

# - INTERNATIONAL -

# PRESS

# CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 7. No. 22

31<sup>st</sup> March 1927

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

## CONTENTS

The Horrible Wholesale Murder by the "Civilised" Barbarians in China.

Do not Let Yourself be used as Murderers of the Chinese People!

In the Pillory!

Protest of the International Red Aid against the Bombardment of Nanking.

The Blood Bath of Nanking.

Storm of Indignation in China and in the Soviet Union.

Hands off China.

Tang Shin She: The Victory of the Shanghai Workers. Greetings from the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. to the Trades Council and All Workers of Shanghai.

The White Terror.

Paul Stein: Save Zoltan Szanto and his Comrades from the Gallows!

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

Politics.

Harrison George: The Squirmings of an Imperialist Lackey.

Economics.

P. J.: The Penetration of British Capital into Bulgaria.

The Labour Movement.

K. Leski: After the Textile Workers' Strike in Poland.

In the International.

The 4th Party Conference of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia. Greetings from the Communist International to the 4th Party Conference of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

Union of Soviet Republics.

N. I. Bukharin: The Tenth Anniversary of the February Revolution II.

The Youth Movement.

Fritz Reinhardt: The Twenty Years Jubilee of the 1st International Youth Conference.

The Children's Movement.

Ernst: The Third International Conference of the Children's Leagues of the Y. C. I.

Book Reviews.

J. G.: Liau Han Sin: "The Unequal Treaties and the Chinese Revolution."

Ten Years Ago.

The Whole of Russia in Favour of the New Government. Programmatic Article of the First Number of the "Social Democrat", the Moscow Organ of the Bolsheviks, published on the 20th March 1927.

Lenin's Letters from Afar II.

Chronicle of Events.

## The Horrible Wholesale Murder by the "Civilised" Barbarians in China.

### Organise the Defence against the Imperialist Robbery!

### Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

**To the Working Men and Women, to all Toilers, to the Working Youth and to the Oppressed Peoples of the Whole World!**

Moscow, 27th March 1927.

A great and inhuman crime has been committed. The "civilised" barbarians, headed by the British and American imperialists, have destroyed one of the chief towns of China, Nanking by a bombardment from long range guns. The working class quarters have been destroyed and the corpses are piled up high in the streets. With their big guns they have murdered several thousand peaceful citizens of Nanking. They have destroyed by explosives and fire in a short time that which was created in centuries. And all this they have done because the recent victories of the Chinese revolution endanger the rule of the imperialists in China. The Anglo-American naval commands are attempting to

justify this monstrous crime with insolent lies. The murderers of the Chinese people wearing the uniform of the so-called "civilised" powers spread the mean and provocative lie that the revolutionary troops had attacked foreigners and demolished the Consulates etc. The murderers know very well that the national armies have never attempted to attack foreigners, although the military and civil authorities of the latter have sufficiently proved themselves to be the bitterest enemies of the Chinese people. The murderers know very well that it was the Shanghai troops, the allies of the foreign counter-revolutionaries who lost their heads and fired. But the murderers need this dastardly lie in order to cover their own crime and to justify

other crimes which are only awaiting a favourable moment for their committal.

The British have already bombarded one Chinese town, **Wanhsien**, and now the united forces of the imperialists, led by the British and the Americans, have bombarded **Nanking**, although the Reuter report of the taking of the town particularly stressed the "bloodless character of the occupation by the national troops". A few hours hence perhaps these "civilised" beasts may begin to bombard **Shanghai** from their "international" base stolen by them from the Chinese people. The insolent ultimatum, the bombardment of **Nanking**, the further concentration of naval forces in **Shanghai**, the military consolidation of the settlement and the mobilisation of Russian white guardist forces, all show that plans have been made for further crimes. The English "**Daily Telegraph**" is insolent enough to write that "South of the **Yangtse** there is no power in existence with which the powers can negotiate with the methods of civilised diplomacy". But British diplomacy was very polite and friendly to those in **Shanghai** who executed thousands of workers before the taking of the town by the southern troops. However, the British diplomats recognise no civilised methods "south of the **Yangtse**", that is to say, in those districts where the people has begun to fling off the hated yoke of the feudal land-owners, the robber generals, the usurers and the foreign exploiters and slave-owners. Inside the international settlement British diplomacy embraces the Tsarist white guards, driven by the Russian people in bloody struggles from the soil of **Russia**. Yet British diplomacy speaks the language of naval guns when it has to deal with the people passionately struggling to be free from slavery. British diplomacy is particularly furious against the workers however, against the heroic proletariat of **Shanghai** and **Nanking** who collected their little to support the British miners in their struggle and who anxiously followed the struggle of their comrades in **Great Britain**. The fire of the Anglo-American big guns is chiefly directed against these workers.

Yet this fire is directed against the whole national revolutionary front. The British conservatives who negotiated with **Canton** have suddenly flung off the mask of sanctimonious hypocrisy and good-will and shown themselves once again before all workers, and particularly before the Chinese people — before the workers, peasants, and small business people in town and country and before the students — in their true guise as bloody and violent robbers.

The **United States** which flirted with the national movement, which coquetted with the Chinese revolution has now thrown off the mask and revealed its military leadership in the mass murders, the demolition and the plundering of Chinese towns.

The truth must be looked in the face. **Great Britain** and **America** have commenced a great war against the Chinese people. Only traitors to the interests of the toilers can speak of the pacifism of capital. Only shameful political charlatans can praise the **League of Nations** which covers the murder of the Chinese people. The **League of Nations** is controlled by the British conservatives, the murderers of **Wanhsien** and **Nanking**.

The hypocritical lie of the bourgeoisie and the social democracy that the imperialist troops have been sent to **Shanghai** for the "protection of the women and children" has been shown to be a lie in all its shameful nakedness. The imperialist troops have been sent to **China** to guard the profits of the imperialists, to strangle the revolution, to slaughter the workers and peasants and to assist the Chinese hangmen together with the Tsarist gang and the reactionary remnants of imperial **China**, in order to crush the movement of the Chinese people for freedom.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International appeals to the workers and toilers, to the landworkers and peasants and to the opponents of imperialist violence in all countries to raise their voices in flaming protest against the hangmen's war against **China** which has already been commenced by the imperialists.

There can be no single working class organisation which would refuse to raise its voice or which would remain silent in this bloody hour. Whoever would seek to wash his hands of the affair and declare that the 2000 corpses in **Nanking** were none of his business is a cowardly traitor, a threefold traitor.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International addresses itself to the colonial and oppressed peoples of the world and appeals to them to protest energetically against the imperialist acts of violence in **China**.

"Christian" diplomacy which pretends to follow the principle of equality, does not regard the Chinese as human beings. The peoples of **Asia** and **Africa** must recognise that. The Negroes, the Malays, the Chinese, the hundreds of millions of toilers who groan under the oppression of European and American capitalism must recognise that. The Communist International calls you to the struggle against imperialist violence. Raise the banner of protest against the insanity of the imperialist hangmen.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International appeals to the working class organisations of the whole world to commence an energetic struggle against the new war which has begun, the consequences of which can be immeasurable.

**Organise a wide action of protest against this criminal war of the imperialist hangmen! Demand the immediate withdrawal of all troops from China! Prevent by all means the sending of new troops and munitions! Expose at every step the cowardice and hypocrisy of those traitors who conceal the criminal nature of the new war!**

Comrades! Ten years ago the international bourgeoisie, with **Great Britain** at its head, tried to overthrow the power of the working class in the one-time Tsarist **Russia**. It sent its troops into the country, bombarded towns, concluded blocs with the reactionary generals, organised conspiracies and insurrections and spread lies concerning the atrocities of the bolsheviks — in short it used all the tried and approved methods of "civilised" diplomacy. Nevertheless, the mighty movement of the Russian people destroyed the plans of all the enemies of the people — the landowners, the bankers, the generals, etc.

Ten years later the Chinese people arose. International capital with **Great Britain** and **America** at the head is now attacking the Chinese people. These "Christians" may slaughter thousands, even tens of thousands, but they cannot throttle the half a milliard Chinese people who have arisen under the banner of freedom.

**You must be with the Chinese revolution with all your forces, with all the means in your power!**

**Down with the war against China rightly struggling to be free!**

**Down with the hangmen of the Chinese Revolution!**

**Down with the protectors of the hangmen!**

**Long live the organised defence against the imperialist robbery!**

**Long live the victory of the Chinese people!"**

# Do not Let Yourselves be used as Murderers of the Chinese People!

## Against the Imperialist Crime in China.

### Appeal of the E. C. of the Y. C. I. to the Working Youth of all Countries.

Moscow, 27th March 1927.

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International has addressed the following appeal to the young workers of all countries:

International imperialism has committed a horrible crime in China. Thousands of innocent inhabitants of Nanking have been killed or maimed and thousands of dwellings have been destroyed in the name of "civilisation" and the "prestige" of international capitalism. The governments of all the great powers with Great Britain and America at their head have concentrated large fighting forces in Shanghai and Nanking and only sought an opportunity for commencing open war against the victorious revolutionary Chinese people.

American imperialism declared up to the last that it was a "friend" of the Chinese people, now however, it has shown the whole world and above all the Chinese people itself, its true countenance. The best agitator against the British and American imperialists in China is the attitude of the representatives of these countries there. The international imperialists must blame themselves when their atrocities in Nanking produce terrible bitterness, hostility and hatred against their abominable policy of provocation.

The bloody imperialists are coming more and more to the conclusion that after the victories of the national armies they

have nothing more to lose in China. They are threatening to bombard further Chinese towns and destroy thousands of human lives in the territories of Nanking and Shanghai.

He who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind. The Anglo-American imperialists have commenced an open war against the Chinese people and the Chinese revolution. In this moment when the bloody arm of the imperialists is raised for further blows against the Chinese people, when the naval guns are directed against Nanking and Shanghai and only wait the command to spread death and destruction all around, the powerful voice of hundreds of thousand of young workers in all imperialist countries must sound:

**Soldiers and sailors of Great Britain and America! Do not let yourselves be used as the murderers of the Chinese people! Do not fire on the Chinese who are fighting for their national freedom! Fraternise with the soldiers of the national-revolutionary armies! Fraternise with the workers of Shanghai and Nanking! Offer the brotherly hand to the Chinese people! The interests of the Chinese proletariat are your interests!**

**Hands off China!**

**We demand the withdrawal of all imperialist forces from China!**

**Long live the victory of the Chinese revolution!**

## In the Pillory!

(Leading Article of the "Pravda" of March 28, 1927.)

Moscow, 28th March 1927.

A terrible and atrocious crime has been committed! A town with a population of five hundred thousand souls has been subjected to the combined fire of the Anglo-American imperialists! Thousands of people have been killed and mutilated, burned or made homeless! The banner of the revolution was hardly hoisted in Nanking when the Anglo-American naval flotilla commenced to bombard the town. The fiends have done their work well. They knew with what they were shooting — heavy artillery and inflammable shells. They knew where they were shooting — where the population is thickest, where the most women and children are gathered, there, where the workers live who earn their daily bread with the sweat of their brow and live in miserable huts. Children murdered with six inch guns, that is heroism, humanity and civilisation as understood by Admiral Herod Williams who piled up dead bodies in the streets and razed half a town to ashes in twenty minutes. History will not forget the name of this "hero". He will be well remembered by the Chinese and by the whole world proletariat.

A bloody and atrocious crime has been committed against the peaceful population of Nanking, but it has won the applause of the bourgeoisie. The imperialist press is pleased. The venal gutter press is overjoyed. Nanking may be in flames, but the violated rights of "civilisation" have been restored. The gilded mob is pleased. The mistresses of the British and American naval officers are overjoyed, for their "friends" will receive medals for killing little children with heavy artillery. The international reaction is delighted, for the Chinese revolution has been taught a lesson, Nanking has been destroyed, but European "prestige" has been restored.

The Anglo-American murderers only "defended themselves" of course, for they were attacked. An old and wretched story! No one believes it today. We do not believe the imperialist

wireless reports of the incendiaries and murderers. These reports are false, they are drenched with the warm blood of the Nanking workers, with the blood of the murdered women and children, with the blood of those who died cursing and hating the imperialist murderers.

The blood bath of Nanking has brought a terrible clarity into the situation. Even the blind must now see the real true nature of the policy of imperialism in China. The oppressors of a great people have now thrown off the mask, they have shown themselves in their true guise. Now it is clear to everyone that their policy is a policy of blood and iron. They have started with the Bible in their hand. The Chinese people has been poisoned with religious opium by the missionaries as it has been poisoned by the British traders with opium. The imperialists have worked with dollars and now they are at work with the sword, with bullets and incendiary shells. To let loose flames of destruction, to raze half a town to the earth, to kill thousands of Chinese in return for the alleged wounding of an agent of imperialism, is nothing for these modern Huns.

The bloodbath of Nanking has also created clarity by showing up the real nature of United States imperialism. The latter has played the role of a well-wisher towards the Chinese revolution too long. Now, when every one has seen the Anglo-American bloc in action, it is easy to understand that America was nothing but a wolf in sheep's clothing. The disguise has now been discarded thoroughly! The land of George Washington and the land of the "Declaration of Independence" has now shown itself to China in the fiendish form of Williams who has drowned the independence of the Chinese people in blood.

The voice of Nanking does not merely appeal to the rest of China, but to the whole world! Imperialist civilisation stinks like the pest. The Anglo-American naval squadron has laid Nanking in ruins, but it has also destroyed all belief in the tinsel with which imperialist civilisation prides itself before the masses.

Where is capitalist "culture"? It is embodied in the wrecked buildings of Nanking. Where is capitalist "humanity"? It has been drowned in the blood of Chinese women and children in Nanking. Where is the much-praised "parliamentarism" of England, the "democracy" of America? It can be seen in the bestialities of the Anglo-American officer clique, in the commands of the blackguard Williams, in the death agonies of the children killed by the fire of the Anglo-American armoured cruisers.

Where is the policy of "non-interference" in the internal affairs of China? The slaughter of peaceful Chinese citizens in Nanking shows how seriously this policy was meant. 7,000 dead and wounded Chinese, that is the horrible fruit of imperialist "non-interference".

You murderers of Chinese freedom, you will not succeed in your work! You have slaughtered thousands, but millions, hundreds of millions will face you with still greater determination! The Chinese revolution will be victorious even if you force it to advance over mountains of dead bodies!

You "bearers of culture" the eyes of the world proletariat will not fail to observe your shameful crimes! The world proletariat will arise to protect those whom you have burned alive. It will place your infamous crimes on record for the eyes of all generations! It will never forget!

## Protest of the International Red Aid against the Bombardment of Nanking.

Moscow, 27th March 1927.

The International Red Aid has published the following protest against the bombardment of Nanking:

"The second international conference of the Red Aid at present taking place in Moscow energetically protests in the name of its six million members against the bombardment of Nanking by the forces of British and American imperialism and against the murder of over 2,000 peaceful Chinese citizens. This action of the imperialists is an open provocation to a new world war.

