

English Edition

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

# - INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 6 No. 84

2nd December 1926

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

## CONTENTS

Semaoen: The Rebellion in the Dutch East Indies.  
Manifesto of the R. I. L. U. on the Revolt in Indonesia.

### Politics.

M. N. Roy: The Elections in India.  
Vasile Spiru: Italian Imperialism in the Balkans.  
V. St.: Under the Rule of Social Democracy in Lithuania.  
J. B.: Storm Signals in Iraq.  
Wilentín: The Struggles in Mexico. II.

### China.

Tang-Shin-She: The Clique of Chang-Tso-Lin and its Activity in the Yangtse Region.

### The Miners' Struggle in England.

R. Palme Dutt: The Miners Still Fighting.

### Obituary.

Leonid Borissovitch Krassin.  
J. Ganetzky: The Life and Personality of Comrade Krassin.

### The Labour Movement.

Earl Browder: The Five-Day Working Week in the United States.  
Ivo Anselmi: The Fascist Reaction against Red Molinella and the International Labour Office.

### The White Terror.

K. Leski: Capital Punishment in Poland for the Possession of Two Numbers of Communist Periodicals.

### Union of Soviet Republics.

The History of Two Villages.

---

## The Rebellion in the Dutch East Indies.

By Semaoen (East Indies).

I.

The insurrection in Indonesia is of a very serious character. Many of the insurgents are armed with rifles and revolvers. They have attempted to storm the prisons and have succeeded in temporarily occupying several telephone premises. In many places the railway lines have been torn up. The house of the Dutch Governor-General has been destroyed. Barricades have been erected; many Government officials, policemen, and soldiers have been killed.

Though numerous rebels have likewise been killed or arrested, the revolt continues to spread in the small towns of Bantam and has now also infected the central region of Java.

The official reports state that the immediate cause of the movement was the prohibition of assemblies — presumably in connection with the festivities of November 7th. As is well known, the proletariat of the Dutch East Indies regularly celebrates the 7th of November and the 1st of May throughout the country.

The real motive of the rebellion, however, lies deeper. The rich East Indian archipelago, half-way between India and China, arouses the desires of many imperialists. Therefore, the Dutch imperialists, who rule these parts, have determined to observe the so-called "open-door" policy in regard to foreign capital. But, as a natural consequence, the Dutch Government is obliged to guarantee the international capitalists the possibility of exploiting the toiling masses in the Dutch East Indies, and this the Dutch authorities have actually done.

About 30 per cent. of the population consists of workers, i. e. railwaymen, transport-workers, miners, and workers on the sugar, coffee, tea, rubber, and cocoa plantations. These workers receive wages which do not suffice to satisfy the barest minimum requirements of their families. Some 50 per cent. of the inhabitants, the peasants, groan under the weight of heavy taxes, which must be rendered either in gold or in the form of labour. The balance of the population, i. e. small merchants, the intellectuals etc., are prevented from expanding their operations, and their wish to see an emancipation of the people is in vain. The Dutch authorities have attempted with all their power to prevent the rise of a native bourgeoisie, which is, indeed, practically non-existent.

Public health and public education are almost wholly neglected by the Dutch Government. Secondary and high schools are relatively even fewer than in other eastern countries.

It is only natural that under such circumstances a violent revolutionary movement was bound to develop among the workers, the peasants, the intelligentsia, and the petty bourgeoisie. The revolutionary movement gathered round the Communist Party of the Dutch East Indies, the "red" trade unions, and the national party known as Sarekat Rayat.

Ever since their inception, the Dutch Government has attempted to suppress these organisations, and the stronger they grew, the stronger became the reaction. Since the end of the year 1925, the white terror has hindered the activity of these organisations, many thousands of whose members and leaders have

been killed, arrested, or exiled. Any movement aiming at an amnesty was answered by rifle-bullets. Every strike was suppressed, the leaders and even the strikers themselves being thrown into prison. The editors of East Indian newspapers were condemned to many years' imprisonment for any utterance in criticism of the Government.

All channels were closed, even for the expression of a demand for amelioration of the conditions of living. The demands of the masses cannot even be formulated without incurring punishment.

Having no legitimate means of holding assemblies, publishing newspapers, and forming organisations, the people were finally forced to reply to the white terror by rebellion.

That the revolt should occur just at this time, is doubtless to be attributed in no mean degree to the powerful effect produced by the recent events in China and the victories of the Canton army, which have strengthened the confidence of the Indonesian population in their own power.

## II.

The outbreak of the rebellion in western Java came as a surprise, but was not wholly unexpected. It was not unexpected, since the reaction carried on by the Government under the lead of Governor-General Fock forced the native population to resort to defensive measures.

The new Governor-General, De Graaff, who wished to initiate a policy aiming at restoring the confidence of the natives, is no longer in a position to bring about a change in the mood of the people. All elements of the population are now directing their energy towards an emancipation of the natives from Dutch dominion.

The Governor-General has declared that he will exterminate the Communists. But he is unaware of the relations between the Communists and the population. He does not know that the Fock regime, under the mark of "combatting Communism", was out to suppress all such endeavours of the natives to improve their position as would have impaired the profits of Dutch capitalists. He does not seem to know that the Sarekat Rayat, the only strong national organisation of the people, is an organisation of peasants, workers, petty bourgeois and intellectuals. The composition of this organisation determines its national character. It is by no means a Communist organisation, though it is led by Communists. This shows that the persecution of the Communists and the prohibition issued against the Sarekat Rayat, constitute a declaration of war on the most active part of the native population.

The trades unions, which strove for an improvement of the lot of what was certainly the most exploited proletariat of the world (the workers in the Dutch East Indies receive even less wages than the Chinese labourer), were prohibited on the grounds that they were led by Communists; but this does not mean that all native workers, who are members of the trades unions, are Communists.

The most characteristic feature of the Indonesian movement lies in the fact that the active part of the Dutch East Indian population is headed by the Communists, so that the Communists are also the champions of the national movement. The persecution of the Communists, therefore, means the suppression of a national tendency, a step which was bound to lead to friction involving political attacks, the throwing of bombs, and finally open revolt.

The present rebellion is being conducted by the broad masses of the peasants, workers, petty bourgeois, and intellectuals. It has altogether the character of a general rising of the population. The developments above described made it natural for the Communists to take the lead in this movement, the general popular nature of which is proved by the claims put forward by the insurgents:

"Freedom of the Press, freedom for assemblies and organisations. Amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles. A general change of the Constitution, giving the people the right to govern themselves. A general revision of taxes, modification in the taxation of the Indonesian masses. Labour legislation and labour protection. Extension and improvement of Education."

These demands, are deeply rooted in the masses, who are determined to fight for their realisation to the utmost. The Dutch Government will not accede to these demands; on the contrary, its entire military resources are being mobilised to crush the rebellion and subjugate the native population yet further.

The drastic measures taken by the Dutch Government will only entail the revolt of ever broader masses of the natives. This is the beginning of the end of Dutch imperialist dominion over 50 millions of East Indians.

The Indonesian revolution will be victorious, just as the Chinese revolution will be victorious!

## Manifesto of the R. I. L. U. on the Revolt in Indonesia.

Moscow, 25, November 1926.

To the Workers of all Countries!

The revolt in Indonesia has been called forth by the inhuman policy of the Dutch Government who have driven the native population to desperation and compelled them to defend their elementary right to existence.

In the western and central parts of the Island of Java blood is flowing in streams. Fresh thousands are being added to the hundreds and thousands of victims already fallen.

The International Proletariat cannot idly look on at this struggle which has broken out in Indonesia. The International Proletariat must actively support the workers and peasants of Indonesia who are carrying on under the most difficult circumstances a fight against Dutch imperialism which is armed to the teeth.

Workers of the whole world!

Come to the aid of the Workers and Peasants of Indonesia! Protest in meetings against the robber-like exploitation and the inhuman behaviour of Dutch imperialism!

Arrange demonstrations of protest before the embassies and consulates of the Dutch Government in your countries!

Demand an amnesty for the revolutionary East Indians who have been thrown into prison in hundreds! Place Dutch imperialism in the pillory!

Unite with the revolutionary movement for freedom of the peoples of the East!

Down with predatory Dutch imperialism!

Honour to the heroic fighters of Indonesia!

Long live the Indonesians!

Long live the united front of the revolutionary Proletariat and of the suppressed peoples of the whole world!

The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U.

## POLITICS

### Elections in India.

By M. N. Roy.

The campaign which is proceeding at the moment of writing, in connection with the third general elections to the parliamentary bodies in India, introduced by the Reforms of 1919, is the most outstanding feature of the Indian political life. During the last year the Nationalist movement has been torn asunder by a controversy on this question. No less than six parties, all calling themselves "Nationalist" are participating in the elections.

The reforms granted in 1919 established in India the Central Legislative Assembly and Legislative Councils in the nine provinces. The franchise on which the provincial legislative councils are based embrace little less than five million people, that is, 2.2% of the entire population is represented in these parliamentary bodies. The central legislative assembly is based on a still narrower franchise, the Electorate for that body being less than two million. The right of vote is determined by property qualifications which are excessively high in relation to the very low economic condition of the Indian masses. The electorate includes the land-owning class, the big bourgeoisie, a section of the upper intellectuals and a small strata of the rich peasantry.

When the reforms were first granted, they were boycotted by the nationalist movement. It was considered that the reforms

were very inadequate to meet the situation, that they did not come anywhere near the self-government promised by British imperialism during the war. Only the land-owning class and the upper strata of the bourgeoisie accepted the reforms. The first legislative assembly and councils were therefore composed entirely of the representatives of these two classes. Less than 20% of the electorate participated in the elections. Under these conditions the legislative bodies were naturally very docile and supported the British government in suppressing the nationalist movement led by Gandhi under the slogan of passive resistance.

