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China and the Kuomintang a Year after Sun Yat Sen's Death.

By Tang Shin She.

"The bourgeoisie which is decaying while still alive will be replaced by the proletariat of the European countries and by the young Democracy of the Asiatic countries which is full of faith in its own powers and of confidence in the masses." (Lenin.)

A year has passed since the death of Sun Yat Sen who roused the four hundred millions of the Chinese people and led them to fight for freedom. His spirit, which during his lifetime developed in an ascending scale, just at the present moment dominates the Chinese people to an enormous degree. His most immediate wishes: the national revolution, the fight against the imperialists, the fight against internal enemies and, for this purpose, the improvement and disciplining of the revolutionary armies, the fulfilment of which he did not live to see, are now well on the way to being carried out. Let us look at the situation to-day in China and the Kuomintang party since the death of Sun Yat Sen.

The Canton Government formed by Sun Yat Sen, the headquarters of the national revolution, was seriously threatened by General Tshen Shui Ming, the tool of the imperialists at the time of our leader's death. Only a month later however, in April 1925, Tshen Shui Ming was defeated; but he was not the only enemy. In Canton itself there were so-called revolutionary leaders of troops who were in reality the worst counter-revolutionary elements who enjoyed the support of the English imperialists. In June they made an attack on the Canton Government in cooperation with the Governor of Yunnan (a protégé of Japan and France). Nevertheless, in quite a short time, the party troops with the help of the revolutionary peasants and workers completely defeated this really strong opponent.

After these victories, a Kuomin (People's) Government, closely resembling the Soviet system, was formed in Canton on July 1st, 1925. In order to destroy this dangerous formation, the imperialists, especially English and Americans, organised their tools, Generals Tshen Shui Ming, Tuan She Sui and Chang Tso Lin to make a general attack on Canton by land and by sea under the slogan: "The fight against the Communists!" By the end of 1925 all the attacking forces were driven back by the revolutionary soldiers and the armed peasants and workers, and the whole Province of Kwangtung with a population of 40 millions is now in the hands of the Kuomin Government. The Province of Kwangsi which has for a long time sympathised with the Canton Government, allied itself quite closely with the latter since that victory. Even Sun Tchuan Fang, the military ruler of the lower Yangtse district, whose provinces border closely on Kwantung and Kwangsi, has expressed his sympathy with the Canton Government, impressed by its strength.

The leaders of the revolutionary troops of Hunan, Kuishow and Yunan send delegates to Canton to prepare the way for co-operation. The Governor of Hunnan, who had up to then been a bitter opponent of the Canton Government and who marches under the banner of federalism, ordered that Sun Yat Sen's teaching should be laid before his soldiers. The only government, which the people, whether in the South or the North, nay, even in Peking itself, regard as their own, is the Kuomin Government in Canton. The latter will send 20 divisions of soldiers to the North in order to liberate the Chinese people from the imperialists and their tools, and will arm the peasants and workers so as to preserve peace and order in their district.

The soldiers trained in the Wampu military school, founded by Sun Yat Sen in 1924, are the nucleus of the revolutionary

troops of Canton. Up to last year, the number of the real revolutionary troops of Canton only amounted to three brigades. On the basis of reorganisation and reformation of troops, there are now 20 divisions, i. e. more than 200,000 soldiers. Not only are all of them well trained and equipped from the military point of view, but they also possess political knowledge. They have a clear conception of both the national revolution and the world revolution. In addition to these troops in South China there are in North China the revolutionary Kuomin armies, about 400,000 strong, under the leadership of Feng Yu Hsiang; at least 200,000 of them are well organised and armed. The revolutionary troops in China are strong enough to play a decisive part in the national revolution and in the annihilation of the counter-revolutionary elements; what is still lacking however is the connection between the troops of North and South China.

The fights in China caused by the Bloody Saturday on May 30th 1925 (when the imperialists fired at unarmed demonstrators in Shanghai) have shown us how deeply Sun Yat Sen's slogans: "Fight against the imperialists!" and "The abolition of the unequal treaties!" have taken root among the Chinese people. Not only the students, workers and small shopkeepers but also the Chinese peasants, who represent more than 80% of the population, have taken up a fighting attitude under the banner of the Kuomintang.

In North China, the population compelled the national armies to establish close connections with the Canton Government and to take up a definite attitude of opposition to the imperialists. In South China, the Canton Government was chiefly supported by the peasants and workers. Ever since Chang Tso Lin's defeat in the Yangtse district, the population of the whole of China has been demanding, in meetings, demonstrations and resolutions the establishment of a Central Kuomin Government in Peking. When, in 1924, Sun Yat Sen, at the first Party Session of the Kuomintang spoke for the first time of a national revolution, many learned persons opposed the idea, arguing that it was a distant vision; to-day the whole people is already concerning itself with the national revolution.

Before the China Agreement in Washington, that plan of plundering our people, the imperialists intended to divide up China amongst themselves, for which reason each of them tried to gain influence in certain districts; since the agreement was concluded, the policy of the "open door", at which America has aimed since 1899, has been pursued, i. e. since that time free competition has prevailed in China. Not only the Americans, but also all those who had established their influence in certain districts in China, tried everywhere to penetrate further into the country. In order to be able to realise their plans more easily, they backed the military rulers and, through their striving after power, caused the wars of the generals in 1920, 1922 and 1924. England and America quite openly used Wu Pei Fu and Tchen Shui Ming, and Japan Tuan She Sui and Chang Tso Lin for this purpose.

Since the beginning of the revolutionary movement last year, the fights between the military rulers no longer have the character of wars of the generals. The "Guide Weekly" (the organ of the Communist Party) writes as follows on the fight between Sun Tchuang Fang and Chang Tso Lin in October 1925:

"Workers, peasants, students, small shopkeepers and a section of the bourgeoisie, i. e. the whole Chinese people, form one phalanx against Chang Tso Lin; to these must be reckoned in the South 100,000 revolutionary soldiers of the Canton Government and in the North 400,000 soldiers of the Kuomin armies which are fighting for national freedom. Only Tuan She Sui and the imperialists are co-operating with Chang Tso Lin. The great anti-Chang Tso Lin movement arises immediately from the people; Sun Tchuang Fang's war against him is nothing but fuel... The Chang Tso Lin clique represents not only the interests of the Chinese military rulers but also of the foreign imperialists. Although in this war, one of the military rulers (Sun Tchuang Fang) played an important part, the whole fight represents as a whole a movement for freedom."