The conference appeals to the workers and peasants of all countries, to all intellectual workers, to all Red Aid organisations, to all advanced parties and trade union organisations, to the toiling masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries

The international social democracy will attempt to make your bloody work white, it will attempt to wash its own hands of the deed, but every honest proletarian knows you for the murderers, fiends, hangmen that you are! The international proletariat will take measures both in China and elsewhere to prevent further bombardments.

Civilised beasts, the ten millions of organised workers in the Soviet Union send you their heartfelt curses! The news of the bombardment of Nanking has caused the blood of every worker in the Soviet Union to boil with anger. The workers of the Soviet Union will press the hand of the much-trying Chinese workers still more firmly in an indestructible bond!

The imperialists have laid Nanking in ashes. The imperialists abuse the Chinese people which is passionately struggling to reach its goal — freedom.

The workers of the whole world will pillory the imperialists. They send the workers of Nanking, the martyrs of the movement for the emancipation of the Chinese people, their warmest greetings. The battle cry of the world proletariat will sound now more loudly than ever before — Hands off China! Long live the great Chinese revolution!

to raise a tremendous protest against the action of the imperialist governments and to force them to withdraw their troops immediately from China and to call to account those responsible for the new bloodbath.

The Red Aid solemnly declares that it will support the Chinese peasants and workers in their struggle for freedom, with all the means at its disposal.

Long live the struggle of the toilers of China for their emancipation!"

The protest is signed by: Klara Zetkin (Germany), Chung-li (China), Herpo (Korea), Moranini (Italy), Andersen (Denmark), Elsbury (Great Britain), Lepechinsky and Temkin (Soviet Union), Marty (France), Dingly (Indonesia), Schloer (Germany), Maurer (United States), Stichov (Czechoslovakia) and Tobler (Switzerland).

## The Blood Bath of Nanking.

Shanghai, 25th March 1927.

The occupation of Nanking and Chekiang by the national troops has been definitely confirmed. The Shangtung troops are retiring northwards. Foreigners are leaving Nanking and Shanghai. At the taking of Nanking a collision occurred between national and foreign troops. British and American warships bombarded the town for 20 minutes with 10" guns. Great damage has been done in the town which is in flames. The British Consul has been wounded and another Englishman killed. On the previous day marines were landed from the British and American warships.

\* \* \*

Shanghai, 25th March 1927.

According to the latest reports the shooting commenced in Nanking as a result of provocation. This becomes more clear when a comparison is drawn between the circumstances under which Shanghai and Nanking were taken. In Shanghai even the British authorities were compelled to admit that the national troops and the working class organisations maintained exemplary discipline and order from the beginning. According to reliable reports, remnants of the northern troops were responsible for the commencement of the shooting. The course of events was the following:

The national troops occupied the Nanking harbour and thus prevented the Shangtung troops from crossing the Yangtse. The foreigners, chiefly British and Americans, who were assembled on a hill about a mile and a half from the harbour could also not cross the river because the rest of the Shangtung troops were between them and the harbour and because the harbour itself was in the hands of the southern troops. But on the other side of the hill there were also Shangtung troops who wished to reach the harbour.

There was a double ring around the hill, first of all the Shangtung troops and then the Southern troops who had surrounded the Shangtung troops. The completely disorganised Shangtung troops who had previously been looting the town were panic stricken and opened a wild fire in all directions. Stray shots killed one Englishman on the hill and wounded the English consul. As soon as the British and American warships heard this they opened fire with their heavy guns on the town and landed marines in order to release the foreigners from their encirclement. Just as at the bloodbath of Wanhsien the thickly populated Chinese quarters were bombarded and a great number of peaceful citizens killed.

Nanking has been destroyed and is in flames. A few dozen foreigners who were wounded have left the town and been taken on board the warships. Further warships have been sent to Nanking from Shanghai and Manila.

After the bombardment of Nanking the Anglo-American naval command delivered an ultimatum to the Chinese authorities. They demanded that protection be immediately organised for the lives and property of foreigners and that the commander of the national troops present himself on board of one the British warships for negotiation up till 11 o'clock in the evening, otherwise the bombardment of the town would be repeated.

\* \* \*

Shanghai, 26th March 1927.

The Anglo-American ultimatum threatening a further bombardment of Nanking, has been withdrawn. Differences exist between the commanders of the Anglo-American and the Japanese Flotillas with regard to the policy in connection with Nanking. Chiang Kai-shek is expected to arrive in Nanking to day. According to incomplete reports 2000 Chinese inhabitants were killed in the bombardment of Nanking. Two American warships and one English warships were responsible for the bombardment. The town of Pukow which is opposite to Nanking on the North bank of the Yangtse is also in flames.

\* \* \*

Moscow, 27th March 1927.

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid has received the following telegram from the Shanghai committee of the Red Aid:

"An hour ago our representatives returned, who had been sent to investigate the situation in Nanking. The bombardment which has destroyed more than half the town, has now ceased. In the last 10 to 15 minutes of the bombardment the guns of the warships threw incendiary shells into the still undamaged part of the town. Nanking, Pukow and the surrounding villages are in flames. Charred corpses are lying in heaps in the streets and squares. The imperialist powers have added another page of horror and suffering to the history of China's fight for its independence.

When the imperialists opened fire on the thickly populated town they knew that both the inhabitants and the national

troops had taken absolutely no part in the plundering. The looting was provoked by the Shangtung troops and Russian white guardist troops. Now, whilst the flames are still burning, the remnants of the defeated Shangtung troops and white guardists are forcing their way into the still undamaged houses, seeking for those who sympathise with the national troops, looting and violating the population. The sufferings and the number of the victims is beyond all count. The neighbourhood is full of rumours of coming excesses of the imperialists in other parts of China. The hopes of the toilers of international assistance from the proletariat are stronger than ever before. The voice of the international proletariat can put an end to the excesses.

We appeal through you to the working class of the whole world, to the toilers of all countries to use all the means in their power to stop the arbitrary violence of the imperialists against the Chinese people who are on the eve of achieving their freedom. Help us!

\* \* \*

Shanghai, 28th March 1927.

Details received here concerning the taking of Nanking by the national troops lift the veil from the strategy of the foreign commands. The account of Admiral Williams regarding the "protection of foreigners" which is intended to justify his naval action, is a provocative version of affairs.

Overs 500 tons of metal were rained into Nanking by the big guns. As a result Nanking and Pukow are in flames. Gun-fire was opened from the ships, in order to force a wide breach in the lines of the Canton troops through which not merely the foreigners but also the remnants of the defeated Shangtung troops could retreat from the town. This is made still clearer by the fact that the American vessels did not only bombard the right bank of the Yangtse with a view to bringing the foreigners aboard the warships, but also the left bank of the river and Pukow which was being attacked by the Canton troops, in order to make the way free for the retreat of the northern troops on the left bank of the river.

## Storm of Indignation in China and in the Soviet Union.

Shanghai, 27th March 1927.

There is the greatest excitement and indignation in the Chinese quarters on account of the bombardment and shooting in Nanking. Numerous meetings have taken place in the open air on the streets. Speakers have appealed to the populace to avenge their comrades. According to temporary figures more than 7000 people have been killed or wounded as a result of the bombardment.

\* \* \*

Leningrad, 27th March 1927.

Great meetings have taken place in the Leningrad factories against the blood bath organised by the imperialists in Nanking. Mass demonstrations took place after the meetings. Over 50,000 workers assembled before the Party headquarters and were addressed by representatives of the labour unions, by Chinese revolutionaries and by factory workers. The resolutions which were adopted protested against the atrocities of the imperialists and sent the warmest greetings of the Russian workers to the workers of Shanghai and Nanking and wished them speedy success in their revolutionary struggle.

Reports concerning similar protest meetings are arriving from other towns in the Soviet Union.

### HANDS OFF CHINA

#### The Victory of the Shanghai Workers.

By Tang Shin She.

The sending of more than 40,000 soldiers, numerous warships and aircraft by the international imperialists and the execution of hundreds of people in the open street during the recent strike in February, failed to hold back the workers of Shanghai from their heroic fight against the imperialists and their tools, the feudalistic militarist Chinese rulers. One strike followed the other. The imperialist hangmen, Sun Chuan

Fang and Chang Tsung Chang, in spite of the most bloody terror, were absolutely unable to master the situation and finally found themselves compelled to flee in all haste from the town which they had intended to hold with the greatest tenacity and for which there was shortly to break out the decisive fight between the counter-revolutionary and the revolutionary forces. The plundering Northern troops encountered workers guards and were forced by the latter to take to their heels. The workers took over the administration of the town. As a result the revolutionary Canton troops were able to enter and occupy the town without a struggle.

Of course the imperialists used their utmost endeavours to oppose this turn of affairs. After the occupation of Shanghai the imperialist troops immediately resorted to provocation. They

extended their "line of defence" right beyond their settlement areas into the Chinese quarters; attempts were made, as had been often made on previous occasions, to bring about a split in the Kuomintang and to incite the revolutionary soldiers against the workers. These aims could be perceived in the reports from all the imperialist correspondents, including the German.

A split in the Kuomintang and hostile sentiment between the working class in Shanghai and the revolutionary soldiers are absolutely out of the question at the present moment. The revolutionary united front has only been rendered the more firm as a result of the last Executive Meeting of the Kuomintang which took place in Hankow from the 10th to 17th March. In place of the dictatorial system, resort was had to a democratic form, that is to say, in place of the chairman of the Party there was set up a commission consisting of nine members. Two Communist Ministers were appointed for the workers and peasants who hitherto had had no representative in the government: these two Communist Ministers are, the well-known organiser, Tam Pin San who has been appointed Minister of Agriculture, and the Chairman of the Hongkong Strike Committee, Sou Tchan Ging who now occupies the position of Minister for Labour.

Chang Kai Shi, who was hitherto Chairman of the Party, himself made a declaration that he would submit to the decisions of the Party. A Revolutionary like Chang Kai Shi will not act in co-operation with the counter-revolutionary Chang Tso Lin, as the imperialists had hoped, in order to fight against the liberation movement which he has championed hitherto. It is true that there were at one time negotiations — in November last year — between Chang Tso Lin and the Canton armies with regard to common action being taken, but this was only out of tactical considerations in order first of all to annihilate Wu Pei Fu and Sun Chuan Fang. Today this is quite out of the question: the present task of the Canton troops is to drive Chang Tso Lin behind Shanghaiwan.

As regards the alleged hostile feeling between the workers of Shanghai and the revolutionary soldiers, it should be remarked that the workers of Shanghai have since May 1925 been engaged in constant struggle and possess sufficient training and experience to know that only by means of a revolutionary united front is it possible to obtain their emancipation from imperialism. In every fight in which the population of Shanghai have immediately taken part — be it against the imperialists or against their lackeys — it is the workers who had the lead. Now, when the counter-revolutionaries have been driven out, their forces will of course increase still more.

As regards the workers' demands, these were clearly expressed in the general strike in February. Of their 17 demands twelve relate to increased wages and better treatment of workers and the regulation of working time. The remaining five include: continuation of the anti-imperialist campaign, abolition of the military dictatorship, destruction of all the reactionary forces, setting up of a government which shall really represent the interests of the people, and realisation of freedom of the press, of combination, assembly and strikes. These are all demands which the Kuomintang has promised the workers to fulfil.

According to the latest telegrams, the citizens of Shanghai and the leaders of the working class have convened a meeting of people's delegates in order to form a democratic government of Shanghai. The revolutionary soldiers have also received sufficient political enlightenment and enjoy the sympathy of the workers and peasants, so that they on their part have no intention to estrange themselves from the latter.

The only danger for the working class of Shanghai consists in the provocation by the imperialists, such as the extension of their so-called lines of defence into the Chinese quarter and a counter-revolutionary activity on the part of foreigners and Chinese in their settlements. The population have already formed a bloc against the landing of foreign troops; for they cannot and will not tolerate this in any circumstances. Great Britain, on the other hand, wishes to hasten on a war against China and is working feverishly at the production of poison gas.

In order to prevent the victory of Shanghai from becoming a mere momentary affair and to guard against an open war of the imperialists against the Chinese revolution, there is required the watchfulness and the fight not only of the revolutionaries in Shanghai, but before all of the international working class. The international working class, under the

slogan "Hands off China", must immediately and earnestly demand the immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops from Shanghai and the handing back of the foreign concessions to the revolutionary government.

## Greetings from the Executive Bureau of the RILU. to the Trades Council and All Workers of Shanghai.

Comrades, Brothers!

The revolutionary workers of all countries have followed with the deepest emotion your heroic fight against the bought generals and the white guardist scum who are in the service of the foreign imperialists. All the powers of the inner and outer counter-revolution have created a united front against the workers and peasants of China. From all corners of the earth birds of prey came flying, with their sharp claws tore the flesh from the body of the great Chinese people. In order to secure their privileges, England, America, France, Japan and Italy have occupied the largest centres of China, and in the first place Shanghai with their troops. This alliance of the inner and outer counter-revolution appeared to be unvanquishable. You, however, the workers of Shanghai, did not lose your courage. Day after day you prepared yourselves for the struggle. You kept your enemy in the greatest suspense and, thanks to your tenacity and your endurance, you have brought fear and uncertainty into the ranks of the imperialists and their hirelings.

Undeterred by the severe conditions, by the white terror and the mass murders, you have continued your struggle, replaced the fallen by fresh fighters and on the very next day after defeat you were prepared for fresh struggles. Only recently precious proletarian blood was shed in the streets of Shanghai; scarcely a week passed, however, when you again entered into the fight. This great heroism, this devotion to the cause of the revolution and your iron perseverance have brought it about that Shanghai, thanks to the combined forces of the Shanghai proletariat and the revolutionary army, is now in the hands of the revolution.

There are no words which can adequately express our joy over this great historical event. Dear comrades, we assure you that the workers of all countries united together in the Red International of Labour Unions are absolutely with you heart and soul and rejoice with you over your victory.

By the capture of Shanghai the great Chinese revolution has made a gigantic spring forward. But everything has not yet been done. So long as the last counter-revolutionary has not been driven from Chinese territory, so long as there still remains a single foreign soldier in China and so long as foreign ships remain in Chinese waters, there can and will not be peace, bread and freedom.

**Greetings to the advance guard of the Chinese Revolution!  
Down with the inner and outer counter-revolution!  
Out with the imperialists from China!**

**Long live the Chinese proletariat and its revolutionary trade unions!**

Moscow, 21st March 1927.

The Executive Bureau  
of the Red International of Labour Unions.

## THE WHITE TERROR

**Save Zoltan Szanto and his Comrades  
from the Gallows!**

By Paul Stein.

On 21st March exactly eight years had elapsed since the Hungarian working class seized power from the hands of the bankrupt capitalists and big landed-proprietors of Hungary, shattered the bourgeois State and in its place set up its own power: the dictatorship of the proletariat, its own State, the Soviet Republic. For four and a half months the Hungarian workers stood firmly as the outpost of the world revolution towards the West, against the enemies at home, the combined social democracy and bourgeoisie and against the outer enemy,

the armed hordes of the Roumanian, Czechish and Yugoslavian rulers. By means of their struggle they helped to secure a breathing space for the Russian Revolution which was pressed on all sides: that was a great and historical service on the part of the Hungarian proletariat.