The strength of the nationalist movement during the years following the conclusion of the war was the wide-spread revolutionary discontent of the masses. The boycott of the pseudo-parliamentary resolutions only reflected the grievances of a section of the bourgeoisie and the middle class intellectuals. Nevertheless these elements were the leaders of the entire nationalist movement which was very revolutionary owing to its mass composition. The conflict between non-revolutionary, timid, petty bourgeois leadership and the dynamic forces of the mass following, eventually led to the collapse of that big movement. The result was dissatisfaction against the programme of boycott, and, in course of time, this dissatisfaction crystallised into a definite demand for the repudiation of the boycott programme. The bourgeois and the petty bourgeois elements in the non-co-operation movement parted company with the revolutionary masses and decided to enter the Legislative Councils, ostensibly with the object of opposing the British autocracy through that channel.

The Nationalist movement was split on the issue of entering the Legislative Councils. The section that advocated participation in the ensuing elections with the purpose of capturing the Legislative bodies, at the end of 1922 constituted themselves into the Swaraj Party. A year later, the second elections took place. The Swaraj Party contested the elections but failed to get a majority in the Central Legislative Assembly. Of all the nine provincial councils, only in one was a clear Swarajist majority returned. In another province the Swarajist Party became the single largest party and with the support of other radical nationalist elements formed an opposition bloc.

The Swaraj Party entered the Legislative Councils with a programme of blocking the administrative machinery by constant and consistent opposition. It pledged itself not to accept ministerial office. During the life time (three years) of the Second Legislative, the policy of obstruction was gradually abandoned, just as previously the policy of boycott had also been abandoned. Towards the end of the term the Swaraj Party was rent by the controversy over the acceptance of office. A very strong right wing had developed inside the Party which declared that the policy of obstruction had proved impracticable and that the logical consequence of entering the Councils was to accept the responsibility of government.

In the central government the question of accepting office does not arise because all the members of the government are appointed by the Viceroy. The reform has introduced a peculiar system of government in the provinces. The government is divided into two parts — one appointed by the Governor and acting independently of the Legislative Council; the other, also appointed by the Governor but subordinated to the Council to the extent that their salary is to be voted by the Council. The second part of the government is responsible for the local self-government, sanitation, education and agriculture — the so-called "nation building departments". Now the controversy is whether the nationalists should accept the responsibility for administering these nation building departments.

The experience of the last three years has proven that even with a nationalist majority the Legislative Councils do not possess the power to shake the position of imperialism. Real state power is beyond the control of these legislative councils. The purpose with which these Legislative bodies have been set up is to draw the upper classes of the Indian population closer to imperialism. The economic concessions made to the Indian bourgeoisie since the war has effectively reconciled the contradiction between imperialism and native capitalism. This being the case the legislative bodies representing the Indian land-owning and capitalist classes cannot be the organ of nationalist opposition; they are bound to be the medium through which a compromise between bourgeois nationalism and imperialist domination will be realised.

When the Swaraj Party decided to enter the Legislative Councils and staked its future on the success of parliamentary

victory, it bound itself entirely to the dictates of the narrow and unfranchised minority, that is, the land-owning and capitalist classes. Now the land-owning and capitalist classes find it convenient to come to an agreement with British imperialism in order to have a period of political peace conducive to the development of trade and industry. Any party seeking the vote of the land-owning and capitalist classes must act according to the demands of these classes. The Swaraj Party is disintegrated owing to the contradiction between the necessity to have the support of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, and the desire to have a broad nationalist following by means of radical phraseology and opposition to the British bureaucracy.

As a matter of fact, on principle, even the Swaraj Party has agreed to accept office and work the reforms which were rejected as totally inadequate only six years ago. But the big bourgeoisie, without whose support no party can have a majority in the parliamentary bodies demand a clear statement of programme. They demand that the task of the nationalist politics should be to come to a speedy agreement with imperialism. A large section of the Swaraj Party has accepted this order of the bourgeoisie. They have declared unconditionally in favour of accepting the office. Of the six parties participating in the elections five are united into a bourgeois bloc against the Swaraj Party which still formally maintains its position — not to accept office.

But it is a foregone conclusion that under the present franchise it is not at all likely for the Swaraj Party to secure an independent majority.

The leaders of the Swaraj Party have often stated that the policy of the Party will have to be changed after the results of the election are known. That is, if the Swaraj Party loses in the election, as it is almost sure to, it will change its policy according to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

But the social basis of the Swaraj Party is the middle class intellectuals and the urban petty-bourgeoisie. These are largely unfranchised. Side by side with the development of the consciously bourgeois right wing there has been a marked revolutionary left wing crystallisation among the rank and file. A defeat in the elections will strengthen the position of the Left wing which has been protesting against the parliamentary degeneration of the Party.

The Swaraj Party is formally a part of the National Congress. In fact, the loose organisation of the National Congress has, during the last two years, been used by the Swaraj Party as its election machine. The incongruity of the situation is obvious. An organisation mainly of unfranchised masses is being used as an instrument of the bourgeoisie. This situation cannot continue for ever. The annual session of the National Congress will be held at the end of December, that is, immediately after the results of the election are known. The Swaraj Party will have to appear before the National Congress and have the change of its policy approved. It is sure to meet with great difficulties. As soon as the bourgeois leaders of the Swaraj Party will appear before the National Congress with a resolution approving acceptance of office, the mask will be pulled down. The contradiction between the interests of the bourgeoisie and those of the masses including the middle class will stand out in all its nakedness. This will open the eyes of the left wing who till now are not quite free from the influence of bourgeois nationalism.

Of course, it will be premature to state that the coming session of the Indian National Congress will mark a turning point in the history of this nationalist struggle. But what is indisputable is that the process of class differentiation inside the nationalist ranks had advanced so far that it is no longer possible for the bourgeois leaders to dominate the entire nationalist movement. The revolutionary left wing may not be able to capture the leadership of the movement this year but it will certainly shake the position of the bourgeois leaders.

The growing activity of the proletariat and a renewed wave of peasant revolt objectively strengthens the position of the revolutionary wing of the nationalist movement. The petty bourgeois radical element inside the nationalist movement will not be able to overthrow successfully the compromising bourgeois leadership until they come into closer contact with the proletariat and the peasantry. The work for the formation of this united fighting front is going on in spite of all difficulties. The political organisation of the working class is advancing satisfactorily. It is on this organisation that the task of uniting the petty-bourgeois revolutionary nationalists with the workers and peasants masses into a fighting united front devolves.

## Italian Imperialism in the Balkans.

By Vasile Spiru (Kishinev).

The friendly alliance between Roumania and Italy which was recently concluded, has now been followed by a visit to Roumania of an Italian military mission headed by the Duke of Spoleto, the son of the King of Italy and Marshall Badoglio, the Chief of the Italian General Staff. The feature which rises most prominently out of the turmoil of the pompous reception, is a conference with the Roumanian General Staff about "questions of military technique" and a speech made by Marshall Badoglio in Kishinev, in which he said: "Brothers, if you should be in danger, Marshall Badoglio will come to your assistance!" This obvious threat against the Soviet Union, made in a town on the borders of Bessarabia, can only be interpreted as meaning that Italy is prepared to risk throwing away the relations it has hitherto had with the Soviet Union for the sake of friendship with Roumania.

Roumania is just going through the metamorphosis from a vassal of imperialist France into a vassal of imperialist Great Britain. The intermediate station is Fascist Italy. This is the significance of the most recent events in foreign policy and particularly of the Italo-Roumanian alliance. Even the most recent Roumanian speech from the throne confirms this regrouping, in that it lays down the Anglo-Italian lines on which Roumanian foreign policy should be run.

On the part of Roumania, the suddenly awakened love of the Duce of Bucharest (General Avarescu was created a "Duce" a few days ago by the King of Italy) for the Duce of Rome, can be reduced to the short formula: credits, war supplies and guarantee for Bessarabia; when, however, Italy stammers words of love to the Latin sister, the true meaning is: the supplanting of the French rival, the opening up of the South-Eastern market, concessions for and supply of Roumanian petroleum and Roumanian wood and at least, support in the rear in the case of an aggressive attack on Turkey or even Jugoslavia (Dalmatia). As a matter of fact, Italy has not yet completely made up her mind to take official action against the Soviet Union, which is evidenced above all by her official attitude in the Bessarabian question.

Roumania's friendship is for Italy only one mesh in the net which she is drawing over the Balkan peninsula, especially since Great Britain gave her a free hand (meeting between Mussolini and Chamberlain).

Whereas France no longer has the economic significance for the Balkans which it had at the end of the war, Italy is nowadays a wholesale exporter of cotton goods (in 1925 Italy appeared on the world market with more than 70,000 tons of cotton goods); her electrical industry has increased three or fourfold since the beginning of the war; her machine industry, her docks and munition factories, the production of which is steadily increasing, are seeking new markets and she is relying at present on developing these in the Balkans. Albania has long been an Italian colony, Bulgaria, following the sociological necessity of the regime of blood within its own borders, has also come under the spell of Fascist Italy, Greece is cherishing a lust for revenge on Turkey which it hopes to be able to carry out in Asia Minor side by side with Italy; it is now Roumania's turn.