It is easy to recognise that even that fight between Chang Tso Lin and Sun Tchuang Fang was no longer merely a war of the generals. It is still easier to prove this with regard to the present war. There is no longer anything but counter-revolutionary and revolutionary troops. All the counter-revolutionary, pro-imperialist military rulers, even the violent opponents of Chang Tso Lin and Wu Pei Fu, have combined to fight against the Kuomin armies under the slogan: "Against the Communists!" This means

that all the imperialists, who were formerly rivals in China, have united to suppress the Chinese movement for freedom.

All the above mentioned progress and achievements within the last year have grown from the seed sown by Sun Yat Sen.

What is the position of Sun Yat Sen's party since his death? The Kuomintang has taken root throughout the country and its membership has enormously increased. At the 2nd Party Congress in January 1926, a membership of 400,000 was recorded. There were delegates from all the provinces and districts of China with the exception of the Province of Sinkiang and the district of Tibet. Provision was made at the Party Congress for attracting still larger numbers of peasants and workers during the coming year. The manifesto of the Kuomintang, issued in January of this year, states that the Kuomin Government and the national revolution can only lean on the strength of the peasants and workers. The purging of the Kuomintang which had started in Sun Yat Sen's lifetime, was completed at the last Party Congress; further, the Left and Right elements once more united.

The new manifesto lays down as the chief duties for the coming year:

"The fight against the imperialists and, with this end in view, union with the advanced countries of the world revolution. Alliance with the oppressed peoples of the whole world and alliance with the oppressed masses of the imperialist countries. Within the country, a challenge is thrown down to the imperialist tools, the military rulers, bureaucrats, compradors (agents of the foreign merchants) and village usurers, for which purpose strong people's armies are to be formed, an honest, disciplined body of officials established, young Chinese industry protected and the peasants' and workers' organisations supported."

From the 2nd Party Congress, the Kuomintang sent a telegram to the Soviet Union, calling upon it to co-operate still more closely in the fight against the imperialists. Tchang Kai She, the present leader of the revolutionary armies, expressed himself as follows at the Party Congress, with regard to the alliance with the Soviet Union:

"Our alliance with the Soviet Union, with the world revolution is actually an alliance with all the revolutionary parties which are fighting in common against the world imperialists to carry through the world revolution."

In reference to co-operation with the Communists, Wang Tching Wei, the leader of the Kuomin Government, said at the Party Congress:

"... If we wish to fight against the imperialists, we must not turn against the Communists. (Loud applause.) If we are against the Communists, we cannot, at the same time, describe ourselves as antagonists of imperialism..." (Loud applause.)

This attitude of the Kuomintang has grown out of Sun Yat Sen's political testament and out of his parting letter to the Soviet Union.

The work and the struggles of the Kuomintang prove that Sun Yat Sen's disciples have remained true to his fundamental idea.

POLITICS

The Crisis of the Briand Cabinet and its Importance.

By A. Bernard (Paris).

The following article has been written immediately after the resignation and before the reconstruction of Briand's government. Ed.

The crisis and the resignation of Briand's government show that the fight of the big bourgeoisie for the removal of the government of the declining petty bourgeoisie has entered a new phase.

In order to understand the importance of these proceedings we must examine a little more closely the process of decay of the petty bourgeoisie who since last year has dominated the political situation in France.

One is accustomed to regard the Left Block as the expression of the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie en bloc against the govern-

ment of Poincaré inspired by the big bourgeoisie. That is, however, only correct to a certain extent. The petty bourgeoisie constitutes the large mass of the social sections upon which the governments of Herriot and Painlevé based themselves. But it was only a part of the middle class who left the National Block and thereby gave the Left Block that increase of votes which in spite of only a weak majority in the total electorate created a solid basis in parliament. An important portion of the petty bourgeoisie still remains under the influence of the National Block. On the other hand a group of the big bourgeoisie stands behind the Left Block, the business banks and part of the finishing industry which are offering resistance to their absorption by the modern finance capital.

This must be kept in mind in order to understand the peculiar vacillations in which the decay of the petty bourgeoisie is going on under the pressure of inflation, the financial crisis, and of the consolidation of the financial capital and thereby dissolving the old party groupings.

The decay of the petty bourgeoisie finds expression in two directions:

1. In the absorption of the small industrial and middle business men through the quickly concentrating organisations of large industry and commerce.

2. Through the breaking away to the Left of the small traders and many peasants under the pressure of the tax policy of the Left Block, which is dictated by the interests of the business banks, the same banks which have driven the government into the colonial wars.

It must also be added the dissolution of the section of the small investors who partly resume all sorts of trades and partly sink into the proletariat.

The social basis for the construction of Briand's Cabinet, which received its support from the Right wing of the old Left Block and the Left group of the Right opposition, constitute those new groupings created by this development: traders and merchants who formerly followed the National Block and small industrialists and business people who have been drawn into the sphere of influence of the big bourgeoisie as well as peasants discontented with the financial policy of the Cartel.

The contradictory composition of the basis of Briand's Cabinet again determined the zig zag policy of this Cabinet in financial and tax questions: The long fight of the Minister of Finance Doumer against the financial project of the Cartel from which he, at one time, accepted some points, dropping them again, and afterwards submitted them in an altered form etc.

The political reflection of the decay of the petty bourgeoisie goes on so slowly and takes such manifold forms because this process is in the first place permeated with features of the fight of a group of the big bourgeoisie against the other and because, secondly, this fight is conducted within the frame of the party groups originating from pre-war days and which no longer correspond to the enormous re-grouping of class forces which the war and the period of reconstruction had called forth; and, thirdly, because the big bourgeoisie has still an interest in a certain continuation of inflation which they prefer to have carried out by another rather than their own government.