The power of the workers and poor peasants has fallen.

Nevertheless Communism is not dead in Hungary. The bourgeoisie soon came to realise that. The Communist Party of Hungary, in spite of the most bloody terror, never ceased its work for a moment. New victims fell, new victims were brought to the gallows or cast into prison. The Communists did not shrink back. Pressing forwards step by step, placing stone upon stone, they are building up their organisation. In place of the fallen, in place of those who have been torn from the ranks, new fighters come forward: Tibor Szamuely, Otto Korvin, Eugen Laszlo, Mathias Rakosi, Zoltan Szanto are links in one and the same firmly-welded chain.

The beautiful dream of the Hungarian bourgeoisie that it could annihilate communism in Hungary with fire and sword, has given place to a rude awakening. When Zoltan Szanto and comrades were arrested a few weeks ago, the President of the Budapest Police, Hetenyi, admitted at an interview that the Hungarian police by no means cherish the illusion that they can put an end to the "Bolshevik machinations" for any length of time; they only hope to render the work of the C. P. of Hungary impossible for at least "a few months" and to make it "extremely difficult" for the future. The Hungarian bourgeoisie, in their quaking fear, see the spectre of Communism even where it is not to be found. All workers who turn with loathing from the Pact-concluding social democratic leaders are communists. Stefan Vagi is a communist. The Left "Socialist Labour Party" is a Communist Party.

The Hungarian bourgeoisie wish to secure the "few months" breathing space by means of intensified terror. The cruel torture of the arrested Communist and Left socialists, the death sentences pronounced against them, are intended to serve as a terrifying example for the others. The heads of the arrested are also to be presented to Sir Austen Chamberlain as a sign of the devotion of the Hungarian bourgeoisie to the "great field-marshal" of the international counter-revolution. Will not Sir Austen Chamberlain recognise this devotion? Will he not respond to this beautiful love-gift by allotting the Hungarian bourgeoisie an important and lucrative section of the imperialist front against the Soviet Union?

In the sphere of domestic politics, the blood of the arrested Communist and Left socialists is to be used to plaster together the fissures in the national united front, the rifts in the government party, which is consumed by fractional struggles.

And see, where the master is, the true servants the Social democrats cannot be missing. In the days when the arrested comrades were beaten half-dead, hung up with their hands bound, burned with red-hot irons by the police brutes in the torture chambers of the Budapest police, in the days when all the workers of Hungary in whom there still survived a spark of class solidarity went about with clenched fists and bitter rage in these days the social democratic Central Committee and the social democratic parliamentary fraction passed a resolution in which the fight against Communism is characterised as one of the most urgent tasks of the Hungarian social democracy. Label the "competing" Socialist Labour Party, which has broken the monopoly of the legality of the Social Democratic Party, as a Communist Party and prohibit it! Terrify the revolutionary Hungarian workers, so that they will not venture to oppose the new Pact which is being prepared between the social democracy and Bethlen! Despatch the "peace-disturbing" communist and Left socialist leaders to the next world! That is the objective meaning of this resolutions.

That is the ground upon which the new gallows are to be erected. Hence the accusation of rioting brought forward by the Budapest Public Prosecutor against Comrade Zoltan Szanto, against the leader of the Socialist Labour Party Stefan Vagi and the 51 Communists and Left socialists arrested along with them. For according to the Hungarian laws the crime of rioting has to be dealt with by the Extraordinary Court, which has to be constituted within ten days after the announcement of the accusation and in three days at the most must pronounce sentence, which can only be death or acquittal.

The lives of the courageous revolutionaries are in the greatest danger! They can only be snatched from the clutches of the Hangman by the powerful protest action of the inter-

national working class. Time is pressing! The Extraordinary Court can commence its "work" in a few days. The protest movement must everywhere be extended and deepened, in all localities, in all factories, in all workers' organisations, in order that the Hungarian government shall see and realise that Comrade Zoltan Szanto and the rest of the arrested Communists and Left socialists are under the powerful protection of the working class of the whole world and will, therefore, not venture to lay a hand on them.

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

Paris, 20th March 1927.

Today a protest meeting of the Hungarian workers living in Paris took place against the Hungarian class justice. The speakers condemned the Hungarian government which puts socialists and communists before an extraordinary court and intends to sentence them to death for acts which are perfectly legal and unpunishable in any other country. The resolution adopted by the meeting demanded the abolition of all proceedings before extraordinary courts and the immediate release of all the political prisoners.

Reichenberg, 21st March 1927.

The Executive Committee of the 6th district (Reichenberg) of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has issued the following appeal entitled: "Down with the bloody persecutors of the Hungarian working class movement!":

"The Executive Committee of the 6th district (Reichenberg) of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia protests energetically against the bloody persecution of the working class movement in Hungary and against the arrests, torture and murder of the best representatives of the revolutionary working class movement in Hungary by the reactionary Horthy-Bethlen clique. The district leadership appeals to all working class organisations, factory councils and workers institutions to protest against the inhuman terror in Hungary. The Hungarian workers fighting for their convictions are to be placed before an extraordinary court which according to the law can only pass one sentence, the sentence of death. Save the victims from the Hungarian hangmen as a short while ago the protest of the whole revolutionary forces in the world prevented the Horthy-Bethlen bandits from murdering comrade Rakosi!

The wave of terror is connected with the policy of Great Britain in China and in the Baltic States. Great Britain intends to encircle the Soviet Union. An increased fascist terror is to crush the revolutionary working class movement in all capitalist countries. It is therefore the task and the duty of all revolutionaries to carry on an energetic fight against the reaction, against the intentions of Great Britain and against its fascist assistants.

Down with the Horthy-Bethlen government!

Fight for the legality of the Communist Party in Hungary!

Release all the victims of the fascist terror from the bloody dungeons of Hungary!"

Reichenberg, 22nd March 1927.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has held great mass-meetings of protest in Katharienberg, Christophsgrund and in Petersdori. All these meetings adopted resolutions of protest against the declared intention of the Hungarian government of placing the arrested Hungarian revolutionaries before an extraordinary court.

Prague, 22nd March 1927.

The leadership of the Red Trade Unions of Northern Bohemia has sent a telegram of protest to the Hungarian Prime Minister Bethlen condemning the maltreatment and the torture of political prisoners and demanding the immediate release of the arrested workers and the legalising of the Hungarian working class movement.

The North Bohemian co-operatives have sent a similar telegram to the Hungarian government.

Berlin, 22nd March 1927.

A meeting of the workers of the Bergmann Works (3000 workers) which took place today decided to send the following telegram of protest to the Hungarian Prime Minister Bethlen:

"We have heard with the greatest indignation of the inquisitorial methods applied by the Budapest police to the arrested workers. We protest against the fact that Zoltan Szanto and his comrades are to be placed before an extraordinary court. We demand that all processes before extraordinary courts cease and that the pioneers of the Hungarian working class movement be immediately released."

Teuchern, 22nd March 1927.

A meeting of miners which took place on the 19th March sent a telegram to the Hungarian government demanding the immediate release of the arrested socialist and communist workers and the abolition of the process before the extraordinary court. The protest meeting also decided to send the following letter to the Hungarian Miners Union:

"Dear comrades, This meeting of the soft-coal miners of Teuchern in Central Germany sends you its fraternal greetings. We have heard of the terrible situation of the Hungarian workers and in particular of the Hungarian miners and also of the declared intention to place 52 of our class comrades before an extraordinary court. The German working class is following events in Hungary with the greatest attention. We have addressed a telegram of protest to the Hungarian Prime Minister Bethlen. The German working class sympathises with you, with the whole of the Hungarian working class and with the imprisoned class comrades. Continue your struggle against the Horthy-Bethlen clique as we in Germany are continuing the struggle against the bourgeois bloc. Fight with us against the persecution of Hungarian class fighters, join in the movement of protest. Demand the release of the 52 comrades who are to be placed before an extraordinary court. We request you to pass on this letter to the Hungarian miners and to publish it in your official trade union organ."

Merseburg, 22nd March 1927.

A mass-meeting of the workers of Merseburg has sent the following protest telegram to the Hungarian government:

"The workers of Merseburg assembled on the 20th March to celebrate the memory of the fallen heroes of the March days and the anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic protest energetically against the declared intention of placing 52 class comrades before an extraordinary court and demand the immediate release of all imprisoned communists and socialists."

Prague, 22nd March 1927.

A resolution of protest against the new wave of white terror in Hungary was unanimously adopted at a great meeting of workers in Brunn. The resolution was handed over to the Hungarian Embassy in Prague with a request to forward it to the Hungarian government.

Berlin, 23rd March 1927.

The protest movement of the German working class against the Hungarian white terror is growing in extent and winning ever growing masses of the people. Yesterday big protest meeting took place in Merseburg and Delitsch and addressed telegrams of protest to the Hungarian government demanding the abolition of the proceedings before the extraordinary court against Zoltan Szanto and his comrades and their immediate release.

In Berlin the workers of the factory Zwietusch and several hundred workers at the State printing shops have joined the movement of protest.

London, 23rd March 1927.

The chairman of the Labour and Socialist International and general secretary of the British Labour Party, Arthur Henderson has sent a telegram of protest to the Hungarian Prime Minister Count Bethlen containing the following sentence:

"I feel it to be my duty to point out to you that the working class of the whole world is filled with indignation at the fact that your continue in times of peace to apply the extraordinary laws destined for application in time of war against political opponents upon the basis of political accusations."

Paris, 23rd March 1927.

A great meeting took place here today as a protest against the Hungarian white terror. The meeting was arranged by the "Defence Committee for the Victims of the White Terror in the Balkans." After listening to speeches by Ziromsky, Raymond, Paul-Louis, Herclot, Fernand Meunier and a Hungarian delegate, the meeting unanimously adopted a sharply-worded resolution of protest against the declared intention of the Hungarian Bethlen government to place the arrested socialist and communist workers before an extraordinary court. The resolution further demanded the immediate release of the prisoners.

Berlin, 24th March 1927.

A full meeting of the workers of the Mariendorf Gasworks which took place yesterday evening decided to send the following telegram of protest to the Hungarian Prime Minister Count Bethlen:

"We strongly protest against the arbitrary arrests of socialist and communist workers in Hungary and against the declared intention of the Hungarian government to place the arrested workers before an extraordinary court. We demand the immediate release of the prisoners or at least that they be placed before an ordinary court, for in no other capitalist country can the free expression of opinion verbally or in the press be punished with the sentence of death."

Similar telegrams have been sent to the Hungarian government by the authors: Alfred Doebelin, Brentano, Wedderkop, Erwin Piscator, Dr. Minna Flake, Arthur Holitscher, Wilhelm Herzog, Berta Lask, Leonhard Frank, Alfred Wolfenstein, Bert Brecht, Kurt Kläber, Johannes R. Becher, and Paul Baudisch. Other protest telegrams have been sent by the workers of the following film ateliers: "National", "Efa Atelier", "Filmwerke Staken", "Jofa Atelier", "Alifa Kopieranstalt" and from the "Kampfgemeinschaft für Geistesfreiheit".

Berlin, 25th March 1927.

The Factory council of the "Vereinigten Isolatoren Works" Berlin-Pankow has sent the following telegram of protest to the Hungarian government:

"We protest in the name of the workers of this factory against the inhuman treatment accorded to imprisoned workers held unjustly in confinement. We demand their immediate release."

Berlin, 25th March 1927.

A similar telegram has been sent to the Hungarian Prime Minister Bethlen by a mass-meeting of workers in Tegel including the workers of the Borsig works and of the local-gasworks.

\* \* \*

The "Leipziger Volkszeitung" of the 19th March contains the following article written by the social democratic Member of the Reichstag Kurt Rosenfeld:

"Alarming news comes once again from Hungary. Mass arrests of left wing radical workers recently show that the government of terror in Hungary intends to attack the working class movement once again with its usual brutality. Whoever has been able to spend even only a few days in Horthy Hungary knows that every arrest is bound up with danger of death for the arrested, such a person trembles for the life of each and every comrade who falls into the hands of the police.

According to an official police report, a great "conspiracy" has been brought to light and Zoltan Szanto who during the Hungarian proletarian dictatorship occupied the high post (?) of a housing commissar, has been arrested as the leader of this conspiracy. As early as the 1st March the Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" was able to report upon the information of its own



correspondent that the whole affair was nothing more nor less than a **great swindle on the part of the Hungarian police**. The arrest of Zoltan Szanto was preceded by a manhunt lasting three days against all the workers of the **Vagi Party**, a party which may be compared with the one-time Independent Social Democratic Party in Germany (or perhaps the Independent Labour Party in Great Britain. Ed) and against all workers suspected by the police of being communists. The result was 70, and according to later reports, even 80 arrests! No less than 12 women are amongst the arrested. Comrade Vagi is also amongst the arrested. The crime of Szanto seems to be that he spoke with young workers and tried to persuade them to take part in a demonstration on the 21st March, the anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian soviet republic in 1919.

The attack of the police is obviously directed against socialists and communists. The Socialist Labour Party of Vagi is particularly objectionable to the Hungarian government. The chief blow is directed against this party. This party is to be drawn into the "conspiracy" in order to make the destruction of the party more easy.

The communists had been watched for a long time. After the arrest and condemnation of Rakosi, the powers that be expected a new leader for the communist movement and when the police discovered that Szanto was in Hungary he was watched and arrested at the moment when the police thought that they had discovered the circle of workers who were in touch with him. According to the Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" the police publications concerning the alleged statements of Szanto who is alleged to have said that he came with 6,000 Dollars at his disposal and expected unlimited further means from Moscow, bear the mark of falsehood upon them. The "Arbeiterzeitung" points out that the Hungarian police even declare that a few months ago Borodin, the military representative of the soviet government attached to the Canton army, was in Budapest with a view to sounding the situation.

There is no legal ground for the arrests whatever. That however, is nothing uncommon for Horthy Hungary. The treatment accorded to the unfortunate victims of the Hungarian police is barbarous. The most terrible brutalities are reported from the prisons. Fearful tortures and frightful maltreatment are normal things. Two young girls, Ilonka Vanos and Marie Mata, both members of the Vagi party were "confronted". This was done by the examining officers smashing their heads of the two young girls together until they were covered with blood and collapsed! It is therefore not surprising that numerous prisoners have gone on hunger strike as a protest against the inhuman treatment accorded to them and the insufficient food supplied by the authorities.

Shootings "whilst attempting to escape" are also practiced in Hungary. A young landworker named Mozzo who was being transported on the train to Budapest is alleged to have jumped from the moving carriage and not been seen again. In actuality however, the escorting gendarmes shot him dead in the train and flung his body from the window!