Only four out of the almost two hundred foreign companies which dominate the Roumanian petroleum field, are Italian — and those with hardly any capital worth mentioning — but a change is now to be made. Italy not only wants to have extensive concessions but also considerable supplies of petroleum so that she may develop a petroleum industry on a large scale by building refineries on her own territory. Thus, through the medium of Italy, Anglo-American capital is to have the effect of colonial capital in Roumania, as French capital has done hitherto.

The negotiations which are at present going on in London with regard to a loan to the towns to the amount of 10 million dollars and a national loan of 30 milliards sterling are to bring about partial "elimination" of Roumania's financial and economic needs and possibly reconstruction à la Austria. The fervent endeavours of the Roumanian oligarchy to obtain foreign loans is shown by the negotiations with German capitalists which have just begun with regard to a loan of five hundred million gold marks in return for the renunciation of a number of reparation demands on the part of Roumania.

In this way France is losing more and more of its predominant position in Roumania and indeed throughout the Balkans.

The Little Entente under the aegis of France, which anyhow has only a chimerical existence is now to be finally shattered. Roumania is not only to enter the anti-Turkish Block but also to support the Italian plans against Jugoslavia (in so far as Great Britain permits). It is to come to a reconciliation with Hungary which is casting sheep's eyes at Transylvania, so as, if necessary, to have an effective support in the rear against the Soviet Union, and to suggest to Hungary an outlet to the sea via Fiume instead of via Spalato, as long as the latter still belongs to Jugoslavia.

All these changes have not yet assumed solid form, but they are clearly visible in their outlines. It is no mere coincidence that Great Britain has had her handy-man Italy, who is striving for equality of rank, form a block of countries, the internal regime of which can be more or less reduced to the common denominator "White Terror". Fascist Italy is constructing wild plans for war into which it is drawing as accomplices countries, the population of which is forcibly prevented from making any movements towards freedom. These countries seem to her and to her lord and master Britain, to offer the best guarantee that the Balkan oligarchs will meet with no internal resistance in carrying out their disastrous plans of foreign policy, especially against the Soviet Union.

This advance of Fascist imperialism on the Balkans will, in the natural course of things considerably aggravate the situation in all the Balkan countries and strengthen the regime of White Terror which holds sway in them. In this way the imperialist Fascism of Italy, arm in arm with the Roumanian dictatorship, with the Bulgarian Government of murderers and the Greek rulers who are thirsting for revenge, is conjuring up immeasurable dangers not only for the proletariat of the Balkans but for the international proletariat. Constantly ruminating on belligerent adventures, it is threatening the Soviet Union and compels the workers of all countries to be constantly on the watch. A relentless fight against Fascism, a systematic campaign against the terrorist governments in the Balkans is consequently the task of the moment, not only for the proletariat of the Balkans but also for working people throughout the world.

## Under the Rule of Social Democracy in Lithuania.

By V. St. (Kovno).

Under the rule of the Christian Democratic Clerical Block it had become the custom in Lithuania to dissolve whole federations of trade unions and to arrest and torture the most active workers, keeping them for years in prison "awaiting trial". At the elections for the Lithuanian Seim (the Parliament of Lithuania) which took place in May 1926, this Black Block suffered a defeat and was obliged to give place to a government of social democrats and "People's Party". The People's Party is a peasant party; small peasants also belong to it, but it is led by the urban bourgeoisie and represents the interests of that bourgeoisie and of the middle and large peasants. It used to bear the name "Socialist National Democratic Party" and belonged to the 2nd International.

Under the pressure of the working masses, this Government had to release the proletarian political prisoners and even to put under lock and key some of the officials of the Szvalgyba (the political police) who, at the time of the clerical rule, had tortured the workers by means of the electric current. Racys however, the former chief of the Szvalgyba and the inventor of this civilised method of torture, was not put under arrest. He fled to Germany and is said to be still spinning his black threads from Eydkunen. He was undoubtedly aided in his "flight" by the fact that the Minister for the Interior, the Social Democrat Vlades Pozzela, instead of immediately arresting this executioner, as was demanded by the broadest masses, including the social democratic workers, removed him, it is true, from the post of Chief of the Political Police but made him Police Inspector in the Ministry for the Interior.

These and similar measures were the first signs that the new Government did not intend to aim an effective blow at the Christian Social Democratic reaction. On the contrary, instead of thoroughly cleansing the apparatus of State, instead of proceeding against the Fascist organisations which are publicly working towards a reactionary revolution, this Government also began to persecute the Left workers.

The prohibition of the Communist party of Lithuania has continued in force. Any action in favour of the Communist party is punished by the Government of social democrats and nationalists on the basis of the ill-famed Czarist paragraphs 126, 129 and 132. The Szwalgiba, the complete dissolution of which was promised by the social democratic party at the elections, still continues to exist, and those who were liberated in accordance with the amnesty, are dogged in their every step by informers. The workers of Kovno, the capital, tried to found a "Labour Party of Lithuania", but even this was forbidden. Added to this, labour papers with Left tendencies are constantly being prohibited and in recent times numerous Left workers have been arrested for speeches at meetings etc.

It is perfectly clear that in this way the new Government is only playing into the hands of Fascist reaction. The history of Bulgaria is repeating itself in Lithuania, and it is by no means unlikely that the Fascists are preparing a fate similar to that of Stambuliski for some of the present rulers. With tremendous clamour about "The Red Danger", the "Kerenski Epoch" and the approaching "October" in Lithuania, the reactionaries are forming armed groups of Fascists under the cover of "volunteers who served at the front" (by which is meant those who voluntarily joined the army when the Lithuanian State was founded). The "Rytas", which voices the reactionaries, has publicly admitted that these "volunteer bands" are expected not only to protect the economic interests of the volunteers but also the Lithuanian nation against the danger of the rising trade union movement.

During the last elections for the Seim, the Fascists declared in their "illegal" pamphlets which, by-the-by were distributed openly, that in case the socialists won the election, they would cover them with blood. To-day they appear quite publicly. Nowadays they publicly own a paper "Tautos Valia" ("The Will of the Nation"), in which Glowatzkis, a retired general, dreams of a Napoleonic campaign, and another compares the fate of the Christian democrats with the fate of the Czar. In No. 2 of their paper they publicly declare that they are not afraid of the powers of the present Government.

And what is the new Government doing?

The persecution of the workers during strikes continues. During the last strike of the match-workers in Kovno, several women workers were cruelly beaten by the police and the trade union secretary — a social democratic worker called Volkovitch — was driven through the streets in chains by the police. The thrashing of the match-workers on strike was repeated in Janovo. In the "Victoria" macaroni factory in Kovno during the last strike, the strike-breakers were conducted to the factory and, when their work was finished, from the factory to their homes, by the social democratic police. We could continue indefinitely with the enumeration of these sad facts. And this is taking place under the rule of Poszela, one of the leaders of the social democratic party of Lithuania which is affiliated to the 2nd International!

All this however falls into the background as compared with occurrences in Poneviesz. By order of the Governor of the town and district of Poneviesz, the local groups of six trade union associations in Poneviesz were dissolved at the end of October 1926.

In Lithuania, the leaders of the S. P. of Lithuania are trying in every way to cause a split in the trade union movement. Social democratic workers, who stand up for the unity of the trade union movement, are excluded from the social democratic party without more ado. At the meeting of the Central Council of the S. P. of Lithuania, held on October 17th, a resolution with regard to the trade union question was passed in which, among other things, it was said that "the party must mobilise all its forces..." in order to, among other things "free the trade unions from those who lead them to the Profintern". ("Social-democrat" No. 42 of October 21, 1926). And this, in spite of the fact that the Left workers in Lithuania are not in favour of a direct affiliation to the Red International of Labour but aim at a union of all the trade unions of Lithuania and the amalgamation of the two Trade Union Internationals into a uniform, anti-capitalistic Trade Union International.

The overwhelming majority of the workers of Lithuania who are organised in trade unions are unanimously in favour of the unity of the trade union movement. In order to amalgamate all the trade union organisations, the trade unions of Kovno, at their conference on September 11th 1926 elected a unity committee. This committee was, however, forbidden to take action by an order of the Governor of the town and district of Kovno.

The "Liotuvos Zinios", the Kovno daily paper of the Nationalist party, which, in coalition with the Social Democratic party, forms the present government of Lithuania, in its number 260, issued on November 11, 1926, publishes the following notice:

"Arrests. On November 11th, a house searching was made in the house of the student Georg Domashevitchus and the latter was arrested with the consent of the public prosecutor of Poneviesz. G. Domashevitchus is accused of activities in favour of the communists. He will be taken to Poneviesz and handed over to the local public prosecutor."

Domashevitchus who was arrested, was for a long time the secretary of the trade union federation of the workers in the tailoring, underclothing and cap industries, and has always stood up for the unity of the trade union movement.

This arrest, the prohibition of the unity committee in Kovno and the dissolution of the trade unions in Poneviesz, all of which, by the bye, took their stand on the unity of the trade union movement, are the first steps towards the realisation of the resolution of the Social Democratic party mentioned above, a stab in the back of the working class, just at a time when the employers are continuing their attack on the workers with the utmost vigour. The workers of Lithuania will only be able to protect themselves against this attack of the employers and against the deploy of Fascist reaction if they advance in a united proletarian front with closed ranks.

## Storm-Signals in Iraq.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

At the assembly of the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations, Sir Henry Dobbs, British High Commissioner in Iraq, reported on the success of British administration in that country, a region which was but recently the centre of European attention in connection with the Mosul problem. The Mandate Commission of the League of Nations congratulated the British High Commissioner on his success and emphasised, as a particular achievement the "model tranquility and order" which Great Britain has managed to restore in the Kingdom of Iraq.

