts and making raids into the territory of those inhabitants of the Riff who have submitted to the Spanish authorities.

The tribes in the less accessible mountainous districts of the Riff still refuse to submit to Primo de Rivera, and a certain number of Riffians along with their families have recently migrated into the Jeballa district which is still in revolt.

The actual condition is similar to that prevailing in 1921, previous to Abd-el-Krim's success. Peaceful tribes who suffered greatly as a result of the war, where French-Spanish troops launched attacks and intensive aerial bombardments were carried out, were forced to submit, but tribes living in the less accessible districts are still carrying on their fight for independence.

Between those tribes who have submitted and those who are still in revolt there exists a close understanding by means of which they are informed of all the plans and movements of the Spanish army. It must be borne in mind that the Riffians who are fighting most obstinately against Spain are those who were formerly in the "Spanish service". The Riffians are characterised by a calm and stubborn persistence, so that they fight when conditions are favourable, if not they submit and patiently wait until a more suitable opportunity.

At present Spain is employing a considerable number of colonial troops in Morocco. These troops are inspired by just the same feelings as they had when they were fighting against Spain. It must be remembered that most of the Riffians in Abd-el-Krim's army formed part of the Spanish colonial troops in 1921. The defeat of the Spaniards in 1921 was mainly due to those colonial troops who fought on the side of Abd-el-Krim.

Primo de Rivera is very optimistic regarding the Moroccan problem, but the military chiefs have pointed out only recently that the position in Morocco is very serious for Spain. A new rebellion is anticipated which, of course, will prove more dangerous than ever. On the other hand the Moroccan war is costing Spain enormous sums of money. In spite of Primo de Rivera's assertions that the war is at an end, the number of soldiers in Morocco is exactly the same as before the surrender of Abd-el-Krim. If in the very near future the Riffians should find a new chief, equally capable as was Abd-el-Krim to organise the tribesmen, it will mean the end of Spanish military rule in Morocco.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Lives of the Arrested Hungarian Workers are in Great Danger.

By L. F. B.

In a few days the examination of Zoltan Szanto and his 52 comrades by the Public Prosecutor will be ended. The manner in which the examination has been conducted alone shows that the authorities have treated it as the formal fulfillment of a duty incumbent upon them. The statements of the accused cannot alter the intention of the authorities, and that is to place them before an extraordinary court in order that they may be sentenced to death.

This is also proved by the statements of the Public Prosecutor Miskolczy himself to the British member of parliament Grenfell, Grenfell describes his interview with Miskolczy in the "Wiener Arbeiterzeitung" as follows:

"In answer to our criticism of a law which places people before an extraordinary court for no other crime than having formed a new party, the Public Prosecutor expressed the strange opinion that people could be guilty of insurrection for no other reason than that of having joined a party with even limited socialist aims."

The greatness of the danger is however, not only shown by these and similar utterances. The Budapest courts are taking speedy technical and organisational measures for carrying out the proceedings before the extraordinary court and for executing the expected death sentences.

The last speech of the prime minister Bethlen was in the same tone as the utterances of the public prosecutor. He even accuses the executive committee of the Social Democratic Party of high treason on account of its declaration of sympathy for Henderson who had protested against the persecution of workers in Hungary. He appeals for an alliance of all parties, of the whole nation even against the weak protest of Henderson as an action endangering the "Fatherland". Everyone is therefore declared to be a traitor who is not in favour of the extraordinary court and the death sentences for revolutionary workers. At the same time Bethlen praises British and Italian imperialism like a true servant and offers his reliable services as a hangman against the bolshevist danger.

In this connection the social democratic central organ "Nepszava" declares in a tone of resignation that the protest of the international working class can make no moral impression upon this governing system.

Count Bethlen will probably leave for Italy on the 4th April. In all probability the proceedings before the extraordinary court will commence immediately after his departure. This will give the Prime Minister the possibility of clearing himself of responsibility for the planned murder of socialist and communist workers in the eyes of public opinion and placing the responsibility — as he did in Geneva in connection with the process following upon the box on the ears — upon "subordinate officials". We do not wish to say that the time of the Italian visit has been determined by the beginning of the proceedings before the extraordinary court. Obviously, the opposite is the case. Because Bethlen is going abroad he has probably ordered that the proceedings take place in his absence.

A new and tremendous storm of protest is being raised by millions of indignant workers in all parts of the world against the cruel persecution of workers carried out by the Hungarian reaction. Despite this the government is preparing to carry out an abominable murder upon dozens of revolutionary workers. The workers of the whole world who won a wonderful victory for international class solidarity when they rescued Rakosi and his fellow accused from the gallows will not resign themselves lightly to this mass legal murder as the Hungarian social democracy does. The latter has not raised so much as a finger to save the victims of the Horthy-Bethlen reaction. But the international working class will strengthen its protest action in accordance with the acuteness of the danger.

The International Protest Movement against the Persecution of Workers in Hungary.

Vienna, 29th March 1927.

Austrian intellectuals have directed the following telegram of protest to the Hungarian Prime Minister Count Bethlen:

"The undersigned wish to add their voices to the protests which have appeared in the foreign newspapers from the British, French and German intellectuals who have expressed their horror and indignation at the news of renewed maltreatment of political prisoners by the Hungarian police.

We protest above all against the possibility that these men and woman may be placed before an extraordinary court which can only pass a sentence of death, although these accused are charged with nothing more than their personal opinions and an attempt to propagate their convictions.

We feel ourselves at one with millions of men and women when we protest against this terrible inhumanity and demand that the accused be placed before an ordinary court."

Signed:

Privy Councillor Dr. Hans Kampmeyer on behalf of the academic Arbeitsgemeinschaft, "Loge Freiheit" — Christokratische Students union.

B. B. Hoysted on behalf of the Austrian Reconciliation League.

Dr. Bruno Schoenfeld on behalf of the Austrian Monist League.

The Austrian Peace Society.

Zeuger Rona on behalf of the World League of Youth (Austrian Section).

Olga Misar for the League of the Opponents of Military Service.

Urban on behalf of the Association of Ex-Soldiers and war Victims.

Max Adler, University Professor.

Hermann Bahr, Author.

Rudolf Goldscheid, Author.

Professor Dr. Hans Hahn.

Albert Heine, Actor.

Professor Joseph Hoffmann, constructional engineer.

Wilhelm Kienzl, Composer.

Dr. Walter Klein, Composer.

Professor Martin Pappenheim.

Dr. Anton Webern, Composer.

Alexander Zemlinsky, Composer.

Frau Marie Goldscheid on behalf of the Austrian Women's League.

Professor Dr. Victor Conrad.

Professor Adolf Luft.

Berlin, 29th March 1927.

The Enlarged District Council of the Workers Sport and Physical Culture League has sent the following telegram to the Hungarian Prime Minister Count Bethlen:

"In the name of 30,000 members of the Berlin District of the Workers Sport and Physical Culture League we protest energetically against the tortures perpetrated upon political prisoners. We demand the abolition of the proceedings before the extraordinary court and the immediate release of the arrested workers."

Similar telegrams of protest have been despatched to the Hungarian government from: Freethinkers League (Berlin; Maerkische Sport Club; Hartmersleben branch of the German Social Democratic Party; from the workers of the firm Gruenfeld, Berlin. The workers of this latter firm also addressed a telegram to the Hungarian trade union federation and appealed to it to commence an action in the interests of the arrested workers.

Berlin, 29th March 1927.

The workers of the Bauausfuehrungen Company Limited have adopted the following resolution:

"The workers of the Bauausfuehrungen Co. Ltd. protest energetically against the mediaeval methods of torture used against the revolutionary class conscious workers of Hungary. We appeal to the workers of all countries to free our comrades from the claws of the Horthy government as they saved Comrade Rakosi."

Vienna, 29th March 1927.

Two members of the British Labour Party and members of the House of Commons, R. C. Wallhead and D. R. Grenfell have undertaken a journey to Hungary and Bulgaria to study the situation in these two countries on the spot. D. R. Grenfell writes in today's number of the "Arbeiterzeitung" concerning the reaction in Hungary the following:

"The situation in Hungary is followed with the greatest attention by all political organisations in western Europe. The arrest of 52 people who are accused of having formed an illegal organisation is a sign of how far the reaction dares to advance in its attempts to crush every form of opposition. When we, my colleague Wallhead and myself, were in Budapest, we had an interview with the Public Prosecutor and informed him of our opinion. Answering our criticism of a law that places people before an extraordinary court for merely attempting to form a new political party, the Public Prosecutor expressed the opinion that people could be guilty of insurrectionary activity merely by joining a party with limited socialist aims. This interpretation of the term insurrection would justify the arrest and condemnation of millions of people, including the supporters of the British Labour Party and all other Socialist parties in the world.

In any other civilised country these people would have been free to organise themselves so long as they did not resort to violence, and it is a shameful blot on Hungary that people are imprisoned there and compelled to fight for their lives before the courts although it is generally admitted that they have made no attempts in the least upon either life or property.

The events in Hungary are symptoms of the decadent condition of bourgeois ideology which brings with it the danger of fascism and semi-fascism. If the workers of Europe do not oppose this new challenge of despotism then it will lead to inevitable conflict and ruin for all other countries."

In Budapest R. C. Wallhead and D. R. Grenfell sent the following letter to Count Bethlen:

"Excellence,

We, the undersigned members of the British Labour Party and members of the British Parliament have come to Budapest in order to obtain information from you in the matter of the communist Zoltan Szanto and his comrades. According to our information it was their intention to form a legal Communist Party in Hungary. We have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Hungary, nor of protesting against those laws which make Communism illegal in Hungary. We wish an interview with you to discover if it is finally decided to bring this matter before an extraordinary court. We are of the opinion, which is general in Great Britain and in all civilised countries, that the organisation of a Communist Party is no violation of human rights, and if in Hungary, in contradiction to our opinion, membership of a Communist Party is punished, then we request in the name of humanity and in the name of our parliamentary fraction that the trials in such cases be held before an ordinary court so that the accused may have the full rights of defence. As far as we know, there is no proof in the case of Szanto and his comrades of the use of force or weapons, and we wish to express our opinion that death sentences may never be passed in cases where the accusation is purely one of organising a political party, no matter how unpopular this party may be. We appeal to your excellence that you take steps to bring this matter before an ordinary court so that the prisoners may have the fullest opportunity of defending themselves."