Recently the Hungarian police has even turned their attentions to the Hungarian Social Democratic Party. Apparently, this party also is to be drawn into the process against the communists and the supporters of Vagi. The wife of the former member of the Hungarian Parliament for the Oedenburg constituency Dr. Hobelt, known politically under the maiden name **Vilma Hoffmann**, has also been arrested. One day she received from Vienna through the post several copies of a communist newspaper appearing there and at the same time (!) the police found a letter on an arrested man from a refugee who had fled to Vienna telling him to go to Vilma Hoffmann and fetch leaflets. Obviously a frame-up! This was very soon proved by the appearance of the alleged writer of the letter in the editorial offices of the "Arbeiterzeitung" in Vienna declaring that he know nothing of the letter and could therefore never have written it and declaring further that he had never sent any similar letter or any leaflets to Vilma Hoffmann. The Hungarian agents-provateurs are therefore in full blossom! Hungarian police agents are also at work in Vienna seeking to involve social democratic workers in the present police campaign against the working class movement.

The latest news from Budapest is that 22 of the arrested have been released but that the remaining 55 have been handed over to the public prosecutor and will be placed before an

extraordinary court charged with a "conspiracy against the Hungarian state". This is the worst thing that can possibly happen to the prisoners according to Hungarian law. For an extraordinary court can only, unless it declares itself to be not competent to try the case placed before it, sentence the prisoners to death or acquit them!

At its last session the Executive Committee of the Labour and Socialist International appealed for a struggle against the reaction in Hungary. However, up to the moment almost the whole of the party press has permitted this appeal to remain on paper or has reported only very sparsely upon the events in Hungary. According to the appeal of the E. C. the struggle must be taken up against Hungarian blood justice and for the freedom of the unjustly arrested workers with all energy. This must be done above all by the exposure of the spy and lie system at present existing in Horthy Hungary.

Our comrades are in the greatest possible danger! Their lives are at stake!

\* \* \*

Berlin, 26th March 1927.

To day's morning issue of the "Vossische Zeitung" publishes the following article:

**Legal Murder in Hungary. 53 Communists before an Extraordinary Court.**

The following has been sent to us from competent juridical personalities:

During the course of this week, the communist Zoltan Szanto and 52 fellow accused are to be placed before an extraordinary court charged with insurrection. They are accused of having organised a communist party, formed party schools, prepared a demonstration to take place on the anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian soviet republic and opened a printing works for the printing of leaflets. The proceedings before the extraordinary court can only result in the sentence of death, acquittal or a declaration that the court is not competent to try the case brought before it. The whole proceedings may not last more than three days and resulting sentences must be executed within 48 hours. It is therefore high time that European public opinion became aware of the danger of a 53fold judicial murder.

We have before us the report of a prominent Hungarian lawyer upon the case, who declares that the actions for which the prisoners are on trial cannot be termed insurrection for the one fact alone that there is a special law covering the activities of the communists. He declares further however, that even if this law did not exist, the actions in question could not be termed insurrection, and even if an insurrection had taken place the extraordinary court was not competent. He concludes by pointing out that for years the legal authorities never dreamed of placing men charged with communist activities before an extraordinary court, until it suddenly occurred to them in connection with this case.

We hope that the Hungarian court will not close its ears to these legal considerations and thus spare its country the accusation of carrying on the struggle against its political opponents with the hangman's rope.

Berlin, 26th March 1927.

The management, the factory council and the workers of Peuvag Ltd., Friedrichstadt Printing Works, Berlin have sent a joint telegram of protest to the Hungarian Prime Minister Count Bethlen against the placing of the arrested socialist and communist workers before an extraordinary court for actions which are not punishable in any cultural country. The telegram demands the immediate release of Szanto, Vagi and their fellow accused.

Berlin, 26th March 1927.

The factory council of the Schultheis and Patzenhofer Brewery, Berlin Kreuzberg has sent a similar telegram of protest against the intended judicial murders.

## POLITICS

### The Squirmings of an Imperialist Lackey.

By Harrison George (Chicago).

In the American Federationist for February, Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labour, and likewise President of the Pan-American Federation of Labour, attempts vainly to cover up his tacit support of Wall Street imperialism in Latin America.

Mr. Green, as head of the A. F. of L., says not one word from beginning to end of his editorial, against the rapidly growing and complete domination of Latin America by the "interests" of the U. S. and its logical corollary of political subjection to the American government. The acquisition by American capitalists of properties and financial control, which as any school boy knows, inevitably climax in a denial of political independence of Latin American peoples, as plainly shown in the cases of Cuba, Haiti, Porto Rico, Santon Domingo, Venezuela, and now of Panama and Nicaragua, are perfectly all right with Mr. Green.

However, in trying to say something that sounds like opposition he makes the following sole objection (?):

"It is high time to reach some definite understanding of distinction between intervention and protection of the rights and property of American citizens."

But where is the distinction? Did not Admiral Latimer, even as Green wrote these palpably absurd sentiments trying to draw a distinction where none exists, intervene in Nicaragua? And was it not done upon the expressed excuse of President Coolidge of "protecting the rights and properties of American citizens?"

Green cannot hide out behind such empty words and cover up his complicity in armed intervention by Wall Street imperialism. If he is for "protection of property" he is for "intervention". President Coolidge, in his message to Congress January 10, said:

"If the revolution (in Nicaragua) continues, American investments and business interests will be very seriously affected. The proprietary rights of the United States in the Nicaraguan canal route, together with the obligations flowing from the investments of all classes of our citizens in Nicaragua, place us in a position of peculiar responsibility."

Mr. Green asserts his belief in and support of these "proprietary rights" and "investments of our citizens" — meaning Wall Street, and cannot escape complicity in the crime committed against the national independence of Nicaragua by every armed marine who invades the soil of that republic.

"There is need", continues Green's editorial, "for a clarification of policies in the Pan-American sphere."

Indeed there is! And as policy, like charity, should begin at home, it is time that Green, as head of the A. F. of L., should clarify the policies of Green, as head of the Pan-American Federation of Labour.

In a call sent out bearing Green's signature as President of the Pan-American Federation of Labour, announcing the Fifth annual convention of that body, to be held in Washington, D. C., on July 18, 1927, it is stated that — "We do not think it necessary to specify what matters should come up for discussion during the sessions". Truly, a remarkable international congress of labour — without an agenda!

True, in an effort to pad out the call with beautiful words designed to placate the Latins, mention is made of "The higher representatives of big business of all Latine countries united with those of the United States" and the fact is stated that "The problems of the working people of one country are identical with those of all countries with which their country has intercourse".

But it is to be noted that no passage contains a hint of the fact that the supposed "big business of all Latin countries" is infinitesimal compared with those of the United States, that of the workers of Latin America, and — as "the problems of the therefore the imperialism of the United States is the chief foe working people of one country are identical with those of, all countries with which their country has intercourse" — it follows that the imperative duty of the American Federation of Labour,

and of the Fifth convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labour, is to organise a genuine, and not a fake struggle of labour in both regions against American imperialism.

But even this essentially weak statement on the identity of interests of workers of all countries, is put out for Latin-American consumption, while in the United States, Green upholds the "rights and property of American citizens" to exploit Latin American workers at will.

Indeed, if Latin workers should wish to end such exploitation, Green will oppose them. In a recent article he wrote for the New York World, Green said:

"If the American Federation of Labour knew that the Mexican workers were Communists, or committed to Communist philosophies we would have nothing to do with them."

So the "identity" of interests would no longer exist!

In fact, though Green declares that because the A. F. of L. does not believe Mexican workers are Communists, and therefore "is desirous of being helpful" to them, yet the interests of Mexican workers in national independence from overlordship of American imperialism are nearly if not quite as antagonistic to the interests of Wall Street as if they were "Communists", and this fact explains the evasive and double-faced attitude of the A. F. of L. toward U. S. imperialism and its crimes.

Green's sole remedy for the conflict is "arbitration". Arbitration of what? He already fully supports the right of economic and financial domination of Wall Street in Latin America. All there is left to "arbitrate" is the question of whether or not Latin American peoples are to choose their own governments, or have them named by the Secretary of the Navy at Washington and maintained by U. S. marines.

It remains for revolutionary workers and those who sincerely desire a struggle against the octopus of Wall Street which threatens to enfold all Latin America in its tentacles, to take up the fight, primarily in the United States, but also throughout the countries of Latin America, to smoke out this imperialist lackey and make him stand up before all the world at the Fifth convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labour at Washington on July 18, as an open ally of American imperialism, or to cease parading as a "conscientious objector" to the Wall Street rape of Latin America.

## ECONOMICS

### The Penetration of British Capital into Bulgaria.

By P. J. (Sofia).

The economic conquest of Bulgaria by Great Britain is proceeding hand in hand with the penetration of Bulgaria with Italy's Fascist imperialism. The penetration of the two great Powers is an important factor of their present, united efforts to supplant French influence in the Balkans. Even to-day the simultaneous penetration of English and Italian capital into the Balkans is pregnant with future competition and struggles between the two capitalisms.

The economic penetration of Great Britain into Bulgaria is being used by the Bulgarian bourgeoisie as an excuse for postponing the establishment of economic or commercial relations with the Soviet Union. Great Britain is making every effort to get ahead of the Soviet Union and to conquer the markets and the industry of Bulgaria. Great Britain evidently regards the consolidation of the industrial positions it has conquered in the geographical and territorial centre of the Balkans as the only certain guarantee for the safety of the most southern portion of the great chain reaching from the Baltic to the Aegean Sea, which is to serve its political and military plans of attack on the Soviet Union.

The new economic penetration of British capital into Bulgaria is the consequence of a vast plan which affects the main branches of industry and the fundamental financial State institutions of Bulgaria. To-day we have a picture of the actual significance of the policy, which Great Britain pursued in supporting Zankoff's coup d'état on June 9th 1923. Zankoff was a tool both of Great Britain and of Italy. Great Britain could no longer tolerate Stambulinski, the former Prime Minister who,

on the one hand, in his foreign policy, followed in France's wake, and, on the other hand, was not disinclined, under the pressure of the masses, to adopt the idea of an approach to the Soviet Union.

Zankoff however did not enjoy the sympathy of Great Britain for long. The Zankoff regime was a succession of continuous conflicts between the revolution and the counter-revolution, a period of uninterrupted civil war. In an atmosphere of this kind of course, it was impossible for British capital to carry through its imperialist plan undisturbed. The substitution of Liaptcheff for Zankoff was for this reason, no contradiction of Great Britain's policy, but coincided with her wishes for the creation of the conditions necessary if the penetration of British capital into Bulgaria was to become a reality. British capitalism, without abandoning Zankoff's method of suppressing the Communist movement, which is such a danger to it, has succeeded in turning Liaptcheff into a pioneer of its industrial penetration into Bulgaria.

By cunning parliamentary machinations, the Liaptcheff Government succeeded in carrying through the following three undertakings of great economic purport, in most of which Great Britain takes a direct share.

The Bulgarian State has conceded to the British capitalist company "Bulgarian Development Company Ltd.", in the form of a concession for 20 years, the right to produce and export various products manufactured from the flesh of pigs; further, the same company was granted the right to export various agricultural products. The breeding of pigs, one of the most important branches of Bulgarian farming has developed in the following measure: in 1900 there were 367,500 pigs in Bulgaria, in 1910 527,300 and in 1920 1,026,700.

The conditions of the agreement are such that the Liaptcheff Government has conceded to the company the monopoly of the export of the products of other branches of agriculture and cattlebreeding also. Products which come into consideration are poultry, eggs etc. Statistics regarding the export of eggs show that in 1921 2,686,300 kilos of eggs were exported and in 1925 8,729,600 kilos. Eggs are one of the most important articles of export from Bulgaria.

The British Company has been given the right to build large slaughter-houses. The company may, as it finds it necessary, build factories for working up the by-products. The capital, which the company concerned is bound to invest, is 1,250,000 pounds Sterling (840,000,000 leva). The share of the Bulgarian State is 140,000 pounds Sterling (95,000,000 leva).

The company has received a number of favours and privileges: the State undertakes to provide the land and all buildings materials the company requires for its buildings, free of cost. The company is exempt from all import and export duties and from all National, district and communal taxes. On the national railways, it has a 50% reduction of tariffs. The Bulgarian State pledges itself to construct and maintain railway lines leading to the slaughter-houses, freezing-plants, store-houses etc. of the company; it is further pledged to provide all the covered and open trucks necessary for the undertaking and to maintain the required depth of water in the harbours.

According to an article of the agreement, the Bulgarian Government has, of its own free will, undertaken to protect the company from all economic fights of the Bulgarian proletariat. Article 17 runs: "The Bulgarian Government pledges itself to compensate the company for any material damage which may arise through possible political strikes or civil disturbances."

The State concedes to capitalist companies the sole right to exploit the great stretches of forest in the Rodopi mountains (the forests in the districts of Döwlen, Malko-Tirnovno and Vassilikov). The concession is granted to British capitalists. They have received the right to exploit the vast areas of forest between the middle of the southern frontiers and the Black Sea. The concessions run for ten to forty years according to the extent of the forests.

The State gives the company, free of cost, the building land needed for the various industrial buildings and dwelling houses. The company is exempt from all taxation and levies and enjoys the privileges provided by law for the promotion of home industry etc.

The capitalist concession of forests has aroused the greatest unrest and indignation of the local population. By this concession, the Liaptcheff Government has aimed a destructive blow at the many existing Peasant Co-operatives for the ex-

ploitation of the forests and has exposed the rural population of large districts to proletarianisation.

Liaptcheff carried the contracts for the two concessions through Parliament without admitting any changes or amendments. The forms of penetration and of consolidation of imperialism in Bulgaria found expression in the complete annihilation of the "sovereignty" of the State and Parliament.

All this can best be seen in the "reorganisation" of the Bulgarian National Bank, the oldest and largest national institution. The reorganisation of this bank was forced upon the country by the League of Nations and carried through by the Liaptcheff Government. With regard to the new law on the Bulgarian National Bank, the Government allowed neither debate nor amendments in Parliament.

The new reorganisation of the Bulgarian National Bank was enforced by the great imperialist States (chiefly Great Britain) as an imperative condition for putting through the so-called "refugee loan". The characteristic features of this reorganisation are that the "National Bank" becomes autonomous in respect of the State and merely undertakes the functions of a simple cashier of the State; it ceases to grant any credits to the municipalities and State institutions, it must gradually withdraw the capital it has invested in the two other national banks; it may not give credit to the State of more than at the most 300 million leva, this loan being covered by Treasury-bills valid for six months. At the same time, the capital of the bank is to be raised from 500 million to a milliard of leva. The national debt to the banks which at present amounts to four milliards of leva, is to be paid back in annual instalments provided for in the Budget (in 1926/27 a sum of 150 million leva is provided in the Budget for this purpose).

The bank is also ceasing to grant long-period credits to private trade and industry. In order to satisfy the demands of the Bulgarian capitalists for credits, the Government is planning the establishment of a special mortgage-bank etc.

It is easy to understand that the idea of this reorganisation is to turn the Bulgarian National Bank into a completely independent financial institution, independent of the Budget of the bankrupt Bulgarian State, in order to ensure that the reparation pledges and other financial responsibilities of the State towards the imperialists Great Powers shall be met regularly.