Regarded in the light of actual facts, however, things by no means look so rosy in Iraq, as the representatives of Great Britain and the British Press would gladly make out. In the first place, the "tranquility and order" is merely relative and is supported by periodical expeditions of the Royal Air Force to various villages and districts, where the population is generally brought very energetically "to its senses". It was only last month again that the destruction of an entire tribe of Bedouins on the south-west frontier of Iraq was reported, in which connection special mention was made of the brilliant exploits of the aeroplanes, which pursued the Bedouins far into the desert. This successful expedition, moreover, served the purpose of embodying the hitherto autonomous district of Koweit (on the Persian Gulf) in the mandated territory, "so as to protect it against predatory invasions", a step which may lead to serious conflicts between Great Britain and the King of Arabia, Ibn Saoud.

Now the internal situation in Iraq has experienced a considerable aggravation, the pressure of taxation having been increased so greatly as to be unsupportable. An elaborate and parasitic court, attaching importance to Oriental pomp and splendour, absorbs a great part of the taxes of a country, which is as extensive as it is undeveloped, despite its considerable natural resources. At the same time, the people of Iraq have to support a double administrative apparatus, for to every Minister and every Government Department one or more English "advisers" are attached. The affairs of State are nominally conducted by the natives, but, as a matter of fact, the power lies in the hands of the English, who are, moreover, paid abundantly for the work they do out of the pockets of the peasants and the city population.

Although the pressure of taxation has weighed heavily on the land for some time, it has been found impossible to balance the budget of the State. The head of the Government, El-Saadoun, therefore sought new sources of revenue and submitted to the session of the Iraq Parliament, recently opened, the draft of a law providing for the introduction of a new income-tax, and another demanding the institution of general military service. Since the latter law is to be on similar lines to the corresponding Turkish enactment, which permits of exemption from military service against payment, it practically also purposed a squeezing of the population.

These attempts on the part of the El-Saadoun Ministry, which is based on the anglophile and loyal "progressive" party

known as "El Takaddam", met with violent opposition even within the ranks of this party itself. The "bourgeois" elements in this party, which are not radically nationalist in their sentiments, but yet, in contradistinction to the King — completely subservient to British gold — and the court clique surrounding him, are loth to see the surrender of the natural wealth of the country to foreign capital, rebelled against El-Saadoun. One of the younger party leaders, by name Rashid el Djilani, who at one time had been most vehement in his opposition to the lease of the petroleum concessions to the "Turkish Petroleum Co." (British capital), headed a group of deputies against El-Saadoun. Seeing that the Parliamentary Opposition, the so-called "People's Party", which is altogether opposed to the British mandate, naturally seized the opportunity with enthusiasm for the purpose of dealing the Government a blow, Saadoun found himself in the minority and had to retire.

His first intention was to solve the crisis following on his retirement by simply dissolving Parliament and suggesting the formation of a Government based entirely on the King and on the British.

There is, however, too great a tension among the population at the present moment for any such solution to be unaccompanied by the most serious consequences, possibly even by an open revolt. A temporary solution was therefore found by the recall of El-Askara, the Iraq's representative in London, who was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry as being, allegedly, "a personality above party politics".

It would, meanwhile, be a mistake to imagine that the crisis has thereby been allayed. The opposition against the British regime is on the increase, and that not only as a result of the wasteful administration of public affairs, which is so serious in its effect on the population. A number of other factors are likewise at fault. In the first place, the anti-British movement among the inhabitants of the Mosul region has never ceased in spite of any agreements. The Kurds, whom the British so willingly and so frequently "protected" during the Mosul crisis, are now disappointed in their hopes of a Kurd autonomy. The measures adopted by Riza Khan in the adjacent country, Persia, where the fossilised formalities of an Oriental despotism have been abolished, provoke emulation, especially among the very numerous Shiites resident in Mesopotamia (a Mohammedan sect, which, in contradistinction to the Sunnites predominating in the Arabian countries, possesses great influence in Persia). Much propaganda is being made for the Syrian rebellion, and quite recently a delegation of the rebels had to be accorded official permission to enter the country, the Government acting under the pressure of the nationalists and in the face of protests on the part of France.

It is with feelings of indignation that the inhabitants of Iraq see the British settling down in their country, where great numbers of peasants are turned into plantation slaves by British cotton companies and the wealth of the country is exploited by the foreigners.

A proof of the growing embitterment in the "tranquil and orderly" land is afforded by the verdict recently passed by the Bagdad tribunal on a Bedouin who was accused of having shot a British pilot accompanying the well-known English airman Sir Alan-Cobham. The British authorities and officials categorically demanded capital punishment, but the court condemned the prisoner to no more than 5 years' penal servitude.

Economic difficulties, political crises, disturbances in the border regions, agitation in the towns, embitterment among the peasantry and the Bedouins — all this points to the approach of serious complications in Iraq, liable substantially to impair British rule in that country.

## The Struggles in Mexico.

By Wilenkin.

(Conclusion.)

The growth of capitalism in Mexico has engendered a revolutionarily inclined proletariat, which, however, is unfortunately to the greater part under the influence of the reformist leaders. The proletariat is backed by the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie, who are protesting against the yoke of the agrarians and foreign capitalists. By this revolutionary attitude, the working masses have, indeed, forced the Government to comply with their demands up to a certain degree.

When the question arose, however, of dividing up the large territories among the rural municipalities and the problem was broached of a nationalisation of all the mineral wealth of the country, the American Imperialists began to get uneasy. The indignation of the crude-oil and financial magnates of the United States, moreover, became particularly apparent when the workers and peasants demanded the nationalisation of the mineral wealth and at the same time the liberation of Mexico from the economic domination of foreign capital.

The Rockefellers and Morgans now ceased playing with fire, i. e. with the revolutionary movement, and entered into close relations with all reactionary elements, from the adherents of Diaz to the supporters of the Catholic Church.

The Church has now become the centre of Mexican reaction. It is in the name of the Church that Mexican workers have been induced to take part in political conspiracies against various political parties and revolutionary national Governments. Both openly and secretly, the Catholic Church supports counter-revolutionary organisations. It enters, as it has at all times been wont to do, into close relations with foreign capitalists and is willing to betray the cause of the working masses of Mexico. The Catholic Church is actuated in its criminal activity by the consideration that the national-revolutionary constitution accepted in 1917 and in force in Mexico at the present time, threatens the interests of the Church just as much as it does those of foreign capitalists.

The present President of Mexico, Senor Calles, is undoubtedly the representative of Mexican nationalism, which by virtue of the constitution of 1917 preserves the interests of the petty bourgeoisie. In preserving these interests he sometimes goes so far as to refrain from putting into form the legal measures provided by the constitution for the protection of the working class. In his fear of relying on the proletariat and the peasantry, Calles, inspired by the spirit of the petty bourgeoisie, has very often shown a lack of determination in opposing the importunate demands of the American Imperialists. Nevertheless, Calles is the first of Mexican Presidents to afford protection to and to strive to realise the national-revolutionary programme which aims at developing the national economy independent of foreign capital.

Former Presidents, such as Obregon, did not dare to wage war on the Catholic Church and the Imperialists. Calles did not waver in carrying out all the legislative measures contained in the constitution of 1917, which is more radical than that of 1857. According to the constitution of 1917, religious instruction is forbidden not only in the public, but also in the private, elementary schools. The clergy may take no part in politics; foreign clergymen have no right to hold any clerical office. The rights of the clergy have been altogether limited in many respects. In certain recent decrees, Calles has forbidden the clerical newspapers to discuss politics or criticise the policy of the Government.

It must be borne in mind that these measures are directed not only against the Catholic Church but against all enemies of the Mexican Government, since the Church works hand in glove with the reactionary factors inside and outside the country. The Government was obliged to banish from Mexico two Papal delegates, one of whom had given the frontier authorities false information as to his destination when entering the country. Both these men had come to Mexico for the purpose of developing counter-revolutionary activity. The Imperialists of the United States are taking advantage of the fight between the Government and the Catholic Church with a view to weakening the power of the former and bring pressure to bear upon it. It is thus obvious to what ends the Eucharistic Congress was convened to Chicago just after the two aforesaid clerics had been banished from Mexico; at that Congress the triple alliance between United States imperialism, the Pope, and Mexican reaction became fully apparent.

Calles has taken up the fight against the imperialism of the United States and the Catholic landed proprietors of Mexico. There is no turning back for him now; he will be obliged to continue the struggle. Should he not succeed in destroying the power of the Catholic Church, all national-revolutionary achievements are doomed. Naturally the Mexican Government requires the aid of the working masses in this struggle.

If Calles were to give up his attempts to destroy the railwaymen's union and his persecution of the Communists and not to rely solely on the petty bourgeoisie in his activity, a united front could be formed by the organised working class together with such other elements as are interested in the maintenance of national independence, against the imperialism of the United

States and for the conservation of all achievements gained in the course of a prolonged struggle.

The workers organised in the Labour Federation of Mexico (CROM.) support the Mexican Government in its fight against the reactionary Catholic Church. The General Worker's Federation, an anarchist organisation, is also engaged in the struggle against the Church. The Communist Party of Mexico, notwithstanding its persecution by the Mexican Government, is of course ready to support the latter in its fight against the Catholic Church, the landed aristocracy, and the imperialism of the United States. The Mexican peasants are coming to the aid of the workers, for they have a great deal at the hands of the Catholic Church in its character of a great landed proprietor.