The resignation of Briand meant in this development a further step on the road of splitting the petty bourgeois elements and the attraction of a part of them for the support of a Right government which, after sufficient exploitation of the inflation, carries out the stabilisation of the Franc. If the big bourgeoisie succeeds in the splitting and dispersing of the forces of the petty bourgeoisie then they can meet with calmness the unemployment crisis arising from the stabilisation crisis. They will then be in a position to keep down the isolated working class with every means of demagoguery and force.

The circumstances under which Briand resigned clearly illustrate the position.

Why did the Right unite with the socialists and communists in the vote against Briand?

There are two points in Doumer's tax programme which in the present situation cause uneasiness to the Right: 1. the readiness of Doumer to bring about government control over oil and the sugar industry. Such a measure, which would have amounted to a State monopoly for these branches of industry, would have created a case of precedence binding the hands of a future government of the Right. 2. the taxation of payments (tax stamps on every bill etc.) which would have amounted to an extension of the tax on turnover. This tax measure is energetically

rejected not only by the working class and the employees but also by the small business men and traders.

This last circumstance is especially dangerous for the Right in view of the recent political manifestations in the middle section: the demonstrations of officials in Paris and in the provinces, the strike actions of the small traders at first in Brittany and other places in the province and finally in Paris, the bye-elections in the XIII. district of Paris inhabited by officials and dealers — all this shows clearly the tendency of these sections who are turning towards the communists. The breaking away of these elements towards the Left would mean a heavy blow for the Right. They had, therefore, in the vote against the tax on turn-over to perform a "gesture", so popular in France, which allows the "Union of the economic interests" (Senator Billet) to catch once more the escaping small traders. How much the Right were affected can be judged from the fact that they have not been frightened to vote together with socialists and communists.

The attitude of the Communist Party is given by the whole situation. The reaction can only remain at the helm if it succeeds in splitting the petty bourgeoisie and in attracting part of them to itself. The Communist Party must, therefore, exert all efforts in order that this splitting of the forces of the petty bourgeoisie does not take place. At the same time it must take up the fight for the hegemony of the proletariat in this struggle of defence against the big bourgeoisie.

It must, therefore, be prepared to declare its support of a petty bourgeois government if the latter renounces every alliance with the big bourgeoisie and adopts and carries out an energetic fighting programme. The conditions which the Communist Party has put forward in this direction in its appeals of November 25th and January 10th: burdening of capital for the solution of the financial crisis, direct taxation, immediate peace, dissolution of fascist organisations etc. still hold good. At the same time, it will have to conduct a great campaign in the country in order to create a broad basis for this government by establishing a united front of the workers' and peasant masses in alliance with the deteriorating petty bourgeoisie. For this campaign it will have to invite the Socialist Party and the red and reformist trade unions. It will also have to set up appropriate organisations of resistance of the exploited masses against reaction.

In this manner the Communist Party can prevent the crisis of the petty bourgeoisie from being used by the big bourgeoisie in order to strengthen its basis for the class war which is bound to take place as a result of the inevitable stabilisation. In these fights the proletariat will be beaten if it does not oppose the splitting attempts of the big bourgeoisie and the vacillating attitude of the petty bourgeois parties by firm decisive tactics under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The Fight against the Imperialist Feudal Block in Egypt.

By A. Busiam (Cairo).

Three main periods can be distinguished in the development of the national movement in Egypt.

The first which includes a period of about 2 years, from the awakening of a national consciousness to about 1918, shows an internally homogeneous national movement with one single, central demand, that of the independence of Egypt and the Sudan. At that time the "National Party" (Watanists) under Mustapha Pasha Kemal was the only representative of the national movement.

In 1918 the leadership of the national movement passed into the hands of the Wafd with its leader Zaghlul Pasha. This was the period when class differentiations within the Egyptian national movement began to appear, and apart from the central demand for independence the individual parties already had certain economic and social-political programmes. In this period, political power passed temporarily into the hands of the national movement, as it is represented by the Wafd, and the upper strata of the Egyptian population, the great bankers and the feudalists, were forced to ally themselves closely with the imperial Power against the national movement in all its forms.

At the end of 1924 a new period in the Egyptian national movement began — its fight against the feudal imperialist Block, personified in the Ziwar Pasha Government.

In the months of March to November 1925, the fight between the national movement and Ziwar Pasha became more and more acute in spite of all persecution. The bourgeois party of the Liberal Constitutionalists who had long vacillated between an alliance with the national movement and with the imperialist feudal Block, was driven out of the Government and joined the Opposition. On November 21st 1925, the delegates of the Parliament which had been dispersed in March 1925, 99% of whom belonged to Opposition parties (Watanists, Waifd and Liberal Constitutionalists), met together and resolved on a common campaign against the Ziwar Government under the slogan: "Fight for the Constitution!"

Ziwar Pasha, by the advice of the English High Commissioner, thereupon tried to strike a first blow against the Opposition; he fabricated a new, unprecedented reactionary franchise law and wanted to give his Government a constitutional basis by means of an election bluff. The Opposition retorted by boycotting the elections — the slogan of the boycott was enthusiastically taken up throughout the country. Ziwar Pasha tried using means of terror. He handed over to the court the officials who refused to carry out the preparations for the election. The judges, especially in the provinces which are nationalistic to the core, acquitted the accused. In a few weeks it became clear that the elections would inevitably lead to a pitiful fiasco.

Ziwar Pasha, still under pressure from the English, then carried out a skilful retreat; a few days before the National Congress which had been fixed by the Opposition parties for February 19th 1926, the Ziwar Government declared its own franchise law to be invalid and put once more into force the law which had been enacted by Zaghul Pasha and slightly modified by Ziwar Pasha in November 1924.