On December 15th 1926. Molloff, the Minister of Finance, returned to Sofia from London. He brought home in his trunk agreements and a convention concluded with various British and American banks in connection with the anticipated refugee loan. According to the convention, Bulgaria undertakes to pay back at once from the refugee loan which has been granted the loan of 30 millions received from the "Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas" before the war. Minister Molloff stated to representatives of the Press that the agreements and the convention must be dealt with and passed by Parliament by December 18th at the latest, as otherwise it is questionable whether the anticipated loans will be granted. All happened as the Minister demanded.

The refugee loan was quoted on the London Exchange on December 22nd 1926. The following banks took part in the loan: the three American banks of Speer, Bleer and Heinrich Schröder; the British Schröder and Banque Ottomane; Banca d'Italia; the Swiss Credit de Suisse; the Dutch Bank Hoppe & Co. No French groups of banks took up this loan. The loan is for about 3,350,000 pounds Sterling at 7½%, payable in 40 years.

Great Britain played first fiddle in the loan, accompanied by the United States.

British imperialism not only brings a certain partial stabilisation to Bulgaria, but also the elements of unprecedented political and parliamentary corruption within the Bulgarian bourgeoisie. This is having a disintegrating effect on the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, its leaders and adherents. On the other hand, the most recent economic and financial monopolist undertakings will tremendously aggravate the position of the working masses, by adding exploitation by foreign capital to the already existing exploitation of the proletariat by Bulgarian capitalists. All this will contribute to an intensification of class contradictions and to increasing the indignation of the working masses against the emergency regime whose representatives are the rival groups of Liaptcheff and Zankoff.

The international proletariat must give efficient help to the exploited people of Bulgaria in their fight against the White Terror and against increased exploitation.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### After the Textile Workers' Strike in Poland.

Shameful Treachery of the P. P. S. Leaders.

By K. Leski.

As recently as March 17th, at the conference which took place in Lodz between the employers and the representatives of the trade unions, the reformist trade union leaders, according to the "Robotnik" ("The Worker"), the organ of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.), spoke against the State court of arbitration.

But on March 19th the gentlemen of the P. P. S. agreed to this Government mediation. That was only to be expected.

The P. P. S. leaders did not want the textile workers' strike; indeed, they always want to avoid any real fight against the exploiters.

When, on March 7th, the textile workers opened the fight, despite the resistance of the reformist trade-union big-wigs, the latter exerted all their power for the purpose of weakening the fight, preventing it from spreading and strangling it.

The chief concern of the treacherous leaders was to force the textile workers' strike within the limits of a purely economic struggle. Their demands were confined to two points: a ridiculous 25% wage increase and a full day's pay for the English Saturday (six-hour day).

One might almost believe that the P. P. S. leaders are not aware that the factory owners of Lodz have trampled underfoot the social legislation, which the P. P. S. leaders boast of abroad as "progressive". One could almost believe that the P. P. S. leaders have not heard that in Lodz the women work 18 hours a day, that they are even compelled to work on eight and twelve looms, that a female worker is simply thrown out if she becomes pregnant, that through the infernal "rationalising of work" the army of unemployed is increasing daily.

The disgraceful behaviour of the "socialist" representatives of the textile workers' trade union and of the central commission of the trade unions was energetically opposed by the Communists, and every day saw an increase in their influence upon the broad masses, despite the furious terror exercised by the police. The left wing of the trade unions also pressed for widening of the scope of the fight, for its extension to other branches of economy and tried to give it a political character.

The left wing of the trade unions formulated their demands in their organ "Glos Prawdy" ("Voice of Truth") of March 13th.

These demands, which were immediately suppressed by the press censor, ran as follows:

Increase of wages, re-introduction of the premium to cover rises in the cost of living, introduction of the eight-hour day, fight against capitalistic rationalising of work, revival of public work, resumption of work at the idle factories under the supervision of the workers, a 100% increase of the unemployment dole and its extension to all unemployed both in own and country, abolition of rent and of eviction in the case of the unemployed, workers' control over production.

Furthermore, the Communist Party and the left wing of the trade unions demanded from the central commission of the trade unions immediate abandonment of the latter's servile attitude towards the Fascist Government and combination of the economic fight with the fight for the following political postulates:

Against war, in favour of a commercial treaty with the Soviet Union and agreement to refrain from attack;

against the attack upon the political rights of the workers, peasants and the oppressed nationalities;

for complete political amnesty;

against the Fascist dictatorship and for the workers' and peasants' government.

The workers determined to resort to a general strike. On March 15th all the metal workers in Lodz joined the textile workers and glass workers on strike. On March 17th all the bakeries were idle. Among the railway workers, too, a fight began and everywhere meetings of protest were held against the treacherous policy of the P. P. S. in the trade unions.

The factory owners of Lodz remained obdurate — they were sure of help from the Government. It is not for nothing that, for instance, the textile king, Posnanski is one of the

most important pillars of the capitalist "national right-wing" who have quite openly advocated the Pilsudski dictatorship. And other exploiters joined hands with them. While the textile workers' strike was still in progress the big industrialists of the Dombrowa coal-mining district gave notice to terminate the existing working contracts and put forward the following demands: 1. Reduction of wages by 4% to 7%; 2. Abolition of free supplies of carbide to the miners; 3. abolition of coal supplies for sick miners; 4. abolition of the institution of worker-delegates; 5. prolongation of working hours' to ten per day and 6. Reduction (read abolition) of vacation.

At the same time, the Government enhanced the terror against the strikers, especially in Lodz. Public meetings were forbidden; the spontaneous public meetings or those organised by the Communists were broken up. There were mass arrests, and, of course, particularly of workers "suspected of Bolshevism". The action of the police was especially brutal at the meeting held by Deputy Warski. And as usual the P. P. S. leaders supported them. They raised a hue and cry because the Communists wanted to extend the strike to other branches of economy and to convert the struggle into a fight against Fascism.

The resolutions which the "socialist" trade-union leaders passed in connection with the general strike demanded by the masses turned out to be bluff. The strike originally fixed for March 18th was postponed to March 19th. On this day the municipal workers alone went on strike in Lodz, because the P. P. S. leaders had issued the secret order to refrain from the time being from striking. They did not wish to disturb with a general strike the "national festival" on Pilsudski's christening day. For the rest, they were preparing themselves on Pilsudski's order to sign a disgraceful document, whereby 150,000 textile workers were delivered into the hands of the capitalists.

And on March 19th, the commission of the trade unions actually accepted, unconditionally and completely, the proposal of the Government to mediate in the wages strike of the textile workers, and ordered the workers to resume work at once.

Even the "Robotnik" could not pass over in silence the fact that the meeting of delegates of the textile workers' union, i. e., the immediate representatives of the strikers, raised a sharp protest against the ending of the strike through the mediation of the Government.

In this way, the reformist P. P. S. leaders vied with the leaders of the reactionary parties in disgracefully betraying, strangling and selling the heroic fight of the 150,000 textile workers.

The proletariat of Poland is the richer by one more sanguinary experience. It knows that the reformist leaders of the Polish Socialist Party are the most loyal accomplices of capitalism and of Fascism.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

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

Prague, 25th March 1927.

The IVth Conference of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was opened on Friday the 25th March in the People's House, Prague by comrade Haken. The following comrades were unanimously elected to the presidium: Starc, Touzil, Haken, Smeral, Kreibich, Mondok, Kolarikova, Major, Chlouba, Hrsl and Slivka.

In the name of the Central Committee, comrade Smeral proposed to adopt the following resolution in favour of the Chinese revolution:

"The Party Conference sends its revolutionary greetings to the Chinese proletariat. The Chinese revolution can only be successful through a decisive fight to the end against imperialism. For this reason the Chinese revolution is a part of the world revolution. The idea of Leninism for a close alliance of the working class with the peasantry will lead the Chinese revolution to victory."

The following resolution was sent to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"The unity and consolidation of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. is the key stone of the power of the Comintern. The present industrialisation of a socialist type which has been carried out by means of the heroic sacrifices of the masses exercises a very great influence upon the western European working masses. The soviet elections have shown a close connection between the urban and rural proletariat in the Soviet Union. Despite all the provocations the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. is pursuing a policy of unswerving peace. If this peace is disturbed, then the Czech proletariat will be found at its post."

The following resolution was adopted against the class justice in Hungary:

"The Party Conference expresses the greatest indignation at the measures of oppression used by the Horthy-Bethlen government against the working class movement. The lives of comrade Szanto and his fellow accused are placed in the greatest jeopardy by the fact that they have been handed over to the extraordinary court. The Hungarian government wishes at all costs to show itself worthy of the favour of the British Conservatives and in this way obtain a revision of the treaty of Trianon and prepare for the restoration of the monarchy. By declaring that a communist coup d'Etat is being prepared at the 'order of Moscow' Hungary wishes to influence the other capitalist countries so that these latter may place no obstacles in the way of Hungarian armaments. The process against Szanto and his fellow accused is not an internal affair for Hungary, it is of international importance. The Party conference appeals to the workers to increase the movement of protest in order to stay the hand of the hangman in the last moment."

The Party Conference then adopted a resolution in favour of the struggle of the miners and railwaymen and a message of greetings to the striking class workers of northern Bohemia.

The chairman comrade Touzil then read a letter of greetings from the communist nucleus of a district prison. The letter expressed the unswerving loyalty of the political prisoners to the Party. A further letter of greetings arrived from the village nucleus Oseg which a week ago unanimously left the Social Democratic Party and went over in a body to the Communist Party.

Comrade Hais welcomed the conference in the name of the Red Trade Union Federation (I. A. V.) of Czechoslovakia which he declared regarded the Communist Party as the only Party representing the interests of the whole proletariat. He expressed the hope that the conference would make decisions to assist the good co-operation between the Party and the I. A. V.

\* \* \*

The second session was opened with a speech of comrade Jilek who gave the

#### Report upon the activities of the C. C.

The activity of the secretariat during the period since the last conference proves that the bloc has justified itself and that the Party has won new forces. The growth has taken place along the lines of Leninism. The results of the elections shocked our opponents. The activity of the Communist Party forced the reformists to leave the coalition. The Communist Party has made the fascist movement impossible through the struggle of the Party for the partial demands of the workers. The Party applied the tactic of the united front correctly. The successes which have been achieved have strengthened the confidence of the masses in the Party. The Party is becoming more and more bolshevist. It has nuclei in almost all large-scale factories. The Leninist principles of organisation are winning more and more ground. The Party realises that the basis of the Party work can only be the factory nucleus.

Mistakes of course have also been made. We have not got nuclei in all factories yet, not all Party members do Party work, the circulation of the factory newspaper is too small, the actions of the Party are not sufficiently connected with its organisational work, the communist fractions are not active enough etc. The Party press must be given a better circulation. The bolshevisation of the Party is the best guarantee for the overcoming of these mistakes and failings.

Comrade Haken then made his speech upon

#### the political and economic situation:

The capitalist stabilisation in Czechoslovakia is extremely unstable and temporary. On the one hand there is a relative industrial over-production and on the other hand a deterioration of home consumption. Rationalisation in Czechoslovakia is only in its beginning stages. It is assisted by the State through customs facilitations and the tax policy which favours the capitalists and burdens the workers. The reformist workers are losing more and more their belief in the stabilisation. The intensified economic crisis has split the all-national coalition. The victory of the Communist Party at the elections caused the social democracy to leave the coalition. The Czech bourgeoisie was compelled to build a government with the bourgeoisie of the minorities. The task of this government is to carry out the further phases of the stabilisation with increased violence. We do not underestimate the fascist danger but there is no danger of a fascist coup d'Etat. The standard of living of the working class has been reduced by the stabilisation: on the one hand reduced wages and on the other increasing prices. The labour struggles which are breaking out everywhere show the whole unbearable nature of the situation; however, these struggles are not bettering the situation of the workers because they are split up and not led unitedly. The small tradesmen and the peasants are also suffering under the stabilisation. Unemployment is rising. The C. P. of Czechoslovakia must be prepared to support every struggle of the international proletariat. The Party must march at the head of the working class, it must build up the proletarian united front and fight for the unity of the trade union movement upon the basis of the class struggle. An intensified struggle must be conducted against reformism.

The Party is making progress, but it has also made mistakes which can be accounted for by its insufficient theoretical education.

A debate was then opened upon both speeches.

After adopting a resolution concerning the imprisoned victims of the white terror, the session was closed.

Prague, 26th March 1927.

The 3rd session was opened this morning when the debate upon the report of the activities since the last conference was concluded. Comrade Bolen then made a speech lasting an hour and half upon

#### the agrarian problem.

He declared: The agricultural proletariat which numbers 900,000 is the most exploited section of the population. The industrial proletariat must do everything in its power to awaken amongst the proletariat of the country-side a living belief in the victory of the proletarian revolution and to win these proletarians for our cause. We must remember that these agricultural proletarians are the bridge between us and the poorer peasantry. We must enlarge the net of village nuclei and assist in the trade union organisation of the agricultural proletariat. It is very important that left-wing and oppositional organisations should be formed in all the organisations of the peasantry and these organisations must be supported by us. We must form fractions in all agricultural economic organisations in order to obtain an influence upon the policy of their leadership.

The debate was then commenced upon this speech but the session came to an end before the debate was concluded.

\*

The 4th session was opened on the evening of the 26th March. The debate on the agrarian question was concluded and comrade Bolen made his concluding speech on the subject. The resolution on the agrarian problem was then adopted unanimously.

Comrade Haken then made his concluding speech: The discussion showed no differences of principle in relation to the estimation of the economic and political situation and the tasks of the Party. The bourgeoisie wishes to carry through the stabilisation with all means and to break the resistance of the proletariat by terroristic governmental measures and by fascism. The most important hindrance for the capitalist stabilisation is the Soviet Union. The capitalists are now threatened with the loss of China as a centre of exploitation, this accounts for the efforts of all imperialist countries under the leadership of Great Britain to throttle the Chinese revolution. The most important

question for the international proletariat is the question of an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will prove that it is able to utilise the influence which it has won over the masses.

Comrade Jilek then delivered his concluding speech: The fact that the major portion of the discussion was devoted to organisational questions is significant of the situation of the Party. The existing organisational defects must be remedied by the appointment of instructors. The Party has completely understood the watchword of bolshevism. A good working factory nucleus is better than 10 seats in the cabinet. (Applause.)

Comrade Uridil then reported in the name of the control commission.

Comrade Harus reported upon the work of the committee upon credentials. According to his report there were 129 delegates with devisive votes and 143 delegates with consultative votes.

\*  
Prague, 27th March 1927.

The 5th session was opened this morning with the speech of comrade Zapotocky upon the trade union question. His speech was followed by an address of the representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International who was welcomed by the delegates with the singing of the "Internationale".

The 6th session was opened in the afternoon with speeches of greeting from the representatives of the Communist Parties of Germany and Austria and from the Communist Parties of the Balkan Federation consisting of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania and Greece. The chairman read greetings from the Communist Parties of Great Britain and of the Ukraine.

The debate was commenced upon the trade union question but was interrupted in order to hear the report of the disciplinary and resolutions committee.

\*  
Prague, 28th March 1927.

The 7th session was opened this morning when the discussion upon the trade union question was continued. In order to bring the discussion to a conclusion it was decided to appoint two chief speakers, comrades Hais and Kohn.