We thus see that the fight against the Catholic Church is based on economic class differences and not on religious factors. No church can succeed in hiding its true aspect under a mask of religion, so long as it acts as an exploiter of human labour, as a landed proprietor, and as an aider and abettor of foreign capitalists in their efforts to oppress the working masses.

The struggle against the Catholic Church in Mexico is a struggle of the broad masses of workers against Catholic and imperialistic oppression. The workers of Mexico are forced to make common cause with the national-revolutionary Government of the country, though the latter has not always protected the workers' interests in the past and though Calles primarily represents the interests of the petty bourgeoisie.

The American Federation of Labour, which is founded on the principle of co-operation between capital and labour, always sides with the capitalists. At the present moment, it is afraid of opposing the Mexican workers, since many workers in the United States sympathise with the broad mass of workers in Mexico. The American Federation of Labour, moreover, is organically connected with the Labour Federation of Mexico by the Pan-American Federation of Labour. For this reason, Green, who is President of the American Federation of Labour, refrains from dealing with the matter at all in his central organ, the "Federationist". In the capitalist press, Green defends the American magnates and, under the influence of his bureaucratic and Catholic colleagues, even protests against "religious persecutions".

It is now up to the left wing of the American Labour Movement to declare war on these tactics of the leaders of the American Federation of Labour, which support the imperialists of the United States against the interests of both the Mexican and the American proletariat. It is they who must appeal direct to the working masses, summoning the American working class to the fight against the colonial policy of the United States bourgeoisie, as pursued in Mexico and other Latin American countries.

## CHINA

### The Clique of Chang Tso Lin and its Activity in the Yangtse Region.

By Tang Shin She.

Under the slogan of "war on the Reds", the counter-revolutionary generals are speculating against one another. When, last spring, the Kuo Min army evacuated Peking, Chang-Tso-Lin and Wu-Pei-Fu quarreled for the political preponderance in the capital. After the taking of Hankow by the Canton troops, Chang-Tso-Lin and Chang-Tsung-Chang suddenly offered the Generals Wu-Pei-Fu and Sun-Chuan-Fang their help against the Reds. What cordial intentions underlay this offer is shown by the fact that Wu-Pei-Fu preferred to abandon southern Chili without more ado to his "good friends", so as to prevent them from occupying the rest of his territory as well. Sun-Chuan-Fang, meanwhile, came to an agreement with his "ally" Chang-Tsung-Chang to the effect that they would refrain from attacking one another. Both Wu-Pei-Fu and Sun-Chuan-Fang were thus clever enough to recognise the intentions of the northern military commanders-in-chief.

Now that Sun-Chuan-Fang has suffered the serious defeat at Kiukiang in Kiangsi and has been forced to recognise that the whole population, from the working class to the bourgeoisie, may also that the troops in the other provinces under his command were opposed to him, he had a conference with Chang-Tso-Lin and Chang-Tsung-Chang and was forced to accept their

aid. This step is tantamount to a cession of his territory to Chang-Tsung-Chang. Meanwhile he is making a temporary indisposition a pretext for not returning to Nanking, preferring to remain at Tientsin. The population of Kiangsi and Nganhu and the vacillating military rulers there will therefore once more, as was the case last year, experience the brutality of the troops of Chang-Tsung-Chang.

The question next arises, whether it will be possible for the northern troops to penetrate unhindered along the Tientsin-Pukow railway line as far as Shanghai. The peasants and workers naturally feel anything but well-disposed towards this army of robbers and Russian white-guards. The middle classes, small merchants, and progressive bourgeoisie know on the authority of similar classes at Peking, Tientsin, and Shantung how the leaders of these troops are ready to exact taxes and contributions to the utmost, and they will therefore wage still more determined war against them than hitherto against Sun-Chuan-Fang. The smaller military commanders in the lower Yangtse region desire to conduct the affairs of their provinces independently, for which reason they co-operated with Sun-Chuan-Fang last year in driving out the Mukden troops, but this year elected to oppose him. They will naturally fight tooth and nail against the farther advance of foreign troops. The troops of Chang-Tsung-Chang are thus surrounded by enemies and will encounter the most serious resistance. Both the population and the Generals of the lower Yangtse region, moreover, are inclined to hold together and are, furthermore, in contact with the revolutionary troops.

The Tientsin conference determined not only on aid for Sun-Chuan-Fang, but also on a relief action in favour of Wu-Pei-Fu. Djy Yi Pu, Lieutenant-General of Chang-Tsung-Chang, is to march into Honan from southern Chili. Wu-Pei-Fu can naturally do nothing to prevent this, though much will depend on how his so-called adherents take this new move. In Honan there are at present some 100,000 soldiers, the half of whom are already directly connected with the Kuomin armies and the Kuomintang. The other half is 'vascillating', and it is in view of this attitude that Wu-Pei-Fu recently retired. These troops are in any case extremely hostile to Chang-Tsung-Chang, for already at the time when the Kuomin armies held the Nankow pass, they were anxious to separate from the Mukden troops.

Within the Chang-Tso-Lin clique, again, there is a serious crisis. Chang-Tsung-Chang has, ever since he has been Governor of Shantung, striven to pursue a policy independent of Chang-Tso-Lin and is attempting to form a separate Shantung party. He has long been aware that Chang-Tso-Niang, the son of Chang-Tso-Lin, would greatly like to be Governor of Chili, which position he has, meanwhile, managed to secure for one of his own adherents by cunning and intimidation. Of late the struggle for the Governorship of Chili has grown more and more acute. The Imperialists have long recommended Chang-Tso-Lin to form a government at Peking. At first Chang-Tso-Lin and Wu-Pei-Fu could not come to terms in this regard; for quite a time, however, the quarrel in respect of this post has been between Chang-Tso-Lin and Chang-Tsung-Chang. Nor was the question solved at the recent military conference.

Finally, the crisis within the Chang-Tso-Lin clique is aggravated by the plans of the Imperialists by whom these circles are supported. Japan desires the retreat of Chang-Tso-Lin to Manchuria, while Great Britain would prefer to see Chang-Tso-Lin and Chang-Tsung-Chang advance towards the South. The Japanese, moreover, are attempting to make use of the Anfuists to effect a rapprochement between Chang-Tso-Lin and the Kuomintang. Dragged hither and thither by the two Imperialist parties and divided by the contrary desires of the two main leaders, the Mukden clique will soon be faced by an outbreak of an open conflict.

An advance to the South is mainly desired by Chang-Tsung-Chang, in whose own province of Shantung they have been serious peasant revolts against his authority. Many categories of militant peasant organisations quite instinctively turned against him, the taxes he had imposed upon them being unbearable. Before Chang-Tsung-Chang became Governor, the annual tax revenue of the Shantung province was 15,000,000 dollars; he exacts no less than 50,000,000 dollars. For his advance towards the South, he now requires another 16,000,000 dollars, which must be raised by the Shantung population in the short space of time between the beginning of October and the end of December. The result of such exploitation is proved by this year's census, which, for the provinces of Shantung and Chili together,

shows a falling off of three millions in the number of inhabitants as compared with last year. The new impositions occasioned by constant new wars are too much for the population of Shantung to bear, with the result that a new situation will soon develop in that province.

## THE MINERS' STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

### The Miners Still Fighting.

By R. Palme Dutt.

London, 23. November 1926.

The situation of the miners' fight is without parallel. By the most overwhelming majority since the beginning of the dispute, the miners, in the twenty ninth week of the struggle, have declared for No Surrender. On the very morrow of this vote the miners' own National Delegate Conference, representing the official apparatus throughout the country, has given instructions for immediate district negotiations and settlements, involving in practice lower wages and longer hours, under the thin cover of review by a National Conference before final ratification. This National Conference meets on November 25 to receive the results of the districts negotiations now in progress and sanction ratification or otherwise. Every sign indicates that, even in face of this unheard of betrayal, the miners' fight goes forward.

The miners' vote rejecting the Government terms — in the face of the recommendation for acceptance from the National Delegate Conference and from nearly all the local officials — is the most powerful and overwhelming demonstration yet given since the beginning of the stoppage of the fighting will of the miners themselves. Throughout the stoppage there have been three votes of the miners. The first was on the Bishops' Proposals in the beginning of August. They were rejected by 367,000 to 333,000. The second was on the October 7 Conference decisions to intensify the fight by the withdrawal of the safety men, the campaign for the embargo and levy etc. This policy was endorsed by 460,150 to 284,336; but nothing effective was done to attempt to carry it out. The third vote, on the Government terms in November, has resulted in rejection by 460,804 to 313,200 according to the official figures; but the minority for acceptance is an unreal figure, since there has been added to the actual votes for acceptance the whole number of the miners returned to work in the Midlands. Thus it will be seen that the militant vote has actually increased every time, in the face of increasing hardship, betrayal, persecution and official weakness, and has actually reached its highest level in the most desperate moment of the seventh month of the struggle and in the face of the open panic of even the Delegate Conference.

This determination of the miners is even more visible when the districts are separately regarded. With the single exception of Yorkshire (where there was a very small majority for acceptance) the districts for acceptance were the smaller districts with weaker organisation. But all the big exporting districts, the basis of the industry, showed heavy majorities against: Scotland 5 to 1 against, Northumberland 4 to 1, South Wales 3 to 1, Durham 2 to 1, Lancashire 2 to 1: these five districts comprise 700,000 miners or two thirds of the industry.

In the face of this overwhelming vote of the miners, the Delegate Conference on November 19 which received the result, after long and furious discussion (involving violent and venomous attack against the Communist Party and Minority Movement as responsible for the result overthrowing the Delegate Conference's own recommendation) rejected by 622,000 to 84,000 a motion to accept the result and carry forward the fight, and passed by 502,000 to 286,000 a resolution instructing the districts to begin negotiations for district settlements along guiding lines to be laid down nationally by the Conference, and to be reviewed by a further National Conference before final ratification.