In this way Ziwar Pasha actually succeeded in breaking the brunt of the Opposition campaign. The National Congress, it is true, was attended by no less than 1200 delegates from all parts of Egypt, and the mood of those assembled was extremely belligerent, nay, even revolutionary. Three ultra-radical resolutions were passed which once more proclaimed the illegality of the Ziwar Government, the invalidity of its laws etc. and demanded its resignation.

At the fourth resolution however, which was to decide whether in view of the Government's concession with regard to the franchise law, to continue on the revolutionary path or to enter on the constitutional one of an election campaign, it transpired that the Watanist group (the uncompromising extreme Nationalists) was isolated and that the large majority of the Congress responded to Zaghul Pasha's appeal to return to the constitutional path. The cunning Zaghul, it is true, clothed his compliance in very revolutionary phrases, he spoke of a revolutionary victory of the Opposition, of concessions that had been extorted — but objectively Zaghul's step means of course once more an evasion, it is the outcome of the fear of the petty bourgeoisie, represented by Zaghul Pasha, of their anxiety to avoid decisive encounters.

The resolutions of the National Congress, however, have only delayed the decisive fight. For the time being, the strategic art of manoeuvring of the imperialist feudal Block saved the rule of the Egyptian court clique and of the English "adviser" from an acute revolutionary outbreak. The coming election campaign, however, will not fail to show the determination of the broad masses of the Egyptians to rid themselves finally of the egoistic bands of court-flunkeys, feudalists and bankers who are ruining the country, and of the imperialists who are backing them.

The Fifth Anniversary of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party.

By S. Natsov (Moscow).

A few days ago the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party celebrated its fifth anniversary; five years of obstinate fighting on the part of the working "Arat" (Mongolian word for shepherd) of Mongolia to create national and democratic order in the country.

Owing to its natural wealth and its geographical situation, Mongolia had, already by the end of last century, become the

object of the predatory policy of the imperialist Powers in the Far East. Before the imperialist Great War, Mongolia had been in the "sphere of influence" of Czarist Russia. The autocratic Government of Russia, which intended to make use of the support it had given to the national movement of the Mongolian people in 1911, aimed at the complete political and economic subjection of Mongolia.

In 1919, Japanese Imperialism tried to take possession of Mongolia under the pretext of uniting all the Mongolian tribes into a single State. With this object in view, a provisional government of Mongolia with Neissi-Gigen at its head, was formed at station Dauria. But this method proved somewhat tedious, and Japan resolved to take possession of Mongolia with the help of Chinese militarists from the "Anfu" Club who were in its service and who, at that time, were in power in North China. The "Anfu" militarists, under Japanese leadership, organised a military expedition into Mongolia, which was crowned with complete success. Mongolia was soon occupied by the troops of the "Anfu" General Sui Shi Tchan; the ruling feudalists gave up all claim to autonomy in a shameful way, and the power passed completely into the hands of the newly arisen dictator (who, by the bye, was shot a short time ago on the road from Peking to Tientsin). For almost a whole year, the population of Mongolia was under the yoke of the Chinese militarists and suffered all kinds of indignities.

In consequence of the fresh outbreak of civil war between the individual militaristic groups of China, the "Anfu" clique lost its power in China. In order to keep Mongolia in its sphere of influence, Japan made use of Russian White Guardist bands under the command of Baron Ungern. In 1921, under the pretext of restoring autonomy, the latter occupied Urga, the capital of Mongolia. With the help of feudal-theocratic elements (Ziven-Tirgun, Toktocho Taidshi etc.) Ungern assumed control of the ruling factors and interfered in the economic and political life of the country, not stopping short even at murder and at plunder.

The working masses of Mongolia were thus faced by the alternative of either submitting unreservedly to the political and economic yoke of Japanese imperialism or trying to ensure their independent existence by putting an end to Ungern's adventure. The imminent danger of subjugation to Japanese imperialism was immediately responsible for the origin of the national freedom movement which began in 1921 under the leadership of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party.

The most important driving forces of the national freedom movement in Mongolia were the masses of poor and middle Arats, led by the native intellectuals who, for centuries had suffered under the cruellest subjugation and most terrible exploitation of, on the one hand, their own feudalists and, on the other hand, foreign commercial capital and usury. At first, the national freedom movement of the working masses of Mongolia was carried on exclusively under the slogan of national independence, i. e. the expulsion of the foreign usurpers and did not develop into a fight against the feudal-theocratic groups within the country nor into a fight for the liberation of the Arat masses from social and economic slavery.

It was only in the process of its further development and intensification, that this fight assumed the character of a decisive fight for the protection of the interests of the poor and middle strata of the population. This resulted in a number of social and economic reforms and the establishment of real democracy in the country, the broad masses of Arats being given a share in the building up of the State.

The more deeply the national revolution took root, the more the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party was enabled to liberate the working masses of Mongolia from the oppression and exploitation of native and foreign vampires. Not only did they clear away the remnants of feudal serfdom in Mongolia, they also laid the foundations of a new order of the State of the workers on a democratic basis.

The exploiting elements were deprived of their political rights and privileges. The working Arat became master not only of his social destiny but also of the political and economic life of his country.

It is of interest to observe the growth of the organisation of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party alongside with its political achievements. When it came into being, it was

nothing but a nucleus of 150 members. The following figures give a picture of its further growth:

Year	Membership
1922	1500
1924	2560
1925	7043

After a thorough purging in 1925, 5241 members remained in the ranks of the party. These are distributed as follows, according to their social and financial position:

According to their social position:	
Arats	4660
Lamas (priests)	317
Members of the former nobility	264
	5241
According to their financial position:	
Rich persons	5
Middle strata	2869
Poor strata	2367
	5241

These figures cannot be regarded as exact, as a number of organisations in the divisions of the army is not taken into consideration. Nevertheless they prove that the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party is essentially an organisation for the middle and poor strata in the country which will continue to enforce the interests of these groups.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Vehmlic Jurisdiction in Germany.

By Gerhard O Buch (Berlin).