Berlin, 30th March 1927.

German artists and writers have sent the following protest telegram to the Hungarian Prime Minister Count Bethlen:

"The undersigned who are not members of any political movement, protest energetically and indignantly in the name of humanity and democratic justice against the sentencing of Hungarian communists to death by an extraordinary court merely for organising a party which is capable of participating in parliament in any civilised country.

Alexander Moissi, Oskar Homolka, Asta Nielson, Erna Morena, Gertrud Eysoldt, Elisabeth Bergner, Fritz Kortner, Albert Steinrueck, Rosa Valetti, Etlinger, Else Heims, Granach, Frau Wedekind, Paul Wegener, Victor Barnovski, Erik Enderlein, Karlheinz Martin, Ernst Deutsch, Thomas Mann, Robert Musil, Karl Zuckmayer, Walther Hasenclever, Georg Kaiser, Rudolf Kayser, Leonhard Franck, Alfred Doebelin, Tucholski, Faktor, Klabund, Alfred Kerr, Herbert Ihering, Julius Berstl, Willy Haas, Fritz von Unruh, Ernst Toller, Alfons Paquet, Arthur Holscher, Maximilian Harden, Franz Blei, Professor Max Pechstein, Kaethe Kollwitz, Heinrich Zille, Georg Grosz, Fred Hildebrand, Alfred Polgar."

Duesseldorf, 30th March 1927.

On the 26th March a delegation elected by a general meeting of the functionaries of the Red Aid organisation in Duesseldorf and the surroundings went to the Hungarian Consulate in the name of the meeting to protest against the maltreatment of the arrested Hungarians Zoltan Szanto, Stefan Vagi etc. by the Hungarian police and the legal authorities of the Hungarian government.

When the delegation requested to see the Consul they were refused permission with the declaration that the Consul could not listen to declarations by non-Hungarian citizens; In answer to the remark that it was a question of normal human rights, which was an international matter and not a national one, the representative of the consul declared that it was an interference in the internal affairs of Hungary and refused to accept protests from non-Hungarian citizens. The protest resolution was nevertheless sent to the Hungarian government in Budapest and reads as follows:

"To the Hungarian Government, Budapest,
Declaration of Protest

The functionaries of the red aid meeting on the 25th March in the Peoples House in Duesseldorf hereby protest in the name of thousands of members of the red aid organisation against the inhuman tortures perpetrated upon the arrested working men and women in Hungary. We see in the actions and the attitude of the Hungarian police, a recrudescence of the white terror with a view to holding down and gagging the working class and the advanced section of the population.

We express our indignation at the intention of the Bethlen-Horthy government to place the arrested left-wing socialist and communists before a court martial for crimes which they have never committed, simply to get rid of inconvenient political opponents.

The proletariat of the lower Rhineland will not tolerate the intended murders by the Bethlen-Horthy government. The officials of the red aid organisation of Duesseldorf and the surroundings appeal to the whole proletariat of the lower Rhineland to join in the protest and demand that the Hungarian government immediately release all the arrested workers, severely punish those officials who have taken part in the torture of defenceless prisoners or who have caused or ordered this torture, and finally to give full freedom of organisation and legality for all the organisations of the Hungarian workers and peasants!"

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Berlin, 31th March 1927.

A meeting of the workers of the Osram Works, Berlin-Moabit has sent the following protest telegram to the Hungarian government:

We protest energetically against the arrest and torturing of revolutionary workers who are accused of nothing more than is recognised in every civilised country as the elementary right of every citizen, namely the free expression by word or print of opinions. We demand the immediate release of the arrested workers.

*

Vienna, 31th March 1927.

The secretariat of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party has received a telegram from the secretary of the British Independent Labour Party, Fenner Brockway expressing the indignation of the I. L. P. at the persecution of workers in Hungary and assuring the solidarity of the I. L. P. with the Hungarian working class.

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Berlin, 2nd April 1927.

The chairman of the British Trade Union Congress George Hicks and A. A. Purcell, who both took part in the session of the Anglo-Russia Committee in Berlin, have sent a telegram to the Hungarian Prime Minister Count Bethlen protesting against the fact that Zoltan Szanto and his fellow-accused will be placed before an extraordinary court and demanding that the accused be given the possibility of defending themselves before an ordinary court.

*

Berlin, 2nd April 1927.

A full meeting of the railwaymen etc. attached to the Potsdamer Railway Station in Berlin has decided to send the following telegram to the Hungarian trade union council:

"The railwaymen of the Potsdamer Station, Berlin appeal to you to do everything possible to save the arrested revolutionary workers and to demand their immediate release.
Signed: Schaeplitz (Chairman of the Workers Council)."

*

New York, 2nd April 1927.

Everywhere in the United States mass protests are taking place on behalf of Zoltan Szanto and his comrades. The Anti-Horthy League in New York and the League for Hungarian Freedom in Cleveland have sent telegrams in the name of their 208,000 members to Budapest and Washington. The Anti-Horthy League has sent 500 Dollars to Henri Barbusse on behalf of the arrested. A delegation will be sent to Hungary. A number of organisations affiliated to the A. F. of L. is also in movement. Telegrams of protest have been sent from a district organisation of the Painters Union with 14,000 members, a carpenters district organisation with 2,000 members, the Food Workers Union with 8,000 members, the Shoe Workers Union with 15,000 members. 42 workers organisations in Ohio and Michigan have requested the British Labour Party, the I. F. T. U. and the International Transport Workers Federation to undertake immediate action on behalf of Szanto and his fellow-accused. The red aid organisation in the United States is preparing action on a mass scale.

ECONOMICS

A Memorandum Addressed by the Italian Textile Industrialists to the Government.

By F. Yeziarska (Moscow).

The crisis at present affecting the entire Italian economy has hit the cotton industry, one of the typical exporting industries of the country, particularly hard. At the end of December 1926, the five-day working week was introduced in the Italian cotton spinning mills, but it was soon apparent that, in spite of this restriction of output, there was more than sufficient cotton available to cover the requirements of the home and foreign market, and that further limitations would therefore have to be effected.

At the end of January, the commission appointed by the Union of Cotton Industrialists was already in a position to record that of the 4,800,000 spindles existing in Italy, more than 4,000,000 were working for no more than one or two days a week, while of the 130,000 looms the same could be said in regard to no fewer than 100,000. The commission furthermore came to the conclusion that, in view of the continuous stagnation on the home market, the only hope for the industry lay in larger exports. Between 1923 and 1925, Italian exports were favoured by the gradual inflation, and in these years the cotton industry experienced quite exceptional progress. In 1926, however, critical phenomena made their appearance, caused partly by the general economic crisis in Europe and partly by the deflationist policy of Mussolini, which necessarily greatly impaired the competitive capacity of Italian industry on the world market.

At the end of last year a whole number of exporting industries, and chief among them the cotton industry, found themselves in a very critical position. A table drawn up by Professor Bachi in regard to the index figure of industrial shares shows a recession on the part of cotton share quotations from 1,391.9 in December 1925 to 780.2 in November 1926.

The difficult economic situation has induced a whole number of industrial groups to approach Mussolini for the purpose of drawing his attention to the negative side of the valorisation of the lira, especially as regards the difficulties entailed thereby for the exporting industries.

Special interest attaches in this respect to a memorandum drawn up by the employers in the textile industry, the most characteristic passages of which shall here be reproduced.

The memorandum, which was naturally withheld from publicity, starts by describing the development of the cotton industry down to 1925 and then goes on to outline the difficulties of Italian economy as a whole in connection with the revalorisation of the lira. The whole Italian economy, it asserts, is based on a relation of 5 to 1 between the paper and the gold lira. Should this proportion now change to 4 to 1, as the Government seems to desire, the country would have to improve by 20 per cent. in an economic sense, so as to be able to support the consequent increase in the National Debt. Such an improvement of economy, however, would represent no profit at all to the individual citizen; on the contrary, his own balance of

prosperity would register just the opposite effect. The result would be greater difficulties in the way of export trade. And if it were intended that Italy should return to gold parity, the economy of the country would have to be strengthened fivefold if the national prosperity were not to suffer.

"These simple arguments," the memorandum actually says, "prove the obvious absurdity of a complete revalorisation, if unaccompanied by a simultaneous reduction of the State Debt, of private indebtedness, of prices, and of wages." (This last word was underlined in the original memo.)

Between the end of July and the middle of December, the appreciation of the lira figured at 30.85 per cent., the oscillations often amounting to 2 or 3 per cent. hourly. The conditions for payments arising from sales or purchases abroad had simply to be left to chance. Whoever had insufficient money to buy foreign currency in each particular case, had to pay in instalments with the addition of exorbitant interest, amounting often to 5 per cent. a month or 60 per cent. a year. By such operations the cotton industry spent the takings of a whole year during the second half of the business year 1925/26. At the same time, numerous manufacturers made their contracts abroad in sterling, thus forfeiting much money by the revalorisation of the lira. Added to this, the pronounced drop in the world-market price of cotton caused the Italian cotton industry serious loss. While in the last four years the average price of a kilogramme of cotton was 14 lire, it is now no more than 7.50 lire.