On the following day six guiding principles were laid down: these included the maintenance of the proportion of wages to profits at 87 to 13 (as in the 1921 agreement), protection of the pre-stoppage minimum for the lowest paid workers, agreements to be terminable at one month's notice, and reinstatement as in the 1921 agreement. It is to be noted that no mention is made of

hours, thus implying acceptance of longer hours as well as lower wages.

Thus the supreme stage has been reached of the division between the miners, representing the working class, and the whole reformist apparatus of the working class movement in Britain. First, the betrayal by the General Council and the Amsterdam International, and the deliberate sabotage of all working class help; second, the weakening, confusions, secret pacts and surrenders by the miners' own leaders; third, the panic and betrayal by their own Delegate Conference. The National Delegate Conference, be it noted, is not elected by the miners' lodges, except from South Wales, but is appointed by the District Executives; and the District Executives and local officials have mainly carried on propaganda in favour of acceptance of the surrender terms. Indeed, even in the District Delegate Conference of such a district as South Wales, a considerable number of delegates were found to be declaring that they were personally in favour of acceptance, but were bound by the decisions of their lodges to vote for rejection.

So completely is it necessary to go right past even the local apparatus to the rank and file themselves to reach the heart of the present struggle, which, as repeated votes and other evidence have now shown, is voiced only by the Communist Party and the Minority Movement. Thus while the mood of the Delegate Conference has been one of panic, the fury of the miners in the districts at their betrayal has known no bounds; unanimous votes of mass meetings in South Wales, Durham and Scotland have demanded the calling out of the safety men as nationally decided; in one locality it was resolved to burn the government terms; in another the delegates are reported to have met with such a hostile reception that they appealed to the police for protection.

The Delegate Conference attempted to justify its panic on the ground of returns of men to work. But what are the facts with regard to the returns to work? Even on the notoriously over-estimated figures supplied by the government, the returns on November 23, after twenty nine weeks struggle, after all the betrayal and confusion, and after the Delegate Conference betrayal and consequent chaos, numbered 410,000. But the total number of mineworkers is over 1,100,000. Thus on the Government's own figures 700,000 men were still holding out in the face of everything. The total organised strength of the Miners' Federation is 800,000. Thus, after allowing for the breakaway in the Midlands, even at this extreme point, the Miners' Federation is pulling the weight of almost its entire membership, in spite of all the discouragement of official weakness and indecision, treachery of the reformist leadership of the movement as a whole, and bludgeoning by all the forces of the government and state machine. Such solidarity and determination is without precedent in working class history. What could it not accomplish with a bold and energetic leadership worthy of it!

The extreme point of the struggle is shown by the reckless and desperate measures of the bourgeoisie. All Communist meetings are banned. Police persecution is intensified. Arrests continue, running into a total of thousands. Miners have even been prevented from attending their own lodge meetings without police permit. Conservative agitation for stronger and stronger repressive measures grows insistent. The owners have openly proclaimed the policy of no reinstatement of Communists and left wingers. And the Right Wing leaders in the miners have joined hands with them in proclaiming the aim of routing out all Communists from the Miners' Federation.

The Right Wing has been forced out into the open by the struggle. The Notts traitor leader, Spencer M. P., has made a separate local settlement in defiance of the Miners' Federation, based on lower wages and longer hours and binding for five years. He has followed this up by organising a breakaway Yellow Union, entitled the Notts and District Miners' Industrial Union. It is notable that MacDonald, from his holiday trip in Northern Africa, has been in communication with Spencer. Similar attempts are being made and will be made in other districts. Thus the Right Wing leaders are openly following up their treachery by endeavouring to break up the Miners' Federation. In this they will undoubtedly fail; and there will emerge from the whole struggle a stronger National Miners' Union with an increasingly left leadership. The alternatives before the miners are twofold. Either to accept the policy of surrender. This means not only defeat. It means, by the operation of longer hours and



the closing of pits, the dismissal of 300,000 men. It means shackling district settlements, the break up of the Federation, and the Right Wing policy of disruption. The second is to refuse to accept the unrepresentative decision of the Delegate Conference, and, on the strength of the miners' own solidarity and determination in all the decisive districts, demonstrated by their own vote, to go forward, but to go forward with a new leadership, a leadership that is prepared to carry on the struggle.

## OBITUARY

### L. Borissovitch Krassin.

#### Proclamation of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International.

At the morning Session of the Enlarged Executive, held on November 24th, Comrade Skrypnik on behalf of the Presidium conveyed to the delegates the news of the death of Comrade Krassin in the following words which were received with the greatest emotion by all present:

"The Death of Comrade Krassin means a great loss for the C. P. of the Soviet Union and for the Communist International. With Comrade Krassin there has passed away one of the oldest Russian Marxists and one of the oldest co-workers of Lenin. Right at the beginning of the Russian Marxist movement he began his work in the circles of the Marxist Youth.

After many years of illegal Party work Comrade Krassin was co-opted into the Central at the Second Party Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Party, and remained for many years a member of the Party Executive. After the splitting of the Party by the Mensheviks, Krassin threw in his lot with the majority Committee (Bolsheviks) and worked energetically for the convocation of the Third Party Conference.

Comrade Krassin then carried out a great work, mainly in organising illegal printing works, and prepared the arming of the revolt of 1905.

As a member of the Central Comrade Krassin performed enormous work at the fourth and fifth Party Conferences.

While in emigration Comrade Krassin worked in various electricity works of Western Europe as one of the best engineers.

After the October Revolution Comrade Krassin worked as one of the members of the Extraordinary Commission for organising supplies for the Red Army. After this he became People's Commissar for transport. Later on Comrade Krassin was at the head of one of the most important departments of reconstruction in the Soviet Union, that of Foreign Trade. Still later he became representative of the Soviet Union in London.

The XIII. Party Conference of the C. P. S. U. elected Comrade Krassin as member of the Party Central, which election was confirmed by the XIV. Party Conference.

Comrade Krassin worked for over 40 years among the proletarians. The main features of his character were: enormous energy, initiative, and fidelity to the cause of the working class and its Party."

## The Life and Personality of Comrade Krassin.

By J. Ganetzky (Moscow).

The death of Comrade Krassin is an enormously heavy loss for our Party and our Soviet Union. Comrade Krassin was one of our best and oldest illegal Party workers, and was at the same time an eminent economic expert. In both these capacities he displayed magnificent abilities as an organiser.

A man of wide culture, with expert knowledge, he devoted special attention to the necessity of increasing the knowledge of science and of raising the level of culture in the country.

The most important service rendered by Comrade Krassin in the time of the October Revolution was his work in consolidating the foreign trade monopoly. Lenin was the creator of the foreign trade monopoly; Krassin, however, was Lenin's closest collaborator who carried out this slogan in the most magnificent manner.

Leonid Borissovitch Krassin was born in Siberia in the year 1870. In the year 1887 he entered the Polytechnic Institute of St. Petersburg and soon began a close and exact study of Marxism. In 1890 he became a member of a circle which was one of the first social democratic organisations in Russia and afterwards became "The Fighting League for the Emancipation of the Working Class".

The work involved the persecution which was usual in Tsarist times: expulsion from the Institute, repeated arrests and deportations.

Comrade Krassin succeeded in completing his studies in the year 1900 in Charkov, where he received his diploma as engineer. As an engineer he went to Baku, where he worked for four years on the construction of a power works. Here he extended his technical knowledge and at the same time carried on a feverish activity in the social democratic organisation; he organised a big illegal printing works in which, among other papers, there was printed the "Iskra" (The Spark), the Party paper edited abroad.

This active Party worker and first class illegal functionary attracted the attention of the Party. After the Second Party Conference in the year 1903 Comrade Krassin was co-opted into the Central Committee of the Party. He took part in the Third Party Conference in 1905, at which he delivered a report upon organisatory and political questions and in which he took part in the carrying through of Lenin's resolutions on the participation of the Social Democratic Party in a Provisional Revolutionary Government.

After a whole number of fresh arrests Comrade Krassin, in the year 1908, journeyed abroad, where he worked at his profession as an engineer and occupied important positions. At the time of the October Revolution Comrade Krassin was in Sweden. When I went to Sweden in 1918 Lenin entrusted me with the task of negotiating with Comrade Krassin regarding his work. Comrade Krassin gladly accepted the commission entrusted to him and some days after went to Berlin in order to negotiate with the German government regarding a Supplemental clause to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. As I also had to take part in these negotiations I had the opportunity of observing the capability and energy of Comrade Krassin. He was not at all daunted by the fact of his lack of knowledge of a new field of work. He soon set to work to study the questions which were waiting solution and every day at seven o'clock in the morning he was to be found at his writing table.

After the conclusion of the negotiations, Comrade Krassin journeyed to Moscow and was appointed chairman of the Extraordinary Commission for supplying the Red Army. At the same time he was a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Economic Council and People's Commissar for Trade and Industry; in the year 1919 he was given the additional post of People's Commissar for transport.

In the same year Comrade Krassin took part in diplomatic work. He was entrusted with the task of conducting the peace negotiations with the government of Esthonia. In the year 1920 he went to London where, in the year 1921, he concluded the Treaty between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. In 1924 Krassin was appointed Representative of the Soviet Government in Paris. In 1925 he was sent to fill the same post in London, where he remained until his death.

Comrade Krassin was the founder of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade of which he was the head.