There is a parallel to the vehmic jurisdiction of the Middle Ages, which, in a certain sense, was the forerunner of the strength and the rise of the third estate out of the decaying feudal order of society, in the "vehme" of post-war times in Germany, which is intended to serve as a special auxiliary to the defeated political powers of reaction in their desperate attempts to restore the former conditions of rulership.

One consequence of this point of view, that all means should be used for this end, is the belief that the resistance which is still insuperable, can be weakened by the removal of leading personalities in the ranks of the opponents. After the Kapp putsch, a group formed under the leadership of Captain Lieutenant Erhardt and created the **organisation Consul (O. C.)** which included the carrying out of political murders in its regular programme. It sent its members into the nationalist unions which were greatly dispersed. The murder of Gareis and Schottländer was resolved on and carried out by members of this organisation.

The "legal" shooting (of persons "in flight") and the sentences to penal servitude by class justice — it is well known that it developed from the unconstitutional court-martials and special courts up to the permanent exceptional court of the State law-courts for the protection of the Republic, which worked with criminals as examining magistrates (Jürgens) — to a large extent relieved the O. C. of this work so that it was able to devote its attention to the camp of the "Republicans", of those opponents who were unmolested by class justice. Attacks were made on the life of Erzberger, Rathenau and Scheidemann.

These individual acts, occurring at irregular intervals and openly characterised as political crimes, proved, however, unsuitable as preparations for a revolution. Concerted action was therefore planned which by one strong blow, was to "polish off" the Republic and with it all the leading personalities from the President downwards.

The preparations for this blow, which was fixed for the year 1923 after the collapse of the national policy of passive resistance, necessitated that an armed Pretorian guard be in readiness which, capable of anything, would, in the decisive

moment, take the lead, with the object of carrying with it all the Fascist organisations and the **National Militia**. This end was served by the "**Schwarze Reichswehr**" (S. R.) ("Black National Militia") which formed battalions under the cover of various names (working detachment, fighting detachment etc.). The formations were given various covering names and even the men themselves were kept as long as possible in ignorance of the real aims of the schema.

All the same these troops not only had to be "men whose leader had them firmly in hand" (they had to take an oath of fidelity to the person of their leader), but they had no chance of backing out, for which reason they were informed that "treachery" or "insubordination" (especially desertion) would be met with the death penalty*). Even to-day, the detachments which are distributed on the large estates are held together by this system.

After beginning in the "Protection of the Upper Silesian Frontiers" which has never been clearly explained, the system developed to a terrible degree in the **Black National Militia**. About 30 murders have already been discovered, others are still veiled in mystery.

The Executive detachment of the Z. b. V. division ("**Zur besonderen Verwendung**", for special use), under Lieutenant **Graffunder**, was to be the only one to carry out death sentences on the decision of Lieutenant **Schütz** with regard to all the battalions of the S. R. Cases contrary to this regulation have happened. This means that all the leaders of the S. R. were on principle initiated into the vehmic system and that, when the executive detachment turned up, they handed over to it the man it claimed. These connections were not taken into consideration in the trials which have hitherto been reported.

The Black Militia was known in the circles of the employers, especially in the **National League** and in the large industry of Berlin, as well as to the official bodies and was zealously furthered by them. The opinions which predominated among the leaders of the S. R. prevailed in essentials in these circles also. Regarded sociologically, this criminal attitude of mind is only the consciousness and the expression of acknowledged impotence against the rising power of the working class, the invincibility of which is intuitively felt by the declining class. The latter neither can nor will surrender nor will it retire from the arena of history.

The "Republicans" however, with the revolver placed on their breast, are instinctively conscious of this contradiction which stands higher than their theory and their view of life. And if they play hide and seek in the Parliamentary Committees for Investigation, it is only because of the deep historical necessity which shows them that there is no other issue from this inexorable pro and contra than to act as accomplices on the side of reaction against the revolutionary proletariat.

The Polish Police Before the Court.

By Axel (Warsaw).

On the evening of May 1st 1925, a bomb exploded on the premises of the editorial offices of the newspaper published by the **Independent Peasant Party**. **Trojanovski**, the responsible editor of the paper, who had himself prepared the bomb and accidentally caused it to explode, was seriously wounded by the explosion.

Trojanovski, who was arrested, admitted that he was in the service of the political police. Under orders from the authority which employed him, he had, for purposes of provocation, entered into connection with the deputies of the Independent Peasant Party which was suspected of sympathising with Communism, and had in time come to be the responsible editor of the paper of this party. **Trojanovski** prepared the bomb by order of **Lenski**, the High Commissioner of the political police. He and **Lenski** together were to take it into the building occupied by the political police and cause it to explode there. Its explosion was to be the signal for a sanguinary settling of accounts with the Communists who were to be represented as guilty of the attack.

*) For details see Karl Mertens "Verschwörer und Fememörder" published by the "Weltbühne", Charlottenburg 1920.

The unfortunate accident which happened while the bomb was being prepared, completely wrecked this malicious plan. In this way the real part played by Trojanovski in the editorship of the paper of the Independent Peasant Party was unmasked, and thus fresh evidence was given of the provocatory work of the political police. Lenski was dismissed from the service and both he and Trojanovski were handed over to justice. Piontkiewicz, an inspector of the political police, who was involved in the affair, was compelled to hand in his resignation.

There are, however, still judges in Warsaw...

The bourgeois judges could not allow the political police, that pillar of "public order" in Poland to be compromised. Of course they did not believe Trojanovski's confessions which were intended to be an act of indictment against Lenski. Trojanovski was sentenced to four years hard labour, Lenski was acquitted.

The most dramatic moment of the trial was an event which took place outside the law court. In the night following the first day of the legal proceedings, Mrs. Bednarski, a former member of the political police, who had during the day, given evidence in favour of Trojanovski, committed suicide. In a letter, she left behind her, she confirmed her evidence and gave new details which revealed the provocatory part played by the political police in general and by Lenski and Piontkiewicz in particular. Mrs. Bednarski committed suicide in fear of the revenge of the police who had threatened that, if she gave evidence which was unfavourable for Lenski, her husband, who was in the employ of the police, would be dismissed. She could not bear to expose her children to death from starvation.