"These indications suffice," says the memorandum, "to make it comprehensible, against what tremendous difficulties the Italian cotton industry has to struggle. For the reasons above stated, it cannot sell its goods abroad without incurring great loss. Nor yet can it get rid of its products within the country, for every one is in expectation of a renewed fall of prices, which is bound to cause numerous business failures. At the same time, the industry cannot work to stocks, for that would lead to a yet greater indebtedness of the enterprises and to an increased circulation of paper money, which the Government is so anxious to restrict. The manufacturers have no choice but to close down their works which, again, would throw 270,000 operatives out of work; indeed, adding all the workers of other industries which depend upon the cotton industry, it is not saying too much to affirm that a closing down of the works of the cotton industry would represent unemployment for half a million workers." (Also underlined in the original.)

The cotton spinners and weavers, assembled at a session on December 15th, 1926, resolved to reduce the working hours in their enterprises to two days a week. This meant a less drastic measure than a total closing down of the works, but it also stood for an increase of the loss incurred, in view of the higher production costs and the lower degree of productivity.

"Several times, already, the manufacturers have reduced the working week and thus succeeded in mitigating the crisis. But on such occasions they were only faced with overproduction under far simpler market conditions, merely occasioned by speculation within the raw material market. Now the position is far more serious, for speculation is being carried on in two directions, in that of the raw material market and in that of currency exchange.

The employers in the textile industry have arrived at the unanimous conclusion that it is essential in the interest of the development of export trade that the lira be stabilised at the level of 120 per pound sterling.

If, therefore, the lira rate remains at its present level or even shows a tendency to rise, the employers will be faced with the alternative of either closing down their works or reducing wages."

The memorandum is signed by Crespi, Chairman of the Union of Textile Industrialists, and bears the date of the end of December 1926.

Since then the rate of the lira has again sunk and is now oscillating between 110 and 112 to the pound. During the last few weeks there have been rumours in circulation in regard to a stabilisation of the currency at a rate of 125.66. These rumours, however, have been denied by the report of a discussion in the Ministerial Council, which affirms that "an artificial stabilisation must be declined, since in Italy, which is before all an importing country, no real stability can be attained save by the economic collaboration of the entire nation."

In order to come to the aid of the exporters in a certain

sense, and at the same time to increase its own holdings of foreign bills, the Government has resolved to buy up the bills resulting from sales abroad to a maximum total of 100 million dollars and to guarantee the exporters a definite rate of exchange.

Unemployment is continually on the increase in Italy. As regards the reduction of wages, of which the memorandum makes mention, nothing has been made known in this regard in the Italian press, as indeed everything is passed over in silence which might go to indicate the economic crisis in the country.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Struggle of the Glass Workers in the Iser District.

By F. Wenzel (Reichenberg).

The general crisis of capitalism in Czechoslovakia has of late found its most drastic expression in the glass industry in the north Bohemian regions.

The glass industry of Gablonz, once a trade of world-wide importance, was an early victim of the general crisis, and would now appear to be approaching utter ruin. This particular crisis is greatly aggravated by the economic policy of the capitalist Government of the Republic. The glass industry is pronouncedly an exporting trade and must therefore strive to produce cheap goods of as good a quality as possible. This is prevented by the policy of the Government, which collects such a high duty on coal as to harm the costs of production. The freight rates on the railways are extraordinarily high. By the collection of turnover tax the goods are rendered yet dearer. The greatest harm, however, is done to the glass industry by the Government's customs policy. Czechoslovakia collects high duties on the chemicals which are required for the glass industry and which must be imported from Germany. The latter country replies by exacting high duties on Czechoslovak glass products, a fact which caused the total of exports under this head to Germany alone to recede in the year 1926 by a value of 50 million Czech crowns.

The glass industrialists feel little or nothing of the crisis; on the contrary, their profits augment. It is only the workers that suffer and in the case of the glass industry also the small producers. At the time of the greatest demand for goods, during the first two post-war years, the glass industrialists began producing inferior wares. Instead of the former polished rings and beads, machine-made unpolished goods of the worst quality were despatched in masses. The result was that hundreds of glass-polishers lost their livelihood although business was so prosperous and the big industrialists raked in tremendous profits.

The mass sale of inferior unpolished goods could only last as long as there really was an abnormal craving for goods on the market and necessarily gave way after a time to a yet more serious crisis, which was greatly aggravated by the fact that the standard markets of Gablonz wares began to resist the importation of inferior products, while the industrialists were unwilling to return to the production of better-quality goods.

In view of the long duration of the crisis, the misery of the glass workers in the Gablonz region is extreme. Of the 3,000 odd ring-polishers formerly employed, no more than 400 are now working, and many of these are on short-time terms. Instead of 200 producers in this branch, there are now no more than 30. Only 100 bead workers are employed out of 2,000. In general, 1,000 out of 3,000 glass workers are permanently out of work, while the others work from two to four days a week. Of late the glass industrialists have taken to introducing the production of unpolished wares into the crystal and cut-glass bottle manufacture besides those branches of the industry which are concerned in making glass rings and beads. This measure has again caused hundreds of workers to lose their livelihood, while hundreds more are threatened with a like fate.

Workers' trade unions, associations, and so on, have long been protesting against the production of unpolished goods and making representations to the Government for the purpose of attaining an improvement in the position of the glass industry and its workers. All such claims have hitherto remained unheard; without any action on the part of competent quarters.

Thus it had finally to come to a pronounced struggle between the workers on the one hand and the employers and Government on the other.

Seeing that the production of unpolished goods has caused the ruin not only of workers but also of small producers, the National Socialists, as the traditional champions of the small tradesman class, had an occasion to cook their party goose. The so-called "Home Defence" and other organisations under the protectorate of the National Socialists, took up the matter alongside the trade unions and attempted to initiate an action in the interest — not of the workers, but of the National Socialist Party. At the same time, however, the trade union committee of the crystal and cut-glass bottle branch started an action, which found its first culminating point in a one-day strike and a tremendous demonstration of the glass workers of the Gablonz-Tannwald and Eisenbrod regions on March 21st. The employers replied to this action of the workers' by lockouts and the discharge of functionaries, but they were overpowered by the striking workers and were forced to repeal all their terrorist measures. During the last few days of March there again ensured great demonstrations at Morchenstern, which ended in the destruction by the embittered demonstrators of unpolished goods, moulds, etc., in various workshops.

Fascists, Social Democrats, and others, who had at first taken part in the action initiated by the trade union committee, seceded from the struggling workers when the fight had developed to the stage just described. Only the Communist Party holds to them and supports them in their efforts.

All the demands made in the resolution set up at the mass demonstration of March 21st, refer exclusively to the prohibition or control of the production of unpolished goods, mention being merely made on this occasion of the protection of the eight-hour day and an improvement in the unemployment relief. This means that the whole action has been waged on a platform which clearly demonstrates that the entire character of the crisis in the glass industry has hitherto not been properly appreciated, for which reason it culminated in the present case in occurrences which the Social Democratic press is pleased to call "raids on machinery". The Communist speakers at the assembly of Gablonz glass workers and the interpellation of the Communist deputies on the question of the glass industry crisis pointed out from the very beginning that it is not possible that the fight be waged exclusively on the basis of the argument against unpolished goods, but rather that this fight must be carried on against the taxation, tariff, and customs policy of the capitalist Government of Czechoslovakia, for the recognition of the Soviet Union, as a promising market for Gablonz products, in favour of an adequate unemployment relief and naturally also in favour of the prohibition of the manufacture of unpolished goods in the crystal, cut-glass bottle, and glass ring branches.

Now that the defection of the Fascists and Reformists has left them alone at the head of the struggling glass workers, the Communists are faced with the task of conducting the fight into such channels as to make it part of the general struggle of the Czechoslovak working class for better living conditions and for the overthrow of capitalism. For when all is said and done, the crisis of the glass industry can only be definitely solved by the abolition of the capitalist order of economy.

Convocation of the IV. International Congress of the R. I. L. U.

Moscow, 31st March 1927.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions has decided to call the IV. Congress of the R.I.L.U. for the 15th March 1928. The Executive Bureau has requested all the organisations affiliated to the R.I.L.U. to send in all proposals for the agenda in the next three months and the reports upon their activities since the III. Congress must be in Moscow at the latest on the 1st January 1928. All trade union and other working class organisations which are not affiliated to the R.I.L.U. but which wish to take part in the IV. congress are requested to put themselves into communication with the Executive Bureau which will arrange for them to take part in the IV congress either with consultative votes or as guests.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The 4th Party Conference of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

Prague, 28th March 1927.

In the 5th Session on the 27th March, after the speech of comrade Zapotocky upon the trade union question, the representative of the E. C. of the C. I. comrade Hellwig made the following speech:

I greet the Party congress in the name of the E. C. of the C. I. The many successes achieved by the Party prove the correctness of the general line pursued by the Party.

The new factor in the international situation is the intensification of the antagonisms between the revolution and the counter-revolution. The Holy alliance led by Great Britain against the Soviet Union is not for the moment in a position to attack the latter openly, it is far too much occupied by the great work on its hands in China. The imperialists wish to maintain their control of the natural resources of China by force. The present revolution in China is a triumph for the Leninist idea of the emancipation of oppressed nationalities. It is, however, not an emancipation of a developing bourgeoisie, but the national and social emancipation of the broad masses of the working people who are being drawn ever more and more into the anti-capitalist movement.

The communists have an important influence upon the Chinese revolution, and above all upon the Chinese trade union federation with its 1,200,000 members. The communists also have a very considerably influence upon the Kuomintang. The communists propagate the nationalisation of the means of transport, the large-scale factories and the banks and they demand a land reform.

The Kuomintang is a party of the transition to an anti-capitalist regime. Its Right wing wishes to transform it into a bourgeois party. The representatives of the Centre are vacillating. The communists must work closely with this centre, but they must maintain their own critical standpoint.