The work he accomplished at his post was tremendous and of historical importance. He followed persistently and unswervingly the course of consolidating the Foreign Trade Monopoly. He conducted an irreconcilable fight against the whole bourgeois world, which endeavoured to compel us to destroy the Foreign Trade Monopoly. He succeeded in breaking the obstinacy of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin had a very high opinion of the capabilities and the work of Comrade Krassin. He entrusted him with the work of the Foreign Trade Monopoly and constantly discussed this question with him, even during the time of his sickness.

Nerve-wearing, superhuman work undermined even this man of iron. A year ago he began to show signs of anaemia, the after consequences of malaria. Comrade Krassin was compelled to give up work almost entirely. This inactivity chafed him and while on his sickbed he was constantly interested in the life of the Soviet Union. He had scarcely recovered somewhat when he immediately proceeded to London to resume his work.

When I heard some little time ago that the health of Comrade Krassin had again become worse, I spoke to Comrade Rykov on the matter and proposed to Comrade Krassin that he go to Hamburg in order to consult a well-known specialist. But on the 12th November Comrade Krassin telegraphed that "it is impossible at present to carry out the journey as the interests of work demand my presence in London". Only yesterday I received a letter from him dated 13th November in which he attempted to prove that there was no possibility and also no occasion for him to go to Hamburg.

And today he is no longer with us... An eminent architect of the socialist Republic has departed from our midst...

We sink our banners at the grave-side of the Comrade who was so dear to us. We will persistently and unweariedly continue his work. This will be the best way of honouring his memory.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Five-Day Working Week in the United States.

By Earl Browder.

At the close of September this year Henry Ford announced that the 200,000 workers in his automobile factories would hereafter work but five days per week. Mr. Ford said that production is increasing so fast that soon the five days will produce as many automobiles as formerly in six; as the market cannot continue to expand, it was necessary to reduce the working force or the working time. Ford has figured out that it is more profitable to reduce the time. This is another point of view, largely confined to Ford, who operates under exceptional circumstances because his factories are far ahead of all others in the technique of mass production.

There is also the attitude of the leaders of the American Federation of Labour. Mr. Green, its President, fell into line behind the "open shopper", Henry Ford, in these words:

"America is now known as the land of high wages and industrial efficiency. It should also be known as the land of short hours, for short hours and efficiency go together wherever the right adjustment has been made. The American labour movement is strongly in favour of the five day work week wherever it is possible. We will work for progressive reduction of hours wherever this may be accomplished without retarding industrial progress."

A step farther than the American Federation of Labour is taken by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which at its national convention last May instructed its officials to prepare to struggle for the five-day week.

And what has been effective in bringing this issue so sharply to the forefront in America?

A very simple fact: the fur workers' union in New York City last January, having just come under control of the T. U. E. L. and Communists, launched a strike in which one of the demands was for the five day, 40-hour week. After 18 weeks of struggle they were victorious.

All at once a great change took place. All the reformist wiseacres who had been cursing the "Impractical and utopian" Communist demand for the five-day week suddenly began to hunt for "explanations". Mr. Green, who had tried to break the strike and to force the fur workers to settle for 44 hours per week, stepped up to claim the victory as his own and as a proof that class collaboration is good. The circulation of "The Ford Worker", a Communist shop bulletin, jumped up to 19,000 copies, and soon after Mr. Ford saw the light and made his sensational announcement.

It is a certainty that the five-day week would never have been mentioned at the American Federation of Labour Convention but for the "inconvenient" fact that the Communists had led

a victorious fight for it in New York. This is true beyond all question. But of course the militancy and foresight of the Communist leadership was not alone sufficient.

The economic basis of this new issue is the unexampled increase in the rate of productivity in industry. In a study of this question I estimated that from 1920 to 1925, the general average of productivity of all industries had increased by 50%. An inquiry by the National Industrial Conference Board (an employers' organisation) published recently, placed the rate of increase in productivity, from 1919 to 1923 alone, at 43%. When it is remembered that even in 1919 production in the U. S. led the world in rate and volume, the enormous consequences of this expansion of forces may be dimly apprehended.

One of the most important effects was to put a stop to the expansion in numbers of the working class. Since 1920 while volume of production has expanded, the number of workers has actually decreased. This has had a weakening effect upon the trade unions, because it has tended to bring into existence a permanent body of unemployed workers already trained in industry.

This enormous weakening of the trade unions and the strengthening of the employers, prevented any gains from being made by the trade unions during the prosperity period 1922 to 1925.

This is the first time in trade union history in America when a period of economic expansion was not accompanied by a growth in trade unionism.

Events have proved, however, that the halt of the labour movement could not be made permanent. In 1925, when the militant employers in the coal and textile industries were cutting wages and calling upon the Steel Corporation to join a national campaign to "deflate labour" generally, the T. U. E. L. issued the slogan "strike against all wage cuts". Organized and unorganized workers responded in such fashion that the wage-cutting move was halted.

The Struggle against wage cuts in 1925 was the direct precursor to the movement for the five-day week in 1926. In the garment trades of New York, especially furriers and dressmakers, the reactionary officialdom had stood firm in alliance with the employers against any improvements in wages, hours, or union control. The result, after a long and bitter struggle which took on some of the aspects of civil war, was that the T. U. E. L. gained control of these two unions. Then came the great furriers' victory for the five-day week, followed by the capmakers and now 40,000 dress and cloakmakers are on strike for the five-day week.

But what, it is asked, compelled Henry Ford to grant without a struggle the five-day week to his 200,000 workers? There is no union in Ford's factories.

First, it must be made clear that while the fur workers gained wage increases which make the week's earnings as much or more in five days as formerly in six, on the contrary Ford requires that production must first equal that of six days before wages become the same. Therefore Ford has not given his workers what was won by the furriers, but only something that sounds like it.

Second, Ford had for six months already found it necessary to curtail production, which exceeded the possibility of the market. He experimented with the five-day week and found that, under conditions of mass production, this was the most profitable way to restrict production.

Third, Ford expects again to intensify production under the five-day plan, so that it will take care of any expansion in the market, or if the market remains stationary, the force can be reduced.

Fourth, while production has been even cheapened, Ford has "voluntarily" granted shorter hours than the American Federation of Labour had previously demanded in its highly organized sections, and has thus taken away a powerful slogan from the unions in the attempts to organize the automobile workers.

Fifth, there is no doubt that Ford expects this measure to help eliminate the agitation of the Communists from his factories where the shop paper, "The Ford Worker", has been circulating in editions of 10,000 to 19,000. Since the Communists led the Passaic textile workers into a seven month strike, they are feared even where there is no union at all.

Finally, the sensitiveness of Ford to all threats of unionisation and to the Communist agitation within his plants, is a reflex of the new danger arising out of the mass production process, in which a disturbance in one part throws the entire machinery out of order. The smooth working of the Ford process requires the complete elimination of labour disturbance of every kind.

The material conditions for a shorter work-week have been created generally in America. And in spite of the miserable leadership of the trade unions the shortening of hours goes on. It is extremely symptomatic of how the process works, that the five-day week should come in the manner above described... first, under the leadership of communists, after bitter struggle with the employers; second, in non-union industry such as Ford, as a "concession" to prevent agitation and strikes; and only after these developments is the slogan taken up, in a half-hearted manner, by the American Federation of Labour leadership.

It is also important to note that, in the case of Ford the five-day week comes in a highly "rationalised" industry as (among other factors) a means of fighting the trade unions. In sharp contrast, in the garment trades a process of "de-rationalisation" is going on (breaking up of large shops in favour of many small ones, moving from big cities into small villages etc.), in order to escape the powerful trade unions which are forcing the five-day week.

It is clear that a long and hard struggle is ahead of the American working class before the five-day, 40-hour week, becomes general. Even the 48-hour week is not fully established yet. In spite of the tremendous wealth and productivity of American industry, the workers must labour longer hours in the United States than do the workers of poverty stricken and industrially undeveloped Soviet Russia.

What can be expected of the American Federation of Labour in the way of active struggle for the five-day week?

Very little indeed! It is not merely a coincidence that when the furworkers were on strike for the five-day week and victory was in the balance, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labour, intervened in the strike over the heads of its leaders and attempted to negotiate a surrender. And now that the furriers' victory and Ford's move force Green's hand, the slogan of the five-day week is carefully fitted into the "new wage policy" and the whole class-collaborationist orientation.

But if the officialdom of the American Federation of Labour has no desire or intention to struggle for the five-day week, the feeling among the masses is otherwise. It is symptomatic how rapidly the victory of the furriers led to the strike and victory of the capmakers, and to the strike of the dress and cloakmakers, for the five-day week. The issue has stirred the masses. It will be pressed by the T. U. E. L. and will rally mass support which will force the unions into struggle. The issue of the 40-hour week is destined to become a storm centre in the American labour movement.

## The Fascist Reaction against Red Molinella and the International Labour Office.

By Ivo Anselmi.

The heroic resistance which the agricultural workers of Molinella are offering to the Fascist reaction (Molinella is a small municipality in the neighbourhood of Bologna and is known as Red Molinella on account of the tenacious resistance put up for years by the local workers against the Fascists), the courageous fight of the brave defenders of the honour and of the cause of the Italian proletariat confronts the world proletariat anew with the question of the state of affairs in Molinella.