Comrade Hais declared: The accusations which have been made against the revolutionary trade union federation in Czechoslovakia (I. A. V.) are mostly unjustified. The red trade unions have to contend with great difficulties in order to maintain themselves as fighting organisations. Weak organisations can never be fighting organisations, for this reason we must strengthen the I. A. V. We object to the limitations imposed upon us in the acceptance of non-party workers into our ranks. We are not opposed to the communist nuclei in the reformist unions remaining in them and not being transferred to the revolutionary unions.

Comrade Kohn declared: The policy of the Party is to carry on a strong campaign for the unification of all unions and at the same time a strengthening of the revolutionary unions. The Party does not wish to have differences with the I. A. V., but the existing differences of opinion must be cleared up. There must of course be limits set to the acceptance of indifferent workers into the I. A. V. and comrade Hais agreed to this himself in the commission. The leading comrades in the I. A. V. must do everything possible to carry out the line of the Party and on its part it is the duty of the Party to build up and extend its fractions systematically.

Comrade Zapotocky then delivered his concluding speech: The significance of the discussion consisted in the fact that it revealed the weaknesses of our trade union work. Many comrades overestimate the importance of the revolutionary unions. At the formation of the I. A. V. we did not say that our aim was to form red unions, but we were forced to do this because of the expulsions from the reformist unions. Our aim is to set up united unions. When we have achieved this we will liquidate the revolutionary unions. Those comrades who demand that the I. A. V. should take a stronger line in the leadership of labour struggles forget that the I. A. V. only organises one eighth of the total number of organised workers in Czechoslovakia. Our task is to give the red unions a broad basis, but without influencing the reformist unions through our fractions in them we cannot fulfill this task. We must win the confidence of the proletariat through trade union work, only in this way will we be able to achieve united unions and a united front in the struggle.

The resolution upon the trade union work was then unanimously adopted.

After the report of comrade Haken upon the work of the political commission, the Party conference unanimously adopted the political resolution.

The Party conference was then closed with a speech of comrade Kreibich.

## Greetings from the Communist International to the 4th Party Conference of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia.

Comrades!

Your Party Conference meets together when there prevails an exceedingly complicated international situation. The Council of the so-called "Great Powers", with England at the head, is conducting a predatory war against China. In spite of all the phrases regarding peace and non-intervention, in spite of all the social democratic hymns of praise to the "League of Nations", the chief Powers belonging to this "League" are uniting together further military forces in order to throttle the movement for freedom of the Chinese nation. At the same time further and decisive attempts are being made to organise a new reactionary "Holy Alliance" against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Czechoslovakia in its foreign political reaction has likewise been drawn into the track of the counter-revolutionary foreign policy.

On the line of home policy it is being drawn more and more along the track of social and political reaction by the bloc of the bourgeois parties. The obstacles which are being created to establishing connection with the Soviet Union are plunging the country into the abyss of a chronic crisis.

The results of this crisis are being transferred exclusively on to the shoulders of the working masses, and the bourgeoisie is step by step depriving them of the achievements of the earlier period.

The reformist parties, in all main and fundamental questions, are entangling themselves in the net of the bourgeois bloc.

Only our Party, the section of the Communist International, is a proletarian mass Party which offers determined resistance to the attacks of the combined forces of the bourgeoisie and agrarians which are becoming more and more insolent.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which a few years ago overcame its crisis, is now proceeding steadily along the way of mass work, and therein lies the guarantee for its success.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International expresses the firm conviction that the Czechoslovakian section will, after the Party Conference, develop an even more energetic work among the broad masses, in the trade union organisations, among the small peasants, among the working sections of the national minorities, for the international unity of the workers, will carry out the revolutionary united front tactics and raise the class consciousness of the masses.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International is convinced that the great historical questions which are appearing on the order of the day in connection with the Chinese revolution and the counter-revolutionary attacks on the Soviet Union will be solved by the Party in a sense of revolutionary Marxism, in the sense of Leninism, which was, is and will be the flag of the Communist International.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International wishes the Party Conference success in its work and once again greets the Party of the proletariat of Czechoslovakia.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

### The Tenth Anniversary of the February Revolution.

Speech by Comrade N. I. Bukharin at the Celebration Meeting in the Great Theatre at Moscow.

(Conclusion.)

4. On the rapacious policy of the despotic regime, on wars, on the fostering of popular ignorance, and on the hatred of culture, or an explanation why certain British statesmen love Tsarist lackeys.

We have already pointed out that the Tsarist despotism had become involved in a violent opposition to the entire development of our country. We must dwell at greater length with this aspect of the question. Not infrequently we are asked, "But how can that be; Russia surely developed very rapidly in the few years preceding the war". True, but so far as it developed at all, it developed against the will of the Tsarist regime. The main cause of rapidity of capitalistic development as really existed, was the vigorous influx of foreign capital seeking investment. On the other hand, the peasantry, almost destitute and devoid of land, impoverished by exorbitant taxation and rents (which latter rose at a catastrophic rate), represented no sufficiently absorbing market. Enormous regions, especially in what we may call our "central zone", were in decay.

Partly with a view to making up for this lack of adequate markets and sufficient taxable objects, the arbitrary Government was obliged to plunge into adventures abroad and to continue plundering more and more territories. This is the reason why the arbitrary regime displayed so aggressive and rapacious a character in foreign politics. Although from the standpoint of power this was neither a dictatorship of financial capitalism nor one of the bourgeoisie, but rather a dictatorship of the large serf-holding landed proprietors, these landed proprietors pursued an aggressive foreign policy, not only because they were compelled to listen to the demands of the bourgeoisie, nor yet merely because such a policy was dictated to them by the allied bourgeois countries, but also out of compliance with their own interests as large landed proprietors, interests which they were wont to designate as "genuine Russian".

The home policy of this regime was therefore closely bound up with its foreign policy. But the wars placed tremendous burdens on the country and radically undermined the entire bureaucratic Tsarist machinery, which they utterly disintegrated and demoralised. Nor is it by any means a matter of mere chance that the Tsarist autocracy should have experienced a "dress rehearsal" of its final overthrow, the first powerful blow dealt it following after an "unsuccessful" war. Following on the cruel reverses of the Russo-Japanese war, there came the year 1905, with the barricades at Pressnaya, the working class quarter of Moscow, and the powerful agrarian movement among the Russian peasantry. Arbitrary rule collapsed under the blows of the revolution, which was in closest connection with the military collapse of the Empire in the course of the great war. If the year 1905 was the "dress rehearsal" of the overthrow of arbitrary rule in Russia, the year 1917 was its grave.

The tremendous apparatus of Tsarist exploitation could not be maintained for any length of time, save by being based on an equally stupendous ignorance on the part of the peasantry. The "relative stabilisation" of the Tsarist regime rested to a very great degree on this ignorance, a fact which explains the extraordinarily furious hatred of the arbitrary regime against all and every innovation, even in the way of bourgeois culture, and the specially furious hatred felt towards every individual or small group among the people who ever succeeded in raising themselves to a higher rung of the ladder of culture. A Russian Minister of the Tsarist regime is well known to have remarked that a "cook's son" had no business to come to the University. But even against the simple bourgeois culture, the arbitrary Tsarist regime sometimes showed a truly bestial hatred. In this connection great interest attaches to an example which, it is true, refers to the time of Tsar Nicholas I., or as he was called, Nicholas Palkin (derived from the word "palka", meaning a stick or cane).

When Pushkin, a man whose importance in Russian literature is well known to every one, died and was about to be buried, the censors prohibited the publication of any material about him. I may quote a short dialogue which took place in this connection at the time, and which has since been published in a highly interesting booklet on Pushkin by the well known writer Veressayev. When A. A. Krayevsky caused a short notice on the poet's death to be published, he was immediately summoned to "render account" therefor to the Curator of the Educational District, Prince Doundoukov-Korsakov, who was at the same time the chairman of the Committee of Censors.

This "Prince Doundouk", whom Pushkin had made notorious, now reproached Krayevsky as follows for his "crime":

"I must inform you, he said, that Minister Uvarov is highly displeased with you. Why this notice in regard to Pushkin? How do you come to put a black border round the obituary notice of a man who had neither official rank

nor any position in the State service? This is really going too far. What are these expressions you employ? 'The sun of poetry'. Pray tell me, why so much honour? 'Pushkin died . . . in the midst of his great work'. What sort of work was it? The Minister himself asked whether Pushkin was the leader of an army, a warrior, a minister, a statesman?! And when all is said and done, he died without even attaining the age of 40. Writing verses constitutes no great work, as the Minister himself remarked. I have been instructed to reprimand you severely and to remind you that, as an official in the Ministry of Public Education, you should particularly refrain from all such publications." (Quoted from "Krassnaya Novy", vol. 3, p. 157.)

Is there not palpably presented here that stupid, narrow regime of Nicholas Palkin, which recognised nothing but Governors? (Applause.)

5. On the evidence of Souvorin senior, on the Grand Dukes and the administrative methods of the autocracy, on the "benefits" conferred by the autocracy on the peasants, workers, and national minorities.

It is obvious that, in view of the extremely narrow circle which provided the State administrators during the Tsarist regime and which refused to admit any individuals from without, it cannot be said that intelligence of any higher order flourished among the administrators of the Tsarist Empire. Even from the standpoint of the interests of the big landowners, it cannot be maintained that the representatives of the Imperial bureaucracy were distinguished for special "nimbleness of thought".

This has been pointed out, inter alia, by some of those who were not prepared to spend their whole lives in licking the boots of the "autocrats". It is generally known, that a certain Souvorin was at one time editor of the "Novoye Vremya" (New Age) a publication which was in connection with the secret police and had the character of a semi-official paper. In the latest period of the history of "public opinion" in Russia, this same Souvorin attained a great reputation; indeed, the expression "children of Souvorin" is very widely used in place of a certain Russian term. (Laughter.)

Souvorin, who produced such "children" and who played a relatively important rôle in Russian culture, wrote for his own amusement a diary, which has now been published. And it is a matter of some interest to see what he wrote "for his pleasure" about those circles, which in his "Novoye Vremya" he served, not for pleasure but for hard cash. The difference is tremendous. On page 229 of his "diary", e. g., he writes in regard to the Grand Dukes, i. e. about the very highest circle of those in power under the landowner regime, as follows:

"I have heard that Kuropatkin has been transferred to the Caucasus and that he can no longer agree with the Grand Dukes at Warsaw. A great pest, such Grand Dukes. Only rogues can get on well with them, for to such they are a good source of income."

On the same page, Souvorin remarks:

"Plyushtchik-Plishtchevski relates that on his recommendation Grand Duke Sergius Alexandrovitch received a bribe of two millions for the further grant of the spirit monopoly at Moscow, that Witte undoubtedly possessed reliable evidence of the fact, and that the Tsar knew of it. Sergius Alexandrovitch came here a few days ago for a space of five hours all told. In one way or another, the Grand Dukes at all times accepted bribes and endeavoured to enrich themselves in every way." (Diary of A. Souvorin, Frénkel edition.)

All this was said by a witness who certainly knew what he was talking about, for he had insight into the most intimate secrets of the old regime, into what might be called the "holy of holies". It is also of interest that this apostle of Russian autocracy who offered incense to it at all street corners and praised it to the skies (Souvorin's son is still present at all the parades of Wrangel's men and is an enthusiast for the by-gone "golden times" of Russian autocracy), it is interesting, I say, to notice how Souvorin wrote for his own "amusement" in regard to the state of affairs among the autocrats. I may quote another short passage from his diary. This is the manner in which he speaks of the order prevailing under autocracy.

"Absolutism is far better than parliamentarism, for in the latter case it is human beings that rule, while in the former it is God. An invisible God, who is, however, tan-

gible enough. Nobody sees him, but all have heavy hearts and every one can be besmirched in any case and beyond all measure. The Tsar learns of God alone and consults with none but God. But since God is invisible, he takes counsel of all men whom he encounters, with his wife, with his mother, with his stomach, with his entire nature, and all this he looks upon as the counsel of God. The counsels of the Ministers, however, are yet superior to those of God, for they take care of themselves, they take care of the Tsar and of the dynasty. There can be nothing better than absolutism, for it breeds a whole hive of superfluous and altogether useless people, who find some job for themselves. These are people of the privileged classes, and the main part of their privileges consists in the fact that, though they have nothing in their heads they are the heads of the people." (Laughter, applause.)

It is altogether obvious that the cruel process of exploitation of the broadest classes of the population, the working class and the peasantry, had to be protected by a gigantic political apparatus. And if the so-called Russian intellectuals (men of letters, professors, i. e. persons wearing pinze-nez), were allowed occasionally to squeak out something in a terribly thin treble, no "weakness" at all was shown in dealing with the "dregs" of the population, the "cooks' sons", the workers and peasants; as a matter of fact, the working class and the peasantry were practically "outside the law" and a pack of rural police chiefs, district prefects, rural commissaries, rural police sergeants, gendarmes, secret police agents, regional inspectors, district police superintendents, and local police superintendents could act at their own sweet will.

When the working class first appeared on the political stage in Russia and began to create its own organisations, it was in a state of illegality and was forced to be illegal under the political order which dominated the whole country. It had not even the right to possess the most innocent of organisations. All activity on the part of the workers was persecuted; not even benefit funds might be founded. All cultural associations were quickly suppressed. There was no question at all of organisations among the peasantry.

Throughout the country, the Tsarist autocracy trampled the population under foot. While cold steel and fetters were employed against the working class, the most active class, with heads full of revolutionary ideas; and while the peasantry was suppressed just as severely from the political as from the economic point of view, the cold steel was also directed with all vigour against the numerous national minorities inhabiting the country. Any so-called "border district" and any group of the so-called "racial foreigners" (which charming term served in the literature of Russian autocracy as the official expression even in the broadest circles) in short all such as had not the "honour" of belonging to the ruling nation of Russian traders and Russian autocrats, were made to feel the full rigour of the laws of a regime which was specially directed against them. Such was the nature of this truly diabolical machinery of the Tsarist autocratic rule.

6. On the "love" of the people for the big landowners, on the subject of Pougatcheff's mutiny, on the revolutionary movement, on the kindly feelings of the nobles towards the people, on the year 1905, on the diary of Count Witte, on the brute proletariat, on Shoulgin's machine-guns, on Tchernov's mob-rule, and on the subject of some tasks of ours arising from the foregoing.

In the course of the 300-years history of the house of Romanov, the people repeatedly rose and turned in its masses against that diabolical machine.

The last movement against the system of serfdom, a far-reaching and deeply-rooted movement of the masses, was the mutiny of Pougatcheff, designated by the ruling classes as "senseless and merciless". It is only now that the historians of our Soviet Union have opened the dusty coffer with its archives which refer to this great peasant movement against the big landowners. And only now have we learnt how powerful this movement was, how well organised it was, and how it reflected the burning hatred of the peasant against the serf-holding landlord. We have now a whole collection of appeals which were drawn up in the camp of the insurgents participating in the "Pougatcheff mutiny".