It is one of the tasks of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia to show the workers concretely the work of socialist reconstruction in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has been able to devote less than ten years to this constructive work, but that which has already been accomplished is a successful and speedy work for the building up of socialism. The yearly accumulation has already reached the level prevalent in Germany. The investment of industrial capital has grown from 225,000,000 roubles in 1924 to 1,300,000,000 in the current business year. The development of industry is proceeding more quickly than the development of agriculture. The development of heavy industry is proceeding more quickly than that of the light industry. That means a systematic building of the technical basis for the realisation of socialism. The large-scale capitalists have been completely expropriated, but capitalism has not yet been completely overcome in an economic sense. The fight against private capital in industry and commerce is being carried on energetically by economic and administrative measures. The grain market has been wrested from the hands of the Kulaks.

The situation of the workers is improving. Apart from the actual wages the workers enjoy a number of economic, cultural and social privileges: low rents, social legislation previously unknown, protection for mothers and children etc.

The proletariat in the Soviet Union is the dominant class, it controls the banks and the large-scale factories. The Red Army is a school for the peasant youth.

In the Soviet Union the victory of socialism means salvation, the development of the productive forces and culture, and it will mean the same everywhere.

The last session of the Enlarged E. C. of the C. I. demanded that the C. P. of Czechoslovakia increase the level of the activity of its members. This is still necessary today. Capitalism has obtained a temporary level of stabilisation, but it feels itself to be uncertain and this can be seen also in Czecho-

slovakia. The capitalists are opening an offensive against the working class at several points: economic, social and political. We cannot immediately answer with a general revolutionary counter-offensive. However, we must not cease from strengthening the positions of the revolutionary movement, and this must be done by a systematic mobilisation of our forces and an increase of our activity upon all fields. The greatest weakness of the workers is the split-up nature of the working class movement. However, we must not simplify our task by simply saying: unity at any price, for unity must not be established at the cost of our revolutionary positions.

The next central task is that of winning the leading positions in the working class movement, in the trade unions, in the factories, in the co-operatives and in the national revolutionary movement amongst the small peasants etc. The Party has already achieved great successes through its political actions, in the near future it has the possibility of becoming the decisive leader of the proletariat. This must also apply to the trade union movement however, and for this reason the Party must turn its chief attention in this direction. We must not only work openly in the factories, but also under cover so that our fighters may not be removed. An intensified struggle is necessary against the social democratic and national socialist leaders. We must learn from the illegal brother parties.

The coalition policy of the social patriots has suffered bankruptcy in Czechoslovakia as elsewhere. We must expose the fact to the working class that the coalition policy of the social patriots has prepared the way for the bourgeois reaction.

To win the leadership of the proletariat is at the same time a task of internal bolshevisation. We must have a strong, united Party conscious of its aims. The Party has successfully overcome both crises — the Right danger in 1925 and the ultra-left deviation at the end of 1926. We must not harbour the illusion that the further Leninist development will proceed without further deviations amongst the membership. Such deviations must however be reduced to a minimum by an active leadership. Enlightenment work amongst the masses must make impossible such things as an incorrect attitude in strikes, the going over of groups of individual trade union functionaries to the camp of the enemy etc. It is possible that revolutionary impatience or ultra-left nervousness will show themselves, but they must be overcome by the Party in conscious and correct work.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is one of the strongest sections of the Communist International. It will lead the proletariat of its country hand in hand with the C. I. to further victorious.

Comrade Hellwig's speech was received by the delegates with the singing of the "Internationale".

Decision of the Plenary Session of the C. P. of Germany re Schlecht, Bartels and Grilevicz.

Berlin, 1st April 1927.

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Germany has considered the declaration of comrades Schlecht, Bartels and Grilevitz in answer to the decision of the last conference of the German C. P. to remove them from all their posts in the Party and ordering them to lay down their parliamentary mandates.

The plenary session has decided to expel the three comrades from the Communist Party upon the basis of their refusal to submit to the decision of the Party conference for violation of the basic principles of the Communist Party and of the Comintern, for persistent breaches of Party discipline and for their persistent struggle against the Party carried on at the behest of renegades already expelled from the Party.

This decision of the plenary session of the C. C. of the Party was made unanimously.

The plenary session further considered the declaration of 7 members of the Prussian Diet, 4 members of the Reichstag and 1 member of the Diet of Baden against the decision of the XI Party Conference in the matter of the three comrades Schlecht, Bartels and Grilevitz, and decided that this declaration of solidarity with the three comrades mentioned is an action

in opposition to the decisions of the XI Party Conference and in opposition to the will of the overwhelming majority of the membership of the Party. The Central Committee issued a warning to the comrades signing the declaration against persisting in their solidarity with the expelled comrades.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Meeting of the Anglo-Russian Committee in Berlin.

Berlin, 2nd April 1927.

The following official report has been issued concerning the session of the Anglo-Russian Committee in Berlin:

"The Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council met at Berlin on March 29th — April 1st 1927. There were present:

For the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress: G. Hicks (President), A. A. Purcell, M. P., A. B. Swales, A. A. Findley, W. M. Citrine (Secretary).

For the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R.: M. Tomsy (President), A. A. Andreiev, C. Melnichansky, I. Lepse, A. Dogadov (Secretary) and V. Yarotsky (Translator).

The subjects discussed were:

1. The present position with regard to international trade union unity.

2. The constitution and methods of procedure of the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Committee.

3. A review of the two years work and experience of the A-R J. A. C. and an estimate of the outlook for its work in the future.

Complete unanimity was reached on the resolution which was adopted on all three points of the agenda, and which will be reported for ratification to the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R.

The proceedings, which were cordial throughout, were marked by an appreciation of the need for maintaining and still further strengthening the fraternal ties between the trade union movements of Great Britain and the U. S. S. R."

Comrade Tomsy on the Meeting of the Anglo-Russian Committee.

Moscow, 4th of April 1927.

On his return from the Berlin meeting of the Anglo-Russian Committee Comrade Tomsy declared:

The meeting has established the indisputable fact that the leaders of the Amsterdam International are still consistently disinclined to meet the rightful wishes of the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress and of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union in regard to the most speedy realisation of the true unity of the working class.

In examining the results and the prospects of the activity of the Anglo-Russian Committee it became clear that the decisions adopted at past meetings which drew the attention of the workers of the whole world to the growing danger of a new world war and to the increase of political and economic pressure on the part of capital upon the working class, have been completely justified by the events of the last two years.

Comrade Tomsy declared that all the decisions of the meeting were adopted unanimously, and emphasised that the meeting has proved that the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee exists and will continue to exist in the future, and that the hopes of the enemies of the working class that the Committee would be dissolved have been completely shattered.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

On Outpost Duty.

The Struggle of the Communist Parties against the Danger of War.

By H. Guenther.

The events of the last few days, the unmasking of English and American imperialism in its predatory lust in China, the intensified conflict between Yugoslavia and Italy and, finally, the united intervention of English and American imperialism in Nicaragua confirm the statement of the Communist International that the danger of an imperialist war is growing from day to day.

In contrast to the lachrymose pacifism of the Independent Labour Party in England and the mendacity of the Menshevik Press of the whole world which, just at the present moment, is lauding the League of Nations and the friendly approach between Germany and France to the skies, the Communists of all countries have proved that they are able to understand the situation and to reveal it to the masses.

The resolutions of the Communist International regarding the fight against the danger of war and its ideological preparation and camouflage by the Reformists have not remained a dead letter but have become an integral part of the activity of the Communist parties in the different countries.

The Social Democrats, whose International resolved, only a few weeks ago, to make an appeal against the danger of war, have taken good care to avoid dealing publicly with the resolution of their Paris Conference, though it is merely on paper. Even Social Democrats such as Rosenfeld, the German Reichstag deputy, must admit that these resolutions have hardly reached the ear of the Social Democratic workers of Germany.

In the present situation, we could indeed make no greater mistake than to deceive ourselves as to the work done and the tasks which are still before us.

The attitude of the Communist parties towards the danger of war and the practical application of the resolutions of the Communist International in the various countries prove that they have realised the seriousness and magnitude of this task.

Thanks to Chamberlain and Joynson-Hicks, the indefatigable work of our English comrades has attained great celebrity. The agitation carried on by our Party not only among the workers but also among the proletarians in uniform, has been spoken of from the platform of the English Parliament, and this fact adds a new page to the glory of the history of our young English Party which has repeatedly proved its fighting power and its revolutionary spirit in the course of the last year.

The Party Conference of the Communist Party of Germany, which concluded the period of serious internal struggles and stood under the sign of the great tasks of the coming period, allotted the predominant place in the future work which is due to it to the fight against the danger of war — both in its discussions and in its resolutions. The manifesto of the Party Conference to the German working class runs as follows:

"The 11th Party Conference of the C. P. of Germany calls upon you to offer active resistance to the threatened danger of war. Unite to prevent intervention against the workers' State with all means in your power! Prepare to shake and break through the coming military front everywhere, throughout the country, above all in the chemical industry and the mines, in the metal works and the apparatus of traffic. Any war carried on by the Germany of to-day will be an imperialist, predatory war. The only answer the proletariat can give to this war is therefore to turn it into a civil war, into a proletarian revolution, into an overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Arm yourselves for this fight as consciously and determinedly as do our imperialist enemies."

What is said in this appeal, should become the common slogan of all Communist Parties, i. e. they should regard the fight against war not as a Sunday slogan for the Press and for meetings but should carry on this campaign concretely, each under his own conditions of work.

Another example of a correct attitude towards the danger of war is the attitude taken by our French comrades towards the mobilisation plans of the French bourgeoisie. The League of Nations' hero, Paul Boncour, who, as the spokesman of the

French bourgeoisie, experienced the triumph of being able to establish the united front of all bourgeois and Social Democratic deputies in favour of the law for the militarisation of France, met with embittered resistance only from the Communist Party. In Parliament, in the Press and in mass meetings, the Communists demonstrated the indignation of the masses of workers against this law and showed that this law is part of the imperialist preparations for war. At a mass meeting in Paris on March 22nd, Comrade Semard exposed the law as being a means for the disorganisation of the proletariat and the annihilation of the revolutionary cadre in case of a war.