The "unprejudiced" court, of course, took no notice whatever of the dead woman's letter...

Altogether the trial of Trojanovski and Lenski was rich in interesting incidents.

In his evidence Piontkiewicz, the High Commissioner, who was examined as a witness, confirmed a fact which indeed had been known for a long time. The police, to a large extent, make use of the system of provocation by sending their agents into the ranks of parties which are politically suspect.

Inspector Piontkiewicz' evidence with regard to the close cooperation between the political police and Polish Social Democracy caused a great sensation.

The deputy Pragier, a member of the Socialist Party of Poland (S. P. P.) is a member of the Parliamentary Commission for investigation into the activities of the terrorist organisations. In this capacity he studied the Trojanovski affair and, being called upon as an expert at the trial, he stated before the Court that the bomb manufactured by Trojanovski was of the same kind as those which at one time were said to have been prepared by the revolutionary officers Baginski and Wieczorkiewicz who were subsequently condemned to death for that reason. In saying this, deputy Pragier pointed out that the bombs for which the said officers had paid with their lives, must have been prepared in a workshop of the police. Pragier also mentioned that one of the highest Government officials had, at one time, said to him that if the S. P. P. interfered in the Trojanovski-Lenski affair, the political police would make revelations which would be very unpleasant for the party.

Inspector Piontkiewicz, about whose participation in the Trojanovski-Lenski affair there can be no doubt, and who at one time arranged the Baginski-Wieczorkiewicz affair with the aid of the provocative agent Cechnovski (who later on was killed by the Communist Botvin.) took the offensive in the defence of the political police. As he said, revelations of all kinds with regard to the S. P. P. would only be to the advantage of the Communists. He further stated that Pragier had been in touch with Inspector Lenski and had handed on to him directly his information with regard to the Polish Fascist organisations. Of course, in the Trojanovski affair, it was not the police who appealed to the S. P. P. but, on the contrary, a prominent member of the S. P. P. in Warsaw had begged Piontkiewicz to maintain silence with regard to facts which would compromise the S. P. P. In return, he had promised in the name of the party to refrain from interpellation in the Trojanovski affair.

Piontkiewicz was probably not lying on this subject, for his revelations were called forth by his wrath against Pragier who had wanted to bring proofs that Polish Social Democracy

was also opposed to the despicable methods of the political police.

The whole of this debate in Court between the Social Democrats and the police agents revealed once more the close co-operation between the S. P. P. and the political police. This affair was a "passing" dispute in the family, through which their mutual affection would only be strengthened for the future.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Party Conference of the C. P. of Italy.

In spite of the supervision of the Fascist authorities and in the most difficult circumstances, the 3rd Party Conference of the C. P. of Italy took place in January. It concerned itself with the internal affairs of the party with tactical questions and passed resolutions determining the policy of the party with overwhelming majorities. The central organ of the party states that, in the political voting, 90.8% of the delegates voted for the lines laid down by the Central Committee and the Comintern, whilst only 9.2% advocated the point of view of the ultra-Left Bordiga group. As the Party Congress had been preceded by a public party discussion in the party press, in meetings of members and in district conferences, so that all the members with the exception of 18.9% had been asked their opinion, in spite of the Fascist Terror and the illegality of the party, the results of the voting can be regarded as a faithful picture of the real opinion of the members of the party. It should be emphasised that there was a large number of workers from the factories among the delegates, all of whom unreservedly opposed the ultra-Left point of view of the Bordiga group. The small group of the ultra-Left delegates could only boast of a single industrial worker.

In view of all the discussion that has taken place, in view of the open fraction work carried on by the ultra-Left Bordiga group against the line adopted by the Comintern and the C. C., it is easy to understand that the main idea of the Party Conference was to settle accounts with the ultra-Left group. The composition of the Party Conference alone shows that the ultra-Left no longer has any foothold worth mentioning in the Party. The central organ of the Party which epitomizes the events of the Party Conference, is right in stating that there was only one organised opposition at the Party Conference, that of the ultra-Left, and that it suffered a complete defeat. The factory workers nominated as delegates castigated the mistakes of the ultra-Left with great precision and honestly admitted that they had allowed themselves to be abused by the ultra-Left as long as they did not understand the exact difference between the policy of the Central Committee and the conception of the Bordiga group. There was no Right Opposition at the Party Conference. The Central Committee is, however, fully aware that in the conception of the worker and peasant Government, of the part played by Social Democracy and in the theory of the State there are certain Right tendencies.

The question of the tactics of the united front and of trade unions figured most largely in the discussions. In view of the evident veering to the Left amongst the workers, the Labour delegates brought evidence of the successful results of the united front tactics and of their prospects for the future as against the recalcitrant attitude of the ultra-Left. From the reports of the delegates of South Italy we can observe the satisfactory beginnings of the correctly applied policy of the united front of the advanced communist workers with non-party small peasants who are grouped together in Catholic organisations. The fact that we can report the existence of 130,000 members of the International Red Aid in Italy shows that the influence of the Communists among the workers reaches far beyond their own organisations. (In spite of continued wholesale arrests and the dispersal of whole local groups, the membership of the C. P. amounts, according to exact calculation of the subscriptions, to over 30,000.)

The same growing influence of the Communists can be recorded in the free trade unions. In a number of local and district cartels, for instance in Trieste, Treviso, Genoa, Venice, Padua, Messina, Naples, Bari, Florence, Leghorn etc., the Communists are in the majority. The Party Conference was unanimously of the opinion that the Communists should resume the

fight for the salvation of the trade unions from the Fascist Terror. The aim is to create strong industrial unions on the basis of the existing free trade unions. It must, however, unfortunately be recorded that, in consequence of the activities of the ultra-Left there are still in the Party tendencies opposed to the trade unions and that at the Party Conference itself great uncertainty was felt with regard to trade union questions and to the fighting tactics to be pursued, even among the Labour delegates who are otherwise clear thinkers.