No extremity of violence and no manner of threat can break the resistance of these admirable fighters or aid the Fascists in their efforts to bring the workers of Molinella into their organisations. Over forty families, who, in spite of everything, continued to belong to class organisations on this account were recently ejected from their dwellings. About 300 people were thrown into the street in spite of the approach of winter; old people and young children were deprived of shelter. Eviction was executed in the most violent manner. Carabinieri and Fascists broke down the doors of the miserable huts, drove the

inhabitants out and threw their sticks of furniture into the street. As the evicted, however, still sought to remain in Molinella, police reinforcements and motor lorries were despatched from Bologna. All of the evicted were packed into the motor lorries and taken to Bologna, where they were locked up in a long-disused barrack and forbidden to leave. For the first few days the internees were given prison diet and then the authorities began to pay four lire per man and two lire per woman, per day. An eighty-year-old peasant became insane as a consequence of the privations he had suffered and was removed to the asylum.

After the families evicted from Molinella had spent a number of days under these conditions, they were compelled to leave the old barrack which had served them as shelter, and to seek other quarters, the allowance in support being at the same time withdrawn. The police and the Fascists forbade these unfortunate people to return to their home.

In the beginning the General Confederation of Labour took upon themselves the task of collecting money throughout the country for the maintenance of these victims of Fascist persecution. But hardly had the Fascists threatened to regard these collections as provocation when the General Confederation of Labour abandoned all their efforts in this direction, and now the Communist Party is the only organisation which is rendering assistance to the workers of Molinella. The Party recently resolved to continue the collection of money begun in September for the benefit of the English miners, and to use part of it to help the workers of Molinella also, remitting half of the amounts collected to the latter. The only protest raised against this resolution came from the Reformist leaders of the General Confederation of Labour. The first contribution to the new relief fund in favour of workers of Molinella was 500 dollars, remitted through the Central Committee of the Union of Agricultural and Forest Workers of the Soviet Union from the agricultural and forest workers of the Soviet Union.

Just recently, when the forces of reaction were raging with unusual brutality against the workers of Molinella, the latter endeavoured to make a protest before the International Labour Office at Geneva. This protest was voiced by the French Reformist Jouhaux, who in the session of October 15th proposed that an investigation of conditions in Molinella should be instituted by the International Labour Office. The president of the Labour Office, Albert Thomas, thereupon answered that such an investigation was impossible. During the debate, the representative of the Italian Fascist Government, Demicheli made a speech in which he attempted to prove that the reactionary measures had been provoked by the "revolutionary and distinctly destructive tendencies of the trade unions of the locality in question".

The session was also attended by D'Arragona, the representative of the General Confederation of Labour of Italy and its general secretary up to the year 1925. D'Arragona joined in the debate and stated: "It is not true that the General Confederation of Labour has reared the workers of Molinella in a spirit of revolution." Signor D'Arragona even went as far as to say that the Fascist Government sent to Molinella two inspectors, who countermanded several evictions, and that the same Fascist Government granted unemployment benefit to the workers of Molinella who were sent away to Bologna and did not find work there. The speech of the Reformist representative of the General Confederation of Labour gave the representative of the Mussolini Government the possibility of pointing out that D'Arragona himself approved of the procedure of the Government.

In this way, the Reformists rendered invaluable "service" to the workers of Molinella in defending their interests. It is worthy of note that they are not compelled to thank the Fascist Government for admitting the workers of Molinella to the privileged position of unemployed in receipt of the dole after they had suffered the misery of more than a year of unemployment without support, after they had been driven out of their own dwellings and prevented from returning to their native town.

It will be seen that the International Labour Office has exposed the treacherous part played by the Social-Democratic leaders, as also their complicity in the Fascist reaction.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Capital Punishment in Poland for the Possession of Two Numbers of Communist Periodicals.

By K. Leski (Warsaw).

The rumours spread by several Polish newspapers to the effect that the Pilsudski Government has the intention of proclaiming an amnesty for political prisoners, and especially for Ukrainians and White Russians, has been denied by the Minister of Justice himself.

The Government of the Fascist dictator Pilsudski, of which a member of the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party) Moraczewski, is a Minister, is still keeping in prison 6000 workers and peasants — fighters for the political freedom of the proletariat, fighters for the overthrow of the dominion of the landed proprietors and of the capitalists, for the right of self-determination of the oppressed nationalities of Poland.

Class justice is rampant in Poland as never before.

A worker named Szlencki was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment for killing a spy.

Another worker from Lodz was sentenced to 11 years' imprisonment for shooting, in a moment of excitement, a factory owner who had given him the sack over a trifling matter.

At the same time, the court declared innocent and discharged the landowner Bisping, who in the year 1919 undertook punitive expeditions against the White Russian peasants, killed them with his own hands and set fire to their huts and barns.

Polish justice could find no ground for proceedings against the notorious czarist provocateur Walgiemut. This scoundrel, who was in the employ of the secret police, had brought 80 workers and peasants to the gallows or caused them to be sent to prison.

Not long ago, the assize court at Tarnopol, East Galicia, passed a judgement which has no parallel even in the history of czarist cruelties.

A Ukrainian peasant named Michael Bily, a Communist, was sentenced to death!

The solitary proof contained in the indictment for Bily's "guilt" of being a "Communist agitator and a member of the Committee of the Communist Party of West Ukraine" was constituted by two numbers of Communist journals which were found in his possession, namely, one number of the Moscow "Prawda" and one number of the illegally published Communist periodical in the Ukrainian tongue, "Ziemia i Wola" (Land and Freedom).

This judgement has no equal in the bloody history of the White Terror in Poland. Such sanguinary judgements were not decreed even during the war between Poland and the Soviet Union (excepting the drumhead courts-martial).

It was only with the advent of Fascism in Poland that full vent could be given, to the boundless rage of the landowners and capitalists.

The abominable sentence passed upon Michael Bily is only a forerunner of the "legalised murders" which the executives of the Pilsudski dictatorship are disposed to practise upon the revolutionary fighters of the whole of Poland and especially on the Ukrainian and White Russian workers and peasants.

The assize jury of Tarnopol which had to try — in East Galicia, on Ukrainian territory belonging to Poland — a Ukrainian peasant, was composed exclusively of Poles, two of whom were landed proprietors and ten Polish colonists, tools of the policy of extermination conducted by Polish chauvinism in the Ukrainian and White Russian districts of Poland.

The vanguard of the proletariat in Poland, with the Communist parliamentary faction at its head, is beginning an extensive campaign in order to rescue Comrade Michael Bily from the clutches of the hangmen.

The greater the support given by the international proletariat, which has already displayed magnificent energy in the campaign for the political amnesty in White Poland, the more successful will this campaign be.

## The History of Two Villages.

In 1906 the well-known leader of the bourgeois Constitutional-Democratic Party, and member of the Tsarist Duma Doctor A. I. Shingarev, made a thorough investigation of two villages in the Voronezh Gubernia (Mokhovatki and Novozhivotinnoe). The material which he obtained from this investigation he published under the title of "The Dying Village".

In his work Shingarev said that as a result of not having any land, the village population is slowly but surely dying off as a result of indescribable poverty and permanent starvation.

Since then the villages have gone through the misfortunes of the imperialist war, more than once they found themselves on the front during the Denikin escapade, they suffered from the famine of 1921, cholera, Spanish influenza and typhus.

Therefore, when the Moscow Scientific-Research Institute of the Timiriazev Agricultural Academy decided to investigate several districts for the purpose of detailed information on the influence of the Revolution on the village, it chose in the first place, the above-mentioned villages (Novo-Zhivotinnoe and Mokhovatki) as a most favourable objective in view of the historic document already in hand, which had already determined their previous economic condition.

During a period of 2 and a half months the expedition of the Institute thoroughly investigated the economic condition of these villages and brought back very rich statistical material, each figure of which is the best evidence of what the October Revolution has given the village.

Since 1917 the land portion, for example, in Mokhovatki and Zhivotinnoe has increased 12 times on account of the distribution of the landowners' land. At the same time when, during Shingarev's investigation there was 0,1 dessiatin of land suitable for tillage for each person of the population, and no meadow land at all, at the present time there is 1,12 dessiatin of land suitable for tillage and 0,12 dessiatin of meadow land for each person.

In the time of Shingarev the peasants paid the landowners 5 roubles as rent for each dessiatin of land, and apart from that, they also paid government, Zemsky and Communal taxes amounting to about 25 roubles for each homestead. However, the income from a dessiatin of land did not exceed 10—14 roubles. Thus, after deducting the cost of seeds and the payment of taxes and rent, his hard labour allowed the peasant to live in semi starvation even in the years of good harvests.

In 1925 all the taxes of the peasants on the average amounted to about 12 roubles for a homestead, and the poorer homesteads (about 20%) are entirely freed from paying taxes. Then again the improvements in tilling the soil raised the harvest in the peasant farms to 60 poods on the dessiatin, instead of the former 24. Correspondingly, the wholesale income from a dessiatin increased from 6—8 times.

A. I. Shingarev found that the birth-rate in the investigated villages, even in prosperous years, was very little above the mortality, and when ever there was the slightest drop in the harvest it also dropped. The recent investigation gave a complete picture of the situation. It was found that during the past 25 years there were 5 occasions when the position of births and deaths gave the following picture: in 1906 there were 34 deaths and 27 births, in 1913—39 deaths and 36 births, in 1916—27 deaths and 21 births, in 1917—21 deaths and 16 births.

Beginning with 1922 birth-rate rapidly begins to exceed the death-rate and in 1925 in Zhivotinnoe there were 56 births and 19 deaths. In the history of the village for 36 years there was never a year when the birth rate was so high:

Finally, during the 9 months of 1926 there were only 3 deaths, but 25 births.

Thus, the investigation gives us the full right to state that the title given by Shingarev "the dying villages" is at the present time not applicable to us.