He further said:

"Should the ruling capitalists, who understand how to produce war sentiment ever try, with the help of Paul Boncour's law, to consolidate this war sentiment and to annihilate the revolutionary organisations as soon as they think the moment propitious, the French Communist Party will try, with all means in its power, to prevent the outbreak of an imperialist war. Should the rulers succeed in driving the French people into a new imperialist slaughter, they should know that our Party will not rest until it has led the armed masses against their rulers in order to turn the imperialist war into a civil war and to bring about a real peace and the proletarian revolution through the seizure of power by the workers, soldiers and peasants."

Finally, from among the large number of other points of view held by some sections of the Comintern, we should like to mention those of the Parties of Czechoslovakia and the Argentine. In the preparations for its Party Conference, the Czechoslovakian Party placed the danger of war in the foreground of its discussions, and the first words of the Party Conference were also devoted to the danger of war and the tasks resulting therefrom for the Czech comrades. The reactionary bourgeois Government in Czechoslovakia is on the point of joining in the adventures of Poland, its Fascist neighbour. The position of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as the largest mass party of the country, increases its possibility of action and its responsibility.

Our comrades in South America, far removed from us in distance, and not yet so strongly bound up in the way of organisation with the Labour movement of Europe, are faced by the same problems. In the struggle of the South American proletariat and the progressive elements in these States, we see the Communist Party at the head as the leader and organiser of the fight against North American imperialism. This fact proves to us that the Leninist spirit is alive even in the youngest and numerically weakest sections of the Comintern.

If we select these facts from the work of our various sections, it is, in the first place, because the consciousness of having made important strides along the path of the organisation of our struggle against war, is necessary for our further work, for the deepening and expansion of our struggle. We should, however, not conceal from ourselves that we are only at the beginning, and that we are everywhere still far from carrying on the fight against war as a daily task, and the instructions which Comrade Lenin gave, in 1922, to the delegation of the Russian trade unions when they went to the Hague Peace Conference should serve as guiding lines for our further work. He said:

"We must give the masses a vivid picture of how war can break out. The ruling Press is, on the contrary, doing its best to hush up this question every day and, in numerous papers, is spreading lies about it against which the weak Socialist Press is absolutely powerless, all the more so as in this respect it takes a fundamentally wrong standpoint even in times of peace..."

The most important circumstance which explains our impotence against war, is that we either do not explode these sophisms (of the bourgeois Press) early enough or that we injure ourselves still more by cheap, boastful and quite hollow phrases: that we would not permit of war, that we understand the criminal character of war etc. in the spirit of the Basle manifesto of 1921."

The few facts we have quoted undoubtedly show that the Communist Parties have learnt much since 1922; nevertheless Lenin's words apply for us today as they did 5 years ago, and, in entering on the practical work of the struggle against the

danger of war we must endeavour to fulfil the tasks which await the Bolshevik cadres in the whole world, both as an International and as sections.

The approaching May demonstrations, which should be the centre-point of the fight against the danger of war, will be the next great proof of our work.

TEN YEARS AGO

Manifesto of the Petrograd Soviet to the Workers of the World.

(Published on March 28th 1917.)

Comrades, workers with hand and brain in all countries!

We Russian workers and soldiers, united in the Petrograd Soviet of worker and soldier deputies, send you our fervid greetings and inform you about the great events in our country. Russian democracy has overthrown the despotism of the Tsars which lasted for centuries, and enters your family as a member on an equal footing and as a gigantic force in the fight for our common emancipation. Our victory is a great victory of world freedom and world democracy. The chief support of world reaction, the "gendarme of Europe" exists no longer. May the earth weigh on his grave like a heavy block of granite! Long live freedom! Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat and its fight for the final victory!

Our work is not yet completed. The shadows of the old order are not yet dispersed and many enemies are collecting their forces against the Russian revolution. Nevertheless our achievements are of great significance. The peoples of Russia will give expression to their will in the Constituent Assembly which will be summoned in the immediate future on the basis of a general, equal, direct and secret franchise. Even now, we can confidently prophesy that the democratic republic will triumph in Russia. The Russian people has complete political freedom. It can throw into the balance its weighty word in the questions regarding internal self-determination and the foreign policy of the country. In addressing ourselves to all the peoples who have been cast into misery and ruin by this monstrous war, we declare that the time has come to enter on a decisive fight against the efforts at conquest of the Governments of all countries; the time has come when the peoples can take into their own hands the decision as to whether there shall be war or peace.

In the consciousness of its revolutionary power, Russian democracy declares that it will resist the policy of conquest of its ruling class with all its might, and that it will call upon the peoples of Europe to ensure peace by acting with decision and in unison.

We call upon our proletarian brothers of the Austro-German coalition and especially on the German proletariat. From the very first day of the war, you have been assured that, by taking up arms against autocratic Russia, you were defending European civilisation from Asiatic despotism. In the eyes of many of you, this justified you in supporting the war. To-day also this justification no longer exists; a democratic Russia can be no danger to freedom and civilisation.

We shall obstinately defend our own freedom against all reactionary attacks from within and without. The Russian revolution will not yield to the bayonets of the conquerors; it will not allow itself to be crushed by external military force. We call to you however to shake off the yoke of your semi-autocratic order just as the Russian people has shaken off the arbitrary rule of Tsarism. Refuse to serve as instruments of conquest and of force in the hands of the kings, landowners and bankers! Let us, by common endeavour, put an end to the horrible slaughter which is debasing mankind and casting a shadow over the great days of the birth of Russian freedom.

Workers of all countries! We stretch out a brother's hand to you over the mountains of corpses of our brothers, over the rivers of blood and tears shed by the innocent, over the smouldering ruins of towns and villages, over the wreckage of cultural treasures which have been destroyed; we call upon you to restore and consolidate international unity! This is the pledge of our approaching victory and of the complete liberation of mankind.

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Lenin's Letters from Afar.

III.

Zürich, 23rd/24th March 1917.

The conclusion which I drew yesterday with regard to the vacillating tactics of Tschaidse, is completely confirmed to-day, March 23rd (10th) by two documents. The first is an epitome of the manifesto of the C. C. of our party, the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in Petrograd, communicated to the "Frankfurter Zeitung" by telegram from Stockholm. In this document, we do not find a single word regarding either the support of the Gutchkov Government or its overthrow; the workers and soldiers are called upon to gather round the Council of the worker's deputies, to elect representatives to the Workers' Council, in order to fight against Tsarism and for the Republic, for the eight hour day, for the confiscation of the big landed estates and of the stores of grain and — what is most important of all — for putting an end to the predatory war. Of especial importance at the present moment is the very important idea of the C. C. that in order to achieve peace, it is necessary to get into touch with the proletarians of all the countries at war.

It would be self-deception to lead the people to hope for peace from the negotiations and relations between the bourgeois Governments.

The second document is also a telegraphic report from Stockholm to another German paper, the "Vossische Zeitung", a report of the discussions of Tschaidse's fraction in the Duma with the Labour fraction (?) and with the representatives of 15 Labour Unions on March 15th (2nd) and regarding an appeal published the next day. Of the 11 points of this appeal, the telegram only communicates three points, the first, the demand for a Republic; the seventh, the demand for peace and for the immediate commencement of peace negotiations and the third which demands "an adequate participation of representatives of the Russian working class in the Government".

If this point is communicated correctly, I understand why the bourgeoisie praises Tschaidse. I understand why to the praise of the English admirers of Gutchkov in the "Times", to which I have already referred, there is added the praise of the French followers of Gutchkov in "Le Temps". This paper of the French millionaires and imperialists writes on March 22nd:

"The leaders of the Labour parties, especially Tschaidse, are using their whole influence to moderate the wishes of the working class."

The demand for "participation of the workers in the Gutchkov-Miljukov Government" is sheer nonsense theoretically and politically; to take part as a minority would mean playing the part of puppets; to take part "in equal proportions" is impossible as the demand for a continuation of the war cannot be reconciled with the demand for an armistice and for peace negotiations; to take part as a "majority", — for that we must have the power to overthrow the Gutchkov-Miljukov Government. In the practice however, the demand for "participation" is a Louis-Blancism of the worst kind, it means forgetting the class war and its actual preliminary conditions. This would mean being carried away by empty, sounding phrases, spreading illusions among the workers, wasting precious time in negotiations with Miljukov or Kerensky instead of using it to create a real revolutionary class supremacy, instead of creating a proletarian militia which would be able to win the confidence of all the poor strata of the population, i. e. of the overwhelming majority of the population, to help them in organising and in their fight for bread, peace and freedom.

This mistake in the appeal of Tschaidse and his group (I do not speak of the party of the Organisation Committee, as there is no word of it in the sources available to me), this mistake is all the more strange since Skobelev, the comrade whose views are nearest to those of Tschaidse, said, as the papers report, at the discussion on March 15th (2nd): "Russia is on the eve of a real revolution."

This is a truth, from which Skobelev and Tschaidse have forgotten to draw the practical conclusion. From here, from this accursed distance, I cannot judge how near we are to this second revolution. Skobelev must see more clearly, there on the spot. I therefore do not ask myself any questions with regard to the answer of which I have not and cannot have

any concrete data. I only point out that an "unprejudiced observer", Skobelev, who does not belong to our party, confirms the practical conclusion at which I arrived in my first letter, namely that the February-March revolution was only the first stage of the revolution. Russia is passing through a peculiar historical moment of transition to the next stage of the revolution or, as Skobelev expresses it, to a "second revolution".