To sum up it may be said that this 3rd Party Conference of the C. P. of Italy has shown the Party to be a firm cohort of the revolution which even the Fascist Terror cannot shake, and that a great step has been taken along the path which leads to the conquest of the broad masses of workers.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Work of the Communist Youth in the Trade Unions.

By H. Y.

This work is one of the weakest sides of our Trade Union activity.

The reason for this is the failure to construct an efficient fraction apparatus systematically functioning throughout the respective Trade Union Federations of the various countries.

While it is true that this work presents difficulties, and to a greater extent than to the Communist Parties, nevertheless, it is indisputable that a large part of the comparative weakness of our organised Fractions in the T. U. S. is due to neglect of the question by the various League authorities.

The main difficulties may be enumerated as follows:

1. **Bad social composition of Leagues.**
(Providing members eligible for trade union membership.)
2. **The trade union barriers erected against the Youth.**
3. **Mass youth employment.**
4. **Indifference of League members in this work.**
5. **Neglect of the question by the Communist Parties and sections of the Profintern.**

The first immediate practical step is the organisation of the Young Communists in the Trade Unions. It must be frankly stated there are still many Young Communists eligible for Trade Union membership — who are not yet members.

It must be repeatedly emphasised that all Young Communists must become active members of their Trade Unions.

Current problems of the work in the trades unions.

The most important feature of our work is necessarily the campaign for the organisation of all young workers in the Trades Unions in connection with the general movement for Trade Union Unity.

This rapidly growing international mass movement is of tremendous significance for the economic work of the Leagues.

The campaign for the 100% organisation of the working youth gives our League an approach to the trade unions, revolutionary and reformist.

We now have a number of practical experiences of this campaign which enables us to draw definite conclusions for the extension of this work and the consolidation of the Communist youth in the Trade Unions.

Particularly the course of this slogan for the International Trade Union Week (Dec. 14—20) has proved the value of this work for the establishment of the C. Y. in the Trade Unions.

A definite commencement has been made in a number of countries in Trade Unions, particularly the revolutionary T. U. Federations or opposition minorities of the reformist Unions.

This naturally assumes various forms in various countries. In Czechoslovakia the revolutionary trade union congress adopted a special resolution dealing with the necessity of the organisation of the working youth and the setting up of a youth commission which shall include youth worker representatives. Already last year in France a similar result was obtained by our French League, which succeeded to get a resolution on the

young workers carried and the appointment of young workers representatives on the National and District Councils of the C. G. T. U.

Similarly in England the Congress of the Minority Movement passed a suitable resolution on this question and appointed a young workers' representative.

In Germany our League proposed alternatives to the Agenda of the Young Conference organised by the A. D. G. B. in December.

All these activities show:

1. The commencement of systematic work in the unions.
2. The consolidation of the C. Y. in the revolutionary unions.
3. The increasing attention paid by the unions to the working youth.

It is now necessary to extend our work more to the Reformist Unions than it has been done till now. This must be done in the form of the United Front through, where possible, the revolutionary federations.

The young trade unionists Conferences.

These conferences offer a valuable means of the extension of our work in the trade unions. Already in England and France experiences in the organisation of such conferences show that the trade unions actively respond to them. Such conferences have found a broad response among trade unionists because they are based on practical topical questions of the organisation of the young workers in the trade unions for the strengthening of Labour against the capitalist offensive. The forms and methods of these conferences depend on the conditions in each respective country. The important question is that the local or district T. U. Federations and Trades Councils undertake the organisations of the Conference. This depends to a large extent upon our fractions and the close co-operation with the Communist Party.

It is self-evident that the immediate necessity is close attention to the organisation of fractions.

The first practical step is the issue to all organisations of clear instructions for the organisation and activities of the Fractions.

Few leagues have succeeded in doing this. It is hoped in the near future to issue specimens of these and organise a discussion in Leagues on the formulation of such directives, the question of International Directions must also be taken up.

The leagues have now in a number of cases passed from the "Open Letter" stage (Open Letter to the Trade Union Congress) and established direct representatives on mass T. U. organisations.

The further extension of this work depends on the organisation and systematic work of the T. U. fractions, and interesting the Trade Unions to officially take up the question of the organisation of the Youth.

It is necessary to emphasise the importance of co-operation with the Parties and sections of the Profintern. The slogan "A Youth Fraction by every Party Fraction" must become a practical reality. The organised collaboration with the sections of the Profintern and especially the revolutionary minorities in the Reformist Unions must be carried out from the E. C. of T. U. Unity to the local organisation.

POLEMICS AND DISCUSSIONS

English Critics of Trotsky's „Whither England?“.

By R. Palme Dutt.

Trotsky's "Whither England?" has stung the representatives of the Independent Labour Party and Fabianism, who are so mercilessly criticised within it, to endeavour to reply. Replies have appeared from such representatives as the Editor of the "Daily Herald", Brailsford, Bertrand Russell, George Lansbury and others. The prominence given to these replies in the official Labour press, and the space accorded, indicates the influence which the book is undoubtedly having in the movement. It is significant that no Trade Union leader has yet come out in opposition to the arguments of the book. The replies have been confined to the I. L. P. intelligentsia, the religious-pacifist group etc. The Labour Party leaders have also maintained

silence, leaving to these "theoretical" champions to maintain their case.

These replies are extremely instructive. In a future edition of Trotsky's book they should be reprinted as an appendix: for they bear out with comical exactness (and absolute unconsciousness) all the heaviest charges that Trotsky brings against this ideology of "English Socialism". The horizon of these writers is governed by personal questions and a subjective ("idealist") outlook. They complain, to begin with, that Trotsky has "attacked" them, that he is "offensive", that he is "superior", that he has no nice parliamentary manners and that he actually seems to have nothing but contempt for their beautiful theories. In the next place, they complain that Trotsky is a "Russian" and not an Englishman, and therefore cannot "understand Englishmen" or the superiority of English institutions (they do not attempt to show their superior understanding of England by meeting Trotsky on any of the historic or objective ground he covers). Finally, they complain that the outlook suggested is "gloomy", and that they prefer to "hope" and "trust" and "believe" that all will be for the best, and nothing unpleasant will need to be faced.