The proclamations of Pougatcheff and his closest collaborators are a true reflection of life under the stress of a rough and merciless struggle. If the landlords called the rebels "male-

factors" and "thieves" and described them as "convicts", the waves of the popular fury and hatred were directed against the entire regime of landlords, and against the whole system of serfdom. Pougatcheff called himself a "peasant Tsar" under the assumed name of "Peter Fedorovitch", with a view to exploiting certain monarchist prejudices of the peasantry. His orders, however, express clearly enough against what class enemy the weapons of the fight must be directed.

As an example of these manifestos, I may quote the following passage:

"But if any of you refuse to pay heed to the moderation I have shown, as the nobles and the landlords refuse to do, he will lose his life, i. e. suffer death, as a criminal against the law and against the public peace, as a malefactor and an opponent of the imperial will; his house and all his possessions meanwhile will be confiscated."

Another passage, culled from an order dated July 1774, runs as follows:

"The former nobles in their domains and entailed estates are to be looked upon as opponents of our power and as inciters against the realm and ravagers of the peasants; and as such they must be seized and hanged."

These examples clearly show that this last of the risings of the masses of Russia against the system of serfdom was fully conscious of its class aims; it speaks straight out regarding the rule of serf-holding landlords and calls for an unrelenting fight against this class that ruled Russia at the time.

Naturally this rising ended in the same way as previous attempts had ended. The best generals and best commanders of the Empress Catherine II. were summoned by that "virtuous", "humane", and philosophising lady to aid the throne. The movement was destroyed; it was suppressed by merciless terrorism; an enormous number of people were executed; Pougatcheff was taken prisoner. It was a particularly "humane" act on the part of the Empress, who had a reputation for reading French philosophy and of being very "humane" and "liberal", that she should have given the order that Pougatcheff be locked in a cage, taken to the so-called "swamp-ground", and there quartered. The hangman, who was instructed to kill the prisoner gradually by first amputating his arms and legs and then beheading him, could not bring himself to do so and preferred to put this peasant leader out of his misery at once.

This was the end of the movement. In the course of the further history of the Tsarist autocracy, we find a number of other attempts at the overthrow of the regime, both timid attempts in this direction on the part of the bourgeoisie (e. g. the movement of the Decabrist, the centenary of which we recently celebrated and which has been much spoken and written of of late) and the heroic fight of the rebellious peasants in the time immediately preceding the "emancipation" of the serfs in the year 1861; finally also the fight put up by the revolutionary parties, those first nuclei of the organised struggle against the Tsarist autocracy, and the first actions of the proletariat.

Finally we come to the year 1905, which determined fundamentally that proportion of the social forces within the country which crystallised in the year 1917. The most far-seeing among those in the camp hostile to us foresaw this proportion in its entirety.

One of the very few far-sighted men at the disposal of Tsarism, was the well-known Count Witte. He, too, left a diary, which has now been published. From this diary of Witte's, which contains a great amount of extremely interesting material, I shall here quote a passage which describes the impression of this certainly far from dull observer in regard to the distribution of the social forces in the course of the revolution of 1905 and the "sentiments" he had in this connection. This is what he wrote in regard to the situation which had developed in 1905:

"The nobility has come to recognise that it will have to divide the cake with the bourgeoisie; to this idea it has become reconciled. But neither the nobility nor the bourgeoisie have so far given a thought to the class-conscious proletariat. In the meantime, the latter, to the surprise of these short-sighted politicians, suddenly appeared on the scene in September, 1905, with all its elementary force, a force which is based on numbers, but also on the low level of culture, and perhaps more than all on the fact that the class in question has nothing to lose. Hardly had it appro-



ached the cake (here Witte forgets to mention that the cake by rights, belongs to the people, describing it rather as a foreign object)" (Laughter), than it began to roar like a beast which holds back at nothing in order to devour all that is not of the same origin as itself. When the nobility and the bourgeoisie caught sight of this animal, they began to retire, that is to say, the rich began to get together."

This is by no means badly expressed: "When the nobility and the bourgeoisie caught sight of this animal, they began to retire, that is to say, the rich began to get together. These are remarkable words. Here the writer analyses quite correctly the proportion of the social forces and that of the classes, such as resulted during the revolution of 1905. The bourgeoisie complains against the Tsarist autocracy, but they have caught sight of the "beast" in the shape of the proletariat, and that has frightened it more than autocracy, and therefore they have begun to form a closer alliance with the big landowners, which means that they have become counter-revolutionary. This was indeed the fact, and the entire subsequent history of the revolution confirmed it.

The sober, I might almost say, Bolshevik, analysis of Count Witte was naturally accompanied by bitter animosity against the proletariat, which he, of course, also designated as an "animal", and as one "of poor culture" into the bargain. It is no wonder that Witte should have been fully and wholly in favour of treating this animal to a heavy dose of machine-gun lead, confirming, as he did, the sole and unrestricted right to the "cake" on the part of the big landowner animals, those true champions of culture and civilisation, so delicately characterised for hundreds of years by the nagaika and the knout.

In the revolution of 1917, this ranging of forces, and the general tendency of the class groupings found a yet more sharp expression. And why? Because during the time which had passed since the first revolution of the year 1905, our "poorly cultured animal", our class, the proletariat, had managed to rise, began to roar somewhat louder than in 1905 and had probably also become rather better cultured. On the basis of the economic growth it had grown in numbers, had profited by the lessons contained in its own history, had succeeded in forming a good organisation of its own, had learnt to manoeuvre in face of the other classes, and had attracted the many millions of peasant farmers, who had started to cry not only "Down with the war!" but also "Give us the land of the big landlords!" It was not only the peasant mutineers of Pougatcheff that now came forward under a new name, but also the proletarian "animal", which raised itself to its full height and marched with gigantic strides at the head of the entire movement.

It is therefore quite natural that the process of the bourgeois rally should have ensued most rapidly. This rally comprised not only the actual bourgeoisie, but also the petty bourgeois parties, all the Zeretellis, Tchernovs, Dans, etc. who were also extremely terrified at the sight of the "animal". It is hardly surprising that Victor Tchernov, one of the most eminent ideologists of the S. R. Party, should have called our October revolution undemocratic and non-proletarian. He managed to find a name for it in the Greek dictionary, "ochlocracy", or mob-rule. It is not difficult to comprehend that Tchernov's "mob" is related to the "animal" of Count Witte. But whether the expression chosen to designate us was mob or animal, need not matter a rap to us. (Applause).

It is of historical importance that the said "animal" and its "bestial" "mob-rule" party, should have proved more prudent and far-seeing than the bourgeoisie and the compromising slyboots of all forms and shades. But that they called our class "mob" and "animal" must not be forgotten, least of all by our peasants, for the united front from Tchernov to the Nikolay Nikolayevitch is by no means a matter of chance. It is the united front of all that furious hatred, which grows more and more difficult to restrain the more hopeless the position of the opponents of the proletarian dictatorship becomes.

A classical and in its way magnificent example of this unrestrained hatred on the part of the nobles against the workers and peasants is to be found in the works of M. Shoulgin, a "humane" and "cultured" champion of civilisation of the big landlords.

Shoulgin writes of the people in its entirety, not of any particular "bolshevik" and not even about the proletarian

"animal", but of our people as a whole. This is how he describes the February revolution:

"From the first moment of this "deluge" (if the February revolution is a deluge, it certainly has swept away many people) (Laughter, applause), my soul was filled with horror, which has not quitted it since then, throughout the whole duration of the "great" Russian revolution.

"The endless and inexhaustible current of human events again and again showed fresh faces in the Duma; but, however many there were it was always one and the same face, either blackguardly and bestially dull or blackguardly and diabolically malicious. ("The February Revolution". Recollections. State Printing Works, p. 89).

And then again:

"Lord, that was awful! So abominable that I ground my teeth and felt within me nothing but a single, helpless, and yet increasingly fierce longing.

Machine-guns!

"Machine-guns it was that I longed for. For I felt that nothing but the language of machine-guns is comprehensible to the street mob, and that only bullets could drive back into its den the abominable animal which had been let loose on the world.

"And this animal, alas! It was no less than His Majesty the Russian people!" (Ditto).

Such were the sentiments which animated "them".

Thus Shoulgin speaks not only of the "animal" but also of the machine-guns which are to be used against it. This should likewise and in any case be remembered by our peasants, not to mention our workers. This is what the nobility thinks of our entire working masses of the population. And that is the unabashed tone in which the nobles will once more begin to speak to us should the hand of the people fail and should "they" once more seize the people by the throat.

- In another passage later on Shoulgin writes:

"I remember the sentiment of the nearness of death and the readiness for death which I felt all that day and during the following few days.

Was I to die? Be it so.

Only not to have to see the repulsive faces of the blackguardly mob, not to hear the impudent speeches and the howls of these miserable curs.

Oh, for the machine-guns. Would I had machine-guns." (Ditto, p. 91.)

This language is almost artistic. It is curious and in its way almost beautiful. There is a certain amount of pleasure to be derived from reading something like that. Here we see what are the motive forces which drive our opponents. We know that the General Hoffmanns of all countries, those civilised opponents of ours, may sometimes speak to us in very courteous language. But we also know that behind this language is hidden their real Shoulgin vocabulary. And now that we see how the malicious glances of the imperialists are once more directed towards our country, we must say to ourselves "We shall certainly be on our guard". And if we know now that our opponents have not yet sufficient forces to oppose us speedily, if we know that we must be exceedingly calm and reserved, we are yet bound to look forward and be able to distinguish between the diplomatic phrases and the "Shoulgin" feelings which reveal our class-opponents as they really are.

On the tenth anniversary of our February victory, at the celebration of that February which was but a forerunner of October, our class, the vanguard class, the great working class, our proletariat, grasps the hand of the peasantry and raises aloft its red flag, higher and yet higher. Still more brightly gleams our Soviet star over all the world, and more closely and quickly shall we establish our Socialist fatherland, which we have conquered at the price of our blood. We are building up our Union of Soviet Republics, not as a prison, but as a great fraternity of all peoples (for there are more than 100 nationalities in our Soviet Union); we are building it up not as a realm for obnoxious capitalist exploitation but as a great, powerful granite pillar of future Socialism; we are not building it up as an international police-office, but we are welding the great organisatory forces for the historical battles of the future, for the decisive victory of the international working class. It is for this victory that we live and for this victory we shall fulfil all that has been entrusted to us by the history of our class in its responsible historic position. (Vociferous applause. Singing of the "International".)

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### The 20 Years' Jubilee of the 1st International Youth Conference.

By Fritz Reinhardt.

Almost twenty years have passed since, following on the International Socialist Congress, representatives of the revolutionary proletarian youth of various countries met for the first time on August 24th to 26th 1907 in Stuttgart for an International Youth Conference.

The conception of the proletarian youth movement, its birth and its growth took place under the most difficult conditions. The proletarian youth movement came into being in a struggle against governments, authorities and police organs which, not only in Germany under Bismark, but also in other countries, passed laws concerning young people's unions which, under penalty of heavy fines and imprisonment, forbade juveniles under 18 years joining young people's political unions or attending political meetings.

The "Young Guards" in Belgium, which were founded in 1886, formed the threshold of the proletarian youth movement and served as an example which was copied by the working youth of Italy, Holland and Sweden. These were followed at the beginning of the 20th century by young workers' organisations in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Hungary and, a few years later, in France also. The proletarian youth movement arose as a movement for combating bourgeois militarism and the excessive distress among young workers, especially apprentices in manual work and trade, in home industries and agriculture. The proletarian youth had to fight not only against the bourgeoisie and the police, it had a second enemy, an enemy within its own camp. The leaders of the Reformist party and the trade unions were afraid of the revolutionary youth movement assuming too great dimensions and tried to deprive it of its right of independence as an organisation. In most countries, the proletarian youth movement had to assert itself against the leaders of the Social Democratic party and the trade unions.

Following on the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart in 1907, they succeeded, after some unsuccessful attempts, in holding the first International Youth Congress on August 24th to 26th, delegates from twelve different countries taking part. German Social Democracy declined to send official delegates to this Congress. There were only a few adults who helped the young people to create their fighting organisation, the most prominent amongst whom were Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, Roland-Holst. The first international youth conference was of tremendous importance in the revolutionary movement. At this Conference, the proletarian youth movement received its first fighting programme. After speeches by Karl Liebknecht, Alpari and Roland-Holst, a programme was accepted containing the economic demands of the young workers, principles for the socialist education of the young workers were laid down based on the participation of the young people in the actions of the proletariat and guiding lines for anti-militarist activities established on the basis of Karl Liebknecht's speech. Subsequent to this conference, the "International Association of Socialist Youth Organisations" was founded.

When the parties of the 2nd International had forgotten the asseverations and oaths of international solidarity which they had exchanged, when they succumbed to the patriotic intoxication, it was once again the proletarian youth movement which, with revolutionary force and decision threw itself into the breach against the war mania and tempest of nationalism and was the first to unroll the banner of the international class war. The revolutionary youth began once more to take up international connections and it was not long — as early as Easter 1915 — before 16 representatives of the proletarian youth from 10 different countries met for a conference at Berne. The Berne Conference laid the foundation stone of a new and more determined Communist Young People's International.

When the military collapse was followed by revolutions in Russia, Germany and Austro-Hungary, the proletarian youth movement was again in the front ranks. In the consciousness that it is the historic mission of the proletarian youth movement to carry through the social revolution to an end as in Russia, and to establish the proletarian dictatorship, 19 dele-

gates representing 14 socialist youth organisations, met on November 20th to 26th 1919 and founded the Young Communist International.

The foundation Congress professed its adherence to the traditions of the 1st International Conference, took over some of its demands and carried on the fight for the same ends. Karl Liebknecht, the pioneer of the international proletarian youth movement, could, alas, not be present at this conference. The White Guardist officers had, at the instigation of the Social Democratic Government of Ebert, Scheidemann and Noske, murdered him and Rosa Luxemburg a few months previously. A section of the young workers, which had split off from the revolutionary youth movement and had founded the Socialist Young Workers International, joined these murderers. It was a betrayal of the principles of the 1st International Youth Conference at Stuttgart.

The Y. C. I., the sole heir of the traditions of the Stuttgart Youth Conference, is making the 20th anniversary of the 1st International Youth Conference the occasion for a widespread campaign for the demands of the young workers. It will continue the campaign for the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Stuttgart Conference on August 24th to 26th until the 13th International Youth Day on September 4th. The Young Communist Leagues must already make every preparation to gather the masses of young workers round the banner of the Young Communist International and to enlist them in its ranks.

## THE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT

### The Third International Conference of the Children's Leagues of the Y.C.I.

By Ernst.

The economic position of the working class and political events play the decisive role in the activity of the Communist Children's Leagues. The proletarian child, the offspring of the workers, is the chief victim of capitalist rationalisation, a fact which is noticeably from the physical development of the children. Moreover, exploitation of the children is on the increase, and their misery is further added to by the chronic mass unemployment. Capital's offensive policy against the workers also finds expression in an accentuated reactionary policy in the schools. In Germany, through the threatening clericalisation of the whole school system (National Concordate, National School Act); in Great Britain, through imperialistic and chauvinistic tendencies which are steadily becoming more outspoken in education; in France, through the introduction of military training into the curriculum and through the fostering of the nationalist spirit.