If we wish to be Marxists and to learn from the experience of the revolutions of the whole world, we must endeavour to understand in what the peculiarity of this moment of transition consists, and what tactics correspond to its objective peculiarities.

The peculiarity of the situation is that the Gutchkov-Miljukov Government carried off the first victory extremely easily thanks chiefly to the following causes: 1. the help of Anglo-French financial capital and its agents; 2. the help of a section of the upper stratum of the army; 3. the complete organisation of the whole Russian bourgeoisie in the rural administrations, urban authorities, the National Duma and the committees for war industries etc.

The Gutchkov Government is in straits; on the one hand it is bound by the interests of capital, it is forced to aim at continuing the predatory war, the protection of the enormous profits of capital and of the landowners, the restoration of the monarchy; on the other hand it is bound by its revolutionary origin and by the necessity of a sudden turn from Tsarism to Democracy. It is under the pressure of the masses who are starving and crying for peace, and it must therefore lie, twist and turn about, gain time, "announce" and promise (promises are the only cheap wares even in the epoch of the most terrible increase of prices) as much as possible and fulfil as little as possible, make concessions with one hand and take them back with the other.

At the best, the Government can, under certain circumstances, postpone the crash for a short time, by leaning on the whole capacity of organisation of the Russian bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia. Even in this case however, it cannot avoid the crash, as it is impossible for it to extricate itself from the claws of the horrible monster of the imperialist war and of famine engendered by world capitalism, without abandoning the basis of bourgeois conditions, without resorting to revolutionary measures, without appealing to the greatest historical heroism of the proletariat of Russia and of the world.

The result is that we cannot overthrow the new Government at one blow or, if we can do it (in revolutionary times the scope of possibility is extended a thousandfold), we cannot assert our power unless we oppose to the magnificent organisation of the whole Russian bourgeoisie and the whole bourgeois intelligentsia an equally magnificent organisation of the proletariat leading the whole gigantic mass of the urban and rural poor, of the semi-proletariat and of the small farmers.

It is a matter of indifference whether the "second revolution" has already broken out in Petrograd (as I said, it would be nonsense to calculate the concrete rate of its development from abroad) or whether it is postponed for a time or whether it has already begun in individual districts of Russia (there are certain symptoms which point to this), in any circumstances, the slogan of the moment, on the eve of the new revolution and during and immediately after it must be that of the organisation of the proletariat.

Comrades, workers! You performed miracles of proletarian heroism yesterday, when you overthrew the Tsarist Monarchy. It cannot be but that, in a more or less near future (perhaps even now, while I am writing these lines), you will again perform similar miracles of heroism in overthrowing the power of the landowners and capitalists who are carrying on the imperialist war. You cannot remain permanent victors in this coming "real revolution", unless you perform miracles of pro-

The slogan of the moment is organisation. To restrict ourselves to that however, would mean nothing. On the other hand, organisation is always necessary, so that pointing out the necessity of "organising the masses" means nothing whatever, on the other hand, he who would restrict himself to that would be merely an echo of the Liberals, as just the Liberals, in order to assert their rule, wish that the workers would not go outside the ordinary "legal" (from the point of view of "normal" bourgeois society) organisations, i. e. that the workers should do nothing but join their party, their trade union, their co-operative etc.

The workers, with their class instinct, realised that in a time of revolution, they need quite different, not merely ordinary organisation; they followed the path pointed out to them by the experiences of our revolution of 1905 and those of the Paris Commune in 1871, they created the Soviet of Labour deputies, they began to develop it, to enlarge it by bringing into it soldier deputies, doubtless also deputies of the agricultural labourers and then (in some form or other) in order to consolidate it, deputies of the whole rural poor.

Our most urgent task, which will brook no delay, is that of creating similar organisations in all districts of Russia without exception, for all occupations and strata of the proletarian and semi-proletarian population without exception, that is, to use an expression which is more popular though economically less exact, for all workers and these who are exploited. I will anticipate a little and remark that our party (on the special importance of which in the proletarian organisations of the new type I hope to speak in a future letter) should recommend to the whole mass of peasants that the labourers should form special Soviets on the one hand with the small farmers who sell no corn, and on the other hand with the wealthy peasants; without this preliminary condition it is neither possible to carry on a true proletarian policy at all nor to approach in the right way the practical question which is vital for millions — the right distribution of bread and an increase of the production of corn.

The question arises as to what the workers' Soviets are to do.

As we wrote in No 47 of the Geneva "Social Democrat" on October 13th 1915, they must regard themselves as organs of insurrection, as organs of the revolutionary power.

This theoretical thesis, which was laid down on the basis of the experiences of the Commune of 1871 and of the Russian revolution of 1905, must be elucidated and developed on concrete lines on the basis of the practical experiences of the present stage of the present revolution in Russia.

We need a revolutionary power. We need (for a certain period of transition) a State. In this we are distinguished from the Anarchists. The difference between revolutionary Marxists and Anarchists is not alone that the former are in favour of centralised communist large industry while the latter favour dispersed small industry. No. The chief difference is in the question of power, in the question of the State, it lies in the fact that we are in favour of turning to account the revolutionary forms of State in a revolutionary fight for socialism, and the Anarchists are opposed to it.

We need a State, but we do not need a State such as the bourgeoisie has created everywhere, from the Constitutional Monarchy to the Democratic Republic. The difference between us and the opportunists and Kautskyans of the old Socialist parties which are in the process of decay, is that they have forgotten or misrepresented the teachings of the Paris Commune and the analysis of these teachings given us by Marx and Engels²⁾.

We need a State, but not a State such as the bourgeoisie needs with organs of power separate from and opposed to the people, such as police, army, bureaucracy (officials). All bourgeois revolutions have only perfected this machinery of State, they have only passed them from the hands of one party into the hands of another.

The proletariat on the contrary, if it would defend the achievements of the present revolution and advance further, win

¹⁾ In the country, the fight for the small and, to some extent, for the middle peasantry, is now developing. The landowners, supported by the wealthy peasants, will lead the peasantry towards accepting subordination to the bourgeoisie. We, on the contrary, supported by the agricultural labourers and the rural poor, must lead them to a close alliance with the urban proletariat.

²⁾ In one of my next letters or in a special article I shall deal in detail with this analysis which was given especially in the "Civil War in France" by Marx and in Engels' preface to the third edition of that work, in Marx' letters of April 12th 1871 and Engels' letters of March 18th to 28th 1875, and also with the complete misrepresentation of Marxism by Kautsky in his polemics against Pannekoek in 1912 in the question of the so-called "destruction of the State".

for itself peace, bread and freedom, must, to use an expression of Marx, "smash" this "ready made" machinery of State and replace it by a new one in which the police, the army and the bureaucracy will be fused into the armed people as a whole. The proletariat must enter on the path pointed out to it by the experiences of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian revolution of 1905 and must organise all poor, exploited strata of the people and arm them so that they themselves may take the organs of the power of the State into their own hands and themselves appoint the officials of this power.

The workers of Russia took this path in the very first stage of the first Russian revolution in February to March 1917. The whole task is now clearly to realise what this new path is like and to proceed along it courageously, with determination and endurance.

The Anglo-French and the Russian capitalists "only" wanted to dethrone Nicholas II or even only to "intimidate" him, leaving the old machinery of State, the police, the army and officialdom untouched.

The workers went further and destroyed it. And now not only the Anglo-French but also the German capitalists howl when they see, for instance, how the Russian soldiers shot down their officers — even adherents of Gutschkov and Miljukov, as was Admiral Nepenin.

I said that the workers smashed the old machinery of State; it would be more correct to say they began to smash it.

Let us take a concrete example.

The police has been partly destroyed, in Petrograd and many other places it has been partly dissolved. The Gutchkov — Miljukov Government can neither restore the monarchy nor maintain its power altogether unless it reestablishes the police as a special organisation of armed persons, under the command of the bourgeoisie, separate from the people and opposed to it. This is as clear as God's sunlight.

On the other hand, the new Government must take the revolutionary people into account, must feed it with concessions and promises and thus gain time. For this reason, it is taking half measures, it is founding a "people's militia" with elected authorities (this looks frightfully good, frightfully democratic, revolutionary and beautiful!). But... but, firstly, it is placed under the control, under the authority of the rural and urban self-administrations, i. e. under the authority of the landowners and capitalists who were elected on the basis of the laws of Nicholas the Bloody and Stolypin the Executioner! Secondly, the Government calls the militia a "people's militia" indeed, to throw dust into the eyes of the "people"; in reality, however, it does not call upon the whole people to take part in this militia and does not compel the employers and capitalists to pay extra wages to their employees and workers for the days and hours they devote to the public service, i. e. the militia.

This then is the gist of the matter. In this way, the Gutchkov-Miljukov Government of the landowners and capitalists has brought about that the "people's militia" remains merely on paper, and that in reality the bourgeois militia, hostile to the people, is gradually and secretly being re-established, consisting at first of "800 students and professors" (this is how the foreign newspapers describe the present Petrograd militia) — this is of course a joke! — and then gradually of the old and new police.

The re-establishment of the police must not be permitted. We must not let the local authorities be wrenched from our hands. The creation of a really general people's militia, comprising the whole population and led by the whole proletariat — this is the task of the day, the slogan of the moment which corresponds to the correctly conceived interests of the continuation of the class war, the further revolutionary movement, and which satisfies the democratic instinct of every worker, every peasant, every labourer and exploited person who cannot but hate the police, the commissaries, the inspectors and the command of the landowners and capitalists over armed forces which are given power over the people.

What kind of a police do they want, the Gutchkovs, Miljukovs, the landowners and capitalists? A police such as existed under the Tsarist Monarchy. All bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic republics of the world have, after quite short revolutionary periods, established or re-established just such a

police, a special organisation of armed persons which is detached from the people and opposed to it and, in one way or other, subject to the bourgeoisie.