The "Daily Herald" devotes a principal editorial to Trotsky's book, under the heading "Two Views of Life in Conflict". The Editor seizes on a quotation (misquoted, and actually referring to Cromwell) that "the recognition by a great historic mission confers the right to annihilate all obstacles in the way". This he erects into Trotsky's first principle. He then announces that Mussolini and British Imperialism also hold this view. On this basis he proudly affirms the "breakdown" of Trotsky's reasoning. He prefers "the hope of persuading people that Force is futile and despotism always detestable, that persuasion and generosity are far more powerful influences" etc. Needless to say, the "Daily Herald" advocates a very different policy when it comes to maintaining British Imperialism against the subject peoples.

The "Clyde Group" of Scottish I. L. P. Members of Parliament is represented by Johnston in the "Forward". This reply takes up a strongly national point of view against Trotsky's intrusion into British politics: "As Trotsky Sees Us" is the heading; and the writer complains that Trotsky should dare to make assertions about "a country other than his own, of which at the best he must only have a second-hand knowledge". Johnston's example of Trotsky's supposed ignorance is, however, unfortunate: he challenges the statement that "MacDonald operated in the realm of diplomacy with the aid of false documents" and endeavours in reply to gloss over MacDonald's direct share in the issue of the Zinoviev forgery with the childish plea that "MacDonald did not operate the Zinoviev letter; it was operated against him".

The I. L. P. ideologists are represented by Brailsford, the Editor of the "New Leader", and Bertrand Russell.

Brailsford contributes an introduction to the English edition. He considers that the issue of the book proves the existence of liberty in England; "the battle for freedom is not yet lost", although the Communist trial was "a nightmare" which raised grave doubts in Brailsford's mind whether Trotsky might not be right. However, he rallies with the rest to the sanctity of British Institutions. Revolutionary ideas have no relation to England; they are purely "Russian". The book is "a revelation of the Russian mind". "It will not convert many to the Russian standpoint". A Russian cannot understand "our older civilisation". "The respect for the majority has been inculcated in generations of Englishmen. What can a Russian know of that?" Trotsky does not understand the "free" and "democratic" character of Religion in England. And so forth. This from the principal theoretical exponent of the I. L. P. in England, who is capable in his writings of dabbling with "Marxism" and even calling himself a "Marxist".

Russell begins with admissions of almost all the points the remainder dispute. "On the politics of the British Labour Movement Trotsky is remarkably well informed". Russell "agrees" with Trotsky on the question of the Monarchy, on Religion, on the Imperialism of the Labour Party, on the lack of a coherent theoretical outlook, on the intellectual and social subservience of the leaders to the bourgeoisie. Nor does he even dispute the inevitability of civil war to overcome the bour-

geoisie. But he discovers a "practical" reason to avoid, as a British citizen, any revolutionary conclusion to these revolutionary principles to which, as a philosopher, he gives his assent.

Nothing can be done because — Britain is dependent on America. "It is impossible for us to advance at a pace which America will not tolerate." Enlarging and developing this liberating conception, he discovers that here is the true explanation of the "Pacifism" of the British Labour Movement. Unfortunately for the truth of this explanation, the "Pacifism" existed in the British Labour Movement before there was any question of a "Great War" or dependence on America.

This does not prevent Russell from coming to the conclusion (identical with the opinion of Mr. Baldwin) that Trotsky advocates revolution in Britain for "patriotic" reasons, because it would be "advantageous to Russia". "The fact is" declares Bertrand Russell "that Trotsky hates Britain and British Imperialism, not without good reason, and therefore is not to be trusted when he gives advice".

Finally, Lansbury has issued a reply which is a pitiful self-picture. He admits that the book is "theoretically sound"; but he feels personally attacked and wishes to answer back. Impelled to answer, not only on behalf of himself and his colleagues, but of the whole outraged British Nation, he sings the glory of the British national mission with simple fervour:

"Britain is the one country in the world where the opportunity of workers' control of every department of life is more possible of achievement than anywhere else."

"Our working class is learning the great art of administration — something which the Russian workers are only beginning to learn" (sic).

"The British people have the finest opportunity ever given to a nation to lead the world. I still believe we shall do it".

And so forth. But what of the struggle for power, which the British workers have still to win, and which might seem to make some difference in the relative position of the British and Russian workers? Lansbury does not entirely ignore this. But here he discovers what he proclaims as a "Bolshevik" theory — that there can be no Socialism without World Revolution; therefore the task of Socialists in every country is — to wait for the World Revolution!

Finally, on the question of Force, Lansbury is ready to maintain a) that Force settles nothing; b) that "when the workers in Britain are sufficiently united and class conscious to want the revolution, there is nobody here strong enough to deny them". After these clear conclusions on the problems of the working class in Britain, Lansbury turns to the defence of Religion.

"What earthly reason is there for Trotsky to set himself up as a kind of Pope over people's thoughts and actions in connection with religion? It is a purely personal matter, and something which neither he nor anyone else has the right to interfere with."

These quotations all reveal the expression of an old and decaying stratum which is passing away. They will never understand the thought or action of the revolution; and, confronted with such a book as Trotsky's, they will only feel personally hurt at his contempt for all their illusions and evasions. In that sense they are right in saying that Trotsky's book will convert nobody — of themselves. But among the younger British workers, who have been bred up in the conditions of the war and whose eyes and ears are eager to take in the facts, among the Labour students, among the younger trade unionists who are winning their spurs in such movements as the Minority Movement, Trotsky's book will be eagerly read, and every page will give stimulus, will give greater strength and confidence, and liberation from the enslavement to the ideas of the old decaying stratum which still holds the leadership and whose ideas are only the echo of those of the bourgeoisie. This is the greatest service for which the British working class movement can be grateful for Trotsky's book.