This situation, which is only briefly sketched here, gave direction to the resolutions to be taken by the Third International Conference of the Children's League of the Y. C. I. With the exception of Poland and Finland, which were prevented from putting in an appearance, all the leagues which were invited attended (The Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway).

The report of the activity of the International Children's Bureau and the special reports concerning the position of the children's leagues in Germany, Great Britain and France prove that the international children's movement has made good progress.

In a number of countries the children's organisation has developed into firmly centralised children's leagues, and especially in South America new leagues have been founded or consolidated (Chile, Argentina, Uruguay). It is interesting to note that in Mexico, too, a Communist children's league has been formed and that the children's league in China numbers 9000 members.

The greatest progress has been made in Germany, where good mass work has been commenced, and in England, where the children's league has taken active part in the struggle of the workers and tried to bring the masses of the children into the strike movement by means of the slogan: Help the miners' children! and of the demands: Free food in the schools and financial support.

On the other hand there are a number of countries in which the development of the children's movement has come to a standstill. Such is the case in France and in the Scandinavian countries.

One of the most important future tasks of the children's leagues is the setting up of a uniform **organisatory structure**. In European countries the school is the proper battle field and the children's leagues must be built up accordingly. At the international conference a **model statute** was discussed for Communist children's leagues throughout the world and adopted unanimously, providing for the organisation of children according to school and factory (the latter applying especially in countries where there is no compulsory education and masses of children work in the factories).

Our children's leagues must become **mass organisations**, and it is, therefore, necessary that means and methods must be employed to gather in the broad masses of the children of workers in town and country. At the same time, the principal force of our work must not be concentrated on the secular schools only; the fighting spirit of the children's leagues must be applied in special measure in the church schools and reactionary schools.

The support given to the Communist children's leagues by the **Communist parties** leaves very much to be desired. The Communist parties lead the children's leagues through the **youth leagues**, but the financial and moral support which is given to the children's leagues is everywhere inadequate. It is absolutely imperative that at the Party executive and at Party conferences and meetings of functionaries the fundamental questions of the Communist children's movement, of the school policy, as also the question of child labour should be discussed. In the same way, representatives of the Party should take part in the management of the children's leagues.

Up to the present, the question of the content of the work in the nuclei and groups has been treated far too generally; at the Third International Conference it was for the first time discussed systematically, and the methods and forms of our militant work were laid down carefully and concretely. In addition to the work in the schools, the children's leagues must carry on intensive work in the street and in the family.

The big strikes which must be faced in the near future in a number of countries present our children's leagues with absolutely new tasks. The experience of the British children's leagues during the general strike and the mining lock-out show very clearly that there are great possibilities in mobilising the broad masses of the children in such situations in support of the fights of the adults. It was, therefore, opportune that guiding lines for the participation of the children in the strike fight were submitted to the conference.

A number of examples from Germany illustrate what means must be employed to keep the children to their organisation and to educate them in collective work. Self-management, personal participation and the solution of all problems by the children themselves must be the principles according to which the members should work.

If the work in the children's leagues is to be well executed, it is necessary that the leaders should be well prepared for their task. Beside the **training of the leaders**, the formation of a **new cadre of leaders** is, therefore, a very important requirement.

From the treatment of the point: "**The friendly and hostile children's organisations and our tasks**", it was evident that our organisations have, practically speaking, carried on no militant work against the opposing organisations. There are masses of working-class children gathered in the **workers' sports organisations**, and co-operation with these children should be arranged.

It is of great significance that the Social Democrats are beginning to form, beyond the previous scope of their children's welfare organisations, **Red Falcon organisations on the lines of the Boy Scout Movement**. In France, Great Britain and North America, huge masses of working-class children belong to the **Boy Scout and Fascist organisations**. We should also not forget the millions of children in every country who are under the influence of the church and enrolled in religious organisations and Sunday-school classes.

Our children's leagues are a portion of the **general Communist movement**. In the face of the attempts at oppression on the part of the bourgeoisie, resistance through reactionary school

staffs, through police and law courts, as also in the use of special fighting methods, it is absolutely necessary that the children leagues should have the support of the **adult working class**. Special organisations of parents are not the most suitable form for the support of our children's leagues; experience has taught us that they are even a hindrance to the militant work which we have to do.

In order to assure general support and material help for our children's leagues and in order to extend our influence, it was resolved to create in all countries **auxiliary committees to support the revolutionary children's movement**. Representatives of all organisations in sympathy with us, and especially of **trade unions and factories**, should be drawn into these committees. In Czechoslovakia and Great Britain successful efforts in this direction have already been made and it is the task of the workers in all countries to form such committees for the support of the revolutionary children's movement.

\* \* \*

These were the most important questions dealt with at the six-day conference of the children's leagues. It will depend very largely upon the active support of the revolutionary workers under the leadership of the Communist Parties whether the children's leagues will be able to fulfil the tasks which confront them and develop into mass organisations of the workers' and peasants' children.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### Liau Han Sin: "The Unequal Treaties and the Chinese Revolution" \*).

By J. G.

The demand for briefly written and at the same time not superficial works on the questions of the colonial and semi-colonial countries which are acquiring ever increasing importance, is making itself more and more felt. The little work under review, "The unequal treaties and the Chinese revolution", written by the Plenipotentiary Representative of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, **Liau Han Sin**, is well adapted to meet this demand as far as the national revolutionary movement in China is concerned. This clearly written pamphlet which provides a good survey of the whole question, is divided into three main sections:

The section on the "**Rise of the Unequal Treaties**" describes the penetration of the foreign capitalists into China, the forcing by the English of the import of opium, the first compulsory treaty as a result of the Opium war at the beginning of the forties of last century, the extension of these compulsory treaties twenty years afterwards in favour of England and France and the enforced grant of similar treaties to Tsarist Russia, Germany, Japan and other States.

The effect of the unequal treaties is dealt with in the second section. The political dependence as a result of the privileges of the foreign citizens of the imperialist powers, of the special rights of the concession areas, foreign settlements and railway concessions is made clear as well as the dependence through the special privileges for foreign warships, through the administration of the Chinese customs and the foreign control of an enormous portion of the sources of revenue of the Chinese State. Not only a great portion of the industries, the mines, transport, banks and commerce is dependent on foreign undertakings, but, what is less known, also a considerably part of the agriculture of China.

The third and most detailed section is devoted to the **revolutionary movement of China**. The development since the Taiping peasant revolt, "a peasants' revolution under catholic leadership with monarchist-communist goals", which lasted from 1850 until 1864 and after considerable successes ended in a defeat, through the bourgeois revolution which extended with varying fortunes from 1885 up to the year 1919, up to the national revolution which took its place, in which the role of the working masses is continually increasing in importance,

"The Unequal Treaties and the Chinese Revolution." By Liau Han Sin. Plenipotentiary Representative of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. 1927. Published by the Kuomintang Delegation, Berlin.

is graphically described. The political development of Sun Yat Sen and his Kuomintang Party which arose out of various groups, is dealt with in detail. The trade union movement and the movement for the abolition of the unequal treaties and the convocation of the National Assembly are clearly portrayed.

This brochure which is calculated to provide a proper understanding of the manifold and complicated questions of the Chinese revolution deserves the widest circulation.

## TEN YEARS AGO

### The Whole of Russia in Favour of the New Government.

Petrograd, 22nd March (Petrograd Telegraph Agency).

According to the latest reports, the whole of Russia, including Finland, Turkestan and Siberia, has declared itself completely in favour of the new government formed by the Duma with the energetic support of the patriotic troops in the Russian Empire. There has never been so short a revolution as this one which commenced in Petrograd and rushed like a trail of fire throughout the whole land setting it in flames within a few days and ending in its complete renaissance.

The source of this obvious success is to be found in the logical necessity realised by the Russian people for many years, and particularly in recent years. It was clear to everyone that the State would be plunged into an abyss of irreparable misfortune and the war shamefully lost if the old and thoroughly egotistical government under the leadership of an effete dynasty, continued its policy of oppressing the people and paralysing all constructive forces. This was the reason why the cry was sounded in Petrograd: "Down with the old and rotten regime. Long live the free democratic State!" and was taken up unanimously in the whole of Russia so that the country freed itself at one blow and almost painlessly from the shackles of the absolute monarchy.

According to calculations the coup d'Etat cost Russia with its 130,000,000 inhabitants only about 2000 killed and wounded. This figure is comparatively insignificant when compared with the total number of victims taken by the revolutions in the other countries known to history.

For the same reason Russia, or better Petrograd which only experienced at most a week of disorder, has almost completely resumed its normal life, for everyone has placed himself behind the new government, and the time when the Tsar and his favourites throttled the land seems gone like a crushing alp happily dissolved in the light of political freedom. This freedom is being enjoyed by Russia because the new government is doing everything possible to carry out without any delay the principles announced by it in its manifesto upon the day it obtained power. The facts of the political amnesty, the complete re-establishment of the Finnish constitution and other liberal measures are the best proof for this.

The following are the most important events of the last few days: the new government, which was unanimously accepted and enthusiastically supported by the populace, has removed all the governors and deputy governors. Those of them who were known as the party hangers-on of the old government have been arrested. The district administration has been handed over to the presidents of the Zemstvo as temporary commissioners.

In order to protect the country against any attempt at counter-revolution and against monarchist propaganda, the government has deprived the ex-Tsar and his consort of their freedom, having isolated them in the palace of Tsarkoya Zelo. The minister of Justice, Kerensky has presented the cabinet with a draft law for the abolition of the death sentence and has made arrangements to permit the participation of women in the elections for the Constituent Assembly. He has further recommended that all Russian citizens exiled or forced to emigrate on account of political actions should be assisted with all possible means to return to Russia. In most of the towns the corrupt police has been replaced by militia formed amongst the inhabitants. Everywhere complete order is being maintained. A similar militia has been formed in Petrograd which has practically resumed its former appearance. The newspapers in

Petrograd no longer appear mutilated by the censor. Crowds of happy people throng the streets and fill the shops. Numerous political associations are holding meetings which the old Tsarist bureaucracy would never have permitted. Such meetings are being held continually and are filling the capital with an animated public life. The theatres will once again give Sunday performances whilst the Cinemas are preparing films dealing with the events of the revolution.

The only thing which reminds one of the great days so recently experienced, is the red bunting, the symbol of freedom, decorating most of the houses, and the great red flag over the roof of the Winter Palace which building according to a governmental decision, will be the seat of the Constituent Assembly which will meet shortly. The news from the provinces in encouraging. The reports speak almost unanimously of the joy of the populace at achieving its freedom from the yoke of Tsarism and of the firm determination of the people never again to submit to it.

### Programmatic Article of the First Number of the "Social Democrat" the Moscow organ of the Bolsheviki, published on the 20th March 1927.

Our newspaper is an organ of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, one of the fighting troops of the international proletarian movement, whose final aim is the realisation of socialism. This aim will be the flaming torch to guide us through all the stages of our struggle for the complete emancipation of the working class. We will deal with all forms of the working class movement, the political and trade union working class movement, from the standpoint of this final aim of the proletariat. In these various forms of the working class movement we only see many sides of the united class movement of the workers in their struggle for socialism.

A complete and logical democratisation of the state apparatus would give the best conditions for the achievement of this aim. Therefore, upon the political field we shall insist that the Constituent Assembly be immediately convened upon the basis of a general, direct, equal and secret franchise without distinction of sex or nationality.

The coming Russian State must be a democratic republic. The self-rule of the people must take the place of the arbitrary domination of the Tsar. All power must be concentrated into the hands of the representatives of the people who must be united into a chamber.

We stand for the general, direct, equal and secret franchise for all citizens who have reached the age of twenty years, this to apply both to the Constituent Assembly as also to the local administrative organs.

Although we are of the opinion that the provisional government does not represent the interests of the democracy, our organ will nevertheless support it insofar as it carries out the pledges undertaken by it. We shall keep guard over the achievements of the revolution; we shall carefully observe every step of the new government and we shall demand from it unlimited freedom of conscience, of the press, of meetings, of strikes, of organisation etc.

We will stand for the right of self-determination for all nations living within the confines of the Russian State.

Political freedom alone however, is not sufficient for a successful struggle for socialism. Such working conditions must be created in the factories and works and in agriculture as will ensure to the workers and their progeny protection against physical and moral degeneration and give them sufficient free time to utilise fully their political rights and to develop the capacities of the proletariat in the struggle for socialism.

We shall insist upon the immediate carrying out of our minimal economic programme, above all we shall insist upon the introduction of the eight hour working day.

With a view to abolishing all the remnants of feudalism in the villages and in the interests of a successful development

of the forces of production, we shall fight for the abolition of all aristocratic and class privileges and national disabilities and for the confiscation of all church, monastic, royal and private estates and the handing over of this land to the people.

In order to ameliorate the severe consequences of the war and the economic ravages left to the new Russia as a heritage from the old power, we stand for the principle of placing the war debts upon the shoulders of the possessing classes through the taxation of unearned income and by the abolition of all indirect taxes. We shall also demand that the food question be settled in accordance with the interests of the broad masses of the population.

We believe that the cause of the present war is to be found in the robber policy of the imperialist powers and in the armament race participated in by all great powers. We believe that the war which has weakened democracy and destroyed immense values accumulated by the labour of generations, is being pursued solely in the interests of the financiers and the large-scale industrialists.

We belong to that branch of international socialism which in opposition to the social chauvinists, has united itself around Zimmerwald and Kienthal. We will fight therefore for the immediate liquidation of the war by the united mass action of the organised workers of all countries.

We hold the standpoint of revolutionary socialism, and we consider any participation of socialists in a bourgeois government to be impermissible. We shall fight against any class peace and against any collaboration of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie upon the basis of the defence of the Fatherland.

We are in favour of the creation of a III. International in place of the II. International destroyed by the war. This new International, however, shall only admit such proletarian organisations in all countries which support the standpoint of international socialism and not social chauvinism, consider the interests of the whole movement more important than the interests of the workers of individual nations and which base themselves upon the revolutionary action of the working masses.

## Lenin's Letters from Afar.

### II.

#### The New Government and the Proletariat.

Zürich, 21st to 22nd March 1917.

The most important document which I have up to the present (21. 3.) is a copy of the English conservative newspaper the "Times" dated the 16th March giving a connected account of the news about the revolution in Russia. It is clear that it would be difficult to find a source more favourably disposed, to put it mildly, to the government of Gutschkov and Miliukov.

The correspondent of this newspaper reports from Petrograd on Wednesday the 14th (1st) March — that is to say, when only the first provisional government, i. e. the executive committee of the Duma existed which consisted of 13 people with Rodzianko at the head including, as the newspaper says, two "socialists" Kerensky and Tcheidse — the following:

"A group of 22 elected members of the State Council including Gutschkov, Stachovitz, Trubetzkoï, Professor Vassilev, Grim, Vernadski and others, sent a telegram to the Tsar yesterday 'beseeching him', in order to save the 'Dynasty' etc. etc., to convene the Duma and to appoint a head of the government enjoying 'the confidence of the nation'. At the present moment it is still unknown what the Emperor