What kind of a militia do we, the proletariat, all workers, want? A true people's militia, i. e. a militia which firstly, consists of the whole population, of all adult citizens of both sexes and, secondly, which unites the functions of the people's army with the functions of the police, with the functions of the supreme and fundamental organ for the order and administration of the State.

In order to make this demand more telling, I will take a schematic example. It would of course be nonsense to think of drawing up any "plan" for a proletarian militia. If the real masses of the workers and of the whole people take up the matter from the practical side, they will draw up and work out this plan a hundred times better than all theorists. I will not propose any "plan", I will only illustrate my train of thought.

Petrograd has about 2 million inhabitants, more than half of whom are between the ages of 15 and 65. Let us only take half — one million. Let us leave out even a whole quarter of them as sick persons etc. who, for good reasons, do not take part in public services. There still remain 750,000 persons who, let us say, spend every fifteenth day in the militia, (and are paid by their employers for this time) and would, in this way, represent an army of 50,000 persons.

This is the type of "State" we need.

A militia of this kind would be, in reality, a "people's militia" not merely in words.

This is the way we must take in order to prevent a special police, a special army, detached from the people, being re-established.

A militia of this kind would consist, to 95 per cent, of workers and peasants and would give expression to the ideas and will, the force and strength of the enormous majority of the people. A militia of this kind would really arm the whole people and give it military training, it would be a guarantee against any attempt to re-establish reaction, against all plans of the Tsarist agents — not after the manner of Gutchkov, not after the manner of Miljukov. A militia of this kind would be the executive organ of the "Council of the workers' and soldiers' deputies", it would enjoy the absolute esteem and the absolute confidence of the population, as it would itself be an organisation of the whole population. A militia of this kind would transform the democracy from a pleasing signboard which conceals the subjugation of the people by the capitalists and the scorn of the capitalists for the people, into a real education of the masses for participation in all affairs of State. A militia of this kind would draw the young people into political life and train them not only by words but also by deeds and by work. A militia of this kind would develop those functions which, to speak in erudite language, appertain to the "welfare police"; public health work etc., and would attract all adult women to these and similar functions. Unless we attract women into public service, into the militia, into political life, unless we wrest them from their dull domestic life and cooking, we cannot create real freedom, not even democracy, still less socialism.

Such a militia would be a proletarian militia, because in it the industrial and urban workers would naturally and inevitably gain a leading influence over the masses of the village poor, as they did naturally and inevitably take the leading part in the whole revolutionary fight of the people in the years 1905/1907 and in 1917.

Such a militia would guarantee absolute order and unreserved discipline on the basis of comradeship. At the same time, it would, in view of the serious crisis in all the belligerent countries, make it possible to combat this crisis in a truly democratic way, to carry out the distribution of bread and other provisions well and quickly, to carry out the "general conscriptions for work", which the French now call "civic mobilisation" and the Germans "civic conscription", and without which it is impossible — it has proved to be impossible — to heal the wounds inflicted by the horrible, predatory war.

Has the Russian proletariat shed its blood only to receive exuberant promises of politico-democratic reforms? Does it not

demand and make it its aim that every worker should at once see and feel a certain improvement in his conditions of living? That every family gets bread? That every child should have a bottle of good milk and that no wealthy adult should dare to procure unnecessary milk until the children are provided for? That the palaces and mansions abandoned by the Tsar and the aristocracy should not remain unoccupied, but should afford shelter to those who have no roof over their head and no property? Who but a people's militia, in which women and men take part on absolutely equal terms, can put these measures into effect?

These measures are still by no means socialism. They only concern the distribution of consumption and not the re-organisation of production. They are not yet the "dictatorship of the proletariat and of the poorest peasants". It is not a case of a theoretical classification. It would be the greatest mistake were we to force the complicated, urgent, practical tasks of the revolution which are developing so rapidly into the Procrustes bed of a narrow-minded theory, instead of, above and before all, regarding the theory as a guiding line for action.

Will the masses of the Russian workers show enough class-consciousness, heroism and endurance to perform "miracles of proletarian organisation" after having shown miracles of courage, initiative and self-sacrifice in the immediate revolutionary fight? This we cannot know and it would be waste of time to indulge in prophecies, as practice alone can answer such questions.

But what we know exactly and what we, as a party, must explain to the masses is on the one hand the fact that a historical motor of enormous power exists which produces in an unprecedented way, crises, famine and immeasurable distress. This motor is the war which the capitalists of both belligerent camps will carry on with predatory aims. This "motor" has driven a number of rich, free and flourishing nations to the edge of an abyss. It compels the peoples to exert their forces to the utmost, it places them in an unbearable situation, it does not put on its agenda the realisation of any "theories" (that is not the question. Marx always warned Socialists against an illusion of this kind), but it puts on the agenda measures which reach the limit of what is practically possible, as without these measures millions would inevitably perish of starvation at once.

It is not necessary to bring special proofs that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the progressive class can achieve a great deal in an objective situation which demands extreme measures from the whole people. This side of the question is seen and felt by everyone in Russia.

It is important to realise that in revolutionary times the objective situation changes as rapidly and suddenly as life itself passes, and we ought to understand how to adapt our tactics and our immediate tasks to the peculiarities of any given situation. Before February 1917, bold revolutionary propaganda, the appeal to the masses to join in the fight, the rousing of the masses was on the order of the day. The February and March days demanded heroism and a ruthless fight for the direct destruction of Tsarism, the immediate enemy. To-day we are in a state of transition from this first stage of the revolution to the second, from the "battle" against Tsarism to the "battle" against the imperialism of the landed proprietors and capitalists, of the Gutchkovs and Miljukovs. To-day, the task of organisation is the order of the day, but by no means in the stereotyped sense of working merely at schematized organisation, but in the sense of enlisting unprecedentedly large masses of the oppressed classes in the work of organisation and of concentrating the military, national and economic tasks in the hands of this organisation.

The proletariat has proceeded and will proceed to this peculiar task by various ways. In some districts of Russia, the February and March revolution has given almost the whole of the power into its hands — in others it will perhaps proceed to "conquest" by creating and developing the proletarian militia, in others again it will probably enforce immediate elections to the town Duma and agricultural administration on the basis of the general franchise, in order to turn them into revolutionary centres, until the growth of proletarian organisation, the approach between the soldiers and the workers, the movement of the peasantry, the disappointment of large strata of the population in the militarist imperialist Government will be

replaced by the "Government" of the Council of workers' deputies.

Neither shall we forget that we have, near Petrograd one of the most progressive and actually republican countries, I mean Finland, which, between 1905 and 1917, developed democracy in a comparatively peaceful way under the shelter of the revolutionary fights in Russia, and won over the majority of the people to socialism. The Russian proletariat guarantees the Finnish Republic complete freedom even to the right of separation (to-day, when Cadet Roditchev in Helsingfors is bargaining in so indignified a way for small privileges for the Great Russians, there will hardly be a single Social Democrat who vacillates with regard to this question) — and just by this, it will win the complete confidence and fraternal help of the Finnish workers for the cause of the proletariat of the whole of Russia. In a difficult and great cause mistakes are inevitable — we ourselves cannot avoid them. The Finnish workers are better organisers; they will help us in this sphere they will help to promote the foundation of the socialist republic in their way.

The revolutionary victories in Russia itself — the peaceful successes in Finland in the field of organisation under the shelter of these victories — the transition of the Russian workers to the revolutionary tasks of organisation in a new measure — the conquest of power by the proletariat and by the poorest strata of the population — the promotion and the development of the socialist revolution in the West — these form the path which leads us to peace and to socialism.

IV.

Zürich, March 25th, 1917.

How can Peace be Enforced?

I have just (March 25th/12th) read in the "Neue Züricher Zeitung" (No. 517) of March 24th, the following news communicated by telegram from Berlin:

"It is reported from Sweden that Maxim Gorki has sent both the Government and the Executive Committee an enthusiastic letter of greeting. He rejoiced at the victory of the people over the reactionary rulers and called upon all sons of Russia to help in building the new Russian edifice of State. At the same time he appeals to the Government to crown its work of liberation by concluding peace. It should not be a peace at any price; at the present moment, Russia has less cause than ever to aim at a peace at any price. It should be a peace which makes it possible for Russia to maintain an honourable existence side by side with the other peoples of the world. Mankind has shed enough blood already; the Government would deserve the greatest praise at the hand not only of Russia but of the whole of mankind, if it succeeded in establishing peace without delay."

This is how Gorki's letter is reproduced.

One is overcome with a feeling of bitterness on reading this letter, saturated with trivial, petty bourgeois prejudices. The writer of these lines has reproached Gorki for his political mistakes and warned him against them when they have met on the Island of Capri. Gorki turned aside these reproaches with his inimitable amiable smile and with the ingenuous remark: "I know, I am a bad Marxist, but then all we artists are more or less irresponsible fellows." It is not easy to quarrel with such arguments.

It is beyond doubt that Gorki has enormous artistic gifts which have been and still will be of great benefit to the international proletarian movement.

But why does Gorki meddle in politics?

In my opinion, Gorki's letter gives expression to the very wide-spread prejudices not only of the petty bourgeoisie but also of a section of the workers which is under the influence of the petty bourgeoisie. All the forces of our party, all the endeavours of the class-conscious worker should be directed towards carrying on an all-round campaign against these prejudices with the greatest obstinacy and perseverance.

The Tsarist Government started and carried on the present war as an imperialist war of robbery and pillage in order

to plunder and throttle the weaker peoples. The Government of Gutchkov and Miljukov is a government of landowners and capitalists which is forced to carry on just such a war and will carry it on. To call upon this Government to conclude a democratic peace is like preaching virtue and morality to the owners of brothels.

Let us explain our train of thought.

What is imperialism?

In my brochure "Imperialism as the latest Stage of Capitalism" which was sent to the "Parus" publishing house before the revolution, was accepted by it and was announced in the paper "Letopis" (Chronicle). I answered the question in the following way:

"Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development when the rule of monopolies and of financial capital has been established, when the export of capital has gained great significance, the distribution of the world among national trusts has begun and the distribution of the whole territory of the earth among the largest capitalist countries is already completed." (Chapter VII. of the brochure mentioned and announced in the "Letopis" was called — in consideration of the censorship — "The newest Form of Capitalism" by W. Ijlin.)

The relevant point is that capital has assumed enormous proportions. The associations of a small number of the largest capitalists (cartels, syndicates, trusts) have milliards at their disposal and are dividing the whole world amongst them. The whole globe is already divided up. The war was brought about by a conflict between the two most powerful groups of milliardaires, the Anglo-French and the German group, for a re-distribution of the world.

The aim of the Anglo-French group of capitalists is above all to plunder Germany, to deprive her of her colonies (they have already taken them nearly all) and then to despoil Turkey.

The German group of capitalists wishes to appropriate Turkey for itself and to compensate itself for the loss of its colonies by conquering the small neighbouring States (Belgium, Serbia and Roumania).

This is the naked truth, which is masked by all kinds of bourgeois lies about a "war of liberation", a "national" war, a "war for right and justice" and similar frauds with which the capitalists always deceive the simple people.

Russia is not carrying on war in the interest of its own money. Russian capital is a partner of Anglo-French capital. Russia is carrying on the war in order to despoil Armenia, Turkey and Galicia.

Gutchkov, Lwow and Miljukov, our present Ministers, are not there by accident. They are the representatives and the leaders of the whole class of landowners and capitalists. They are bound up with the interests of capital. The capitalists can no more renounce their interests than a man can pull himself up by his own hair.

Secondly Gutchkov, Miljukov & Co. are bound up with Anglo-French capital. They have carried on and are carrying on the war with foreign money. They have pledged themselves to pay hundreds of millions in interest yearly on the milliards they have borrowed and to extort this tribute from the Russian workers and the Russian peasants.

Thirdly, the Gutchkovs and Miljukovs are bound up with England, France, Italy, Japan and other groups of capitalist robbers through direct treaties respecting the predatory aims of this war. These treaties were signed by Tsar Nicholas II. Gutchkov, Miljukov & Co. made use of the struggle of the workers against the Tsarist Monarchy in order to get the power into their own hands; nevertheless they have confirmed the treaties concluded by the Tsar. The Gutchkov and Miljukov Government has, in its manifesto, done exactly what the "Petrograd Telegraph Agency" telegraphed to foreign countries on March 20th:

"The Government (Gutchkov, Miljukov) will faithfully observe all the treaties which link us with other Powers."

Thus runs this manifesto. Miljukov, the new Foreign Minister, made the same statement in his telegram to all the representatives of Russia abroad on March 18th (5th) 1917.

All these treaties are secret treaties, and Miljukov & Co. refuse for two reasons to publish them. 1. They are afraid of the people, who do not wish for a predatory war. 2. They are allied with Anglo-French capital which demands that the treaties be kept secret. Anyone however who reads the papers and studies the situation, knows that these treaties deal with the despoiling of China by Japan; of Persia, Armenia, Turkey (especially Constantinople) and Galicia by Russia; of Albania by Italy; of Turkey, the German colonies etc. by France and England.

That is how the matter stands.

For this reason, the appeal to the Gutchkov-Miljukov Government to conclude an honest, democratic, neighbourly peace as quickly as possible, has the same value as the appeal of a good village priest (pope) to the landowners and merchants to live "according to God's commandments", to love their neighbours and, if they are smitten on the left cheek, to turn the right one.

The landowners and merchants listen to the sermon and continue to oppress and rob the people; they are delighted with the way the "good priest" manages to console and calm the "dear peasants".

All those who, at the time of a real imperialist war, address the bourgeois Governments with eloquent phrases, play just the same role, — consciously or unconsciously. Now and then, the bourgeois Governments simply refuse to listen to such speeches and even forbid them; at other times they permit them and asseverate right and left that their one and only object is to fight for a speedy conclusion of an "absolutely just" peace, and that the enemy alone is responsible for everything. To talk about peace to the bourgeois Governments is in reality practising deception on the people.

The groups of capitalists who are saturating the earth with blood, in order to divide up the globe, the markets and the concessions, cannot conclude an "honourable" peace. They can only conclude a shameful peace, a peace regulating the distribution of the loot, the dividing up of Turkey and the colonies.

Furthermore, the Gutchkov-Miljukov Government is altogether disinclined to conclude peace at present, as now it would "only" get Armenia and part of Galicia as its share of the "loot", whereas it wants besides this, to take possession of Constantinople and, in addition, to reconquer from Germany that part of Poland which Tsarism had always oppressed so shamelessly. Moreover, the Gutchkov-Miljukov Government is at bottom only an agent of Anglo-French capital which wishes to keep the colonies stolen from Germany and, more than that, wants to compel Germany to return Belgium and part of France. Anglo-French capital helped Gutchkov and Miljukov to dethrone Nicholas II. so that they could help it to "vanquish" Germany. (This paragraph was crossed out by Lenin in the original manuscript. — Editor.)

What next?

In order to enforce peace (especially a truly democratic, truly honourable peace), it is necessary for the power of the State to be, not in the hands of the landowners and capitalists, but in the hands of the workers and the poor peasants. The landowners and the capitalists form an insignificant minority of the population; the capitalists, as everyone knows, are making enormous profits out of the war.

The workers and the poor peasants form the overwhelming majority of the population. They are making nothing out of the war, they are perishing and starving. They are not allied with capital, nor are they bound by treaties to the predatory capitalist groups; they can put an end to the war and they honestly want to do so.

If the power of the State in Russia were in the hands of the Soviets of the workers', soldiers, and peasants' deputies, these Soviets and the All-Russian Soviet elected by them could put into effect — and they would probably be prepared to do so — the peace programme laid down by our party (the Russian Social Democratic Labour party) as early as October 13th 1915 in No. 47 of the central organ of the party, the "Social Democrat" (which at that time was published in Geneva in consequence of the Tsarist censorship).

This peace programme would certainly be as follows:

1. The All-Russian Soviet of the Workers' and Peasants' Deputies (or the Petrograd Soviet which, for the time being, is

acting as its substitute) would immediately declare that it is bound by no treaties either of the Tsarist Monarchy or of the bourgeois Governments.

2. It would immediately publish all these treaties in order to expose the predatory aims of the Tsarist Monarchy and of all the bourgeois Governments without exception to the contempt of the world.

3. It would immediately openly call upon all the belligerent Powers to conclude an armistice without delay.

4. It would immediately publish our terms of peace, the terms of peace of the workers and peasants:

The liberation of all colonies;

The liberation of all dependent and oppressed peoples and those whose rights are curtailed;

5. It would declare that it expected nothing good from the bourgeois Governments and that it called upon the workers of all countries to overthrow them and to hand over the whole power of the State to the Soviets of the Workers' deputies.

6. It would declare that the capitalists themselves could pay the milliards of debts taken up by the bourgeois Governments in order to carry on this criminal, predatory war, that the workers and peasants refuse to recognise these debts. Paying interest on these loans would mean paying a tribute to the capitalists because they were gracious enough to allow the workers to murder one another over the division of the capitalist spoils.

Workers and peasants! — the Soviet of Workers' Deputies would say. Are you prepared to pay a hundred million annually to the capitalists as a reward for the war which was carried on in order to divide up the African colonies and Turkey?

The Soviet of the Workers' Deputies would, in my opinion, be prepared to carry on war against any bourgeois Government and against all bourgeois Governments of the world, because that would be a really just war, because the workers and peasants of all countries would help to make it a success.

The German worker now sees that the war-like Monarchy in Russia has been replaced by a war-like Republic, by a republic of capitalists who are willing to continue the imperialist war, who have confirmed the predatory treaties of the Tsarist Monarchy.

Judge for yourselves whether the German worker can place any confidence in such a republic.

Judge for yourselves whether the war can continue and the rule of the capitalists over the whole earth can be maintained, if the Russian people, which has been helped and will be helped by the lively recollection of the great revolution in 1905, conquers complete freedom and places the whole power of the State in the hands of the Soviet of the Workers' and Peasants' Deputies*!)

*) The last two paragraphs are crossed out with pencil in the manuskript. — Ed.

Chronicle of Events.

March 27th.

The Petrograd Soviet resolves to address a manifesto to the peoples of the whole world. (The text of this manifesto is published an another page of this number. — Editor.)

Further, the Soviet passes a proclamation to the Polish people, declaring that "Russian democracy stands on the platform of the recognition of the peoples to national and political self-determination. Poland has the right to be completely independent as a State and from the international point of view".

The provisional Government declares itself to be on principle in favour of maintaining a special military censorship until the end of the war.

March 28th.

Arrival of the delegation of the Baltic fleet and the Black Sea fleet at the Petrograd Soviet.

The members of the Provisional Government take an oath of "loyalty to the Russian people and to the new order of the State".

March 29th.

Abolition of the Tsarist national holidays.

The Moscow Agricultural League telegraphs to the Government that disturbances have broken out in the country and requests it that the rural population be informed that the Government is concerning itself with the solution of the land question and that destructive attacks on the farms of the landowners are not permissible.

The Petrograd District Conference of the Social Revolutionaries is opposed to the "arbitrary seizure" of the land of the landed proprietors.

In the Moscow Soviet, the Bolshevik fraction proposes the immediate introduction of the eight hours' day. The passing of a resolution to this effect is postponed until the next session.

March 30th.

Proclamation of the Provisional Government to the people with regard to the land question. "The land question must be settled by way of legislation and this is impossible unless material is collected, stores calculated etc.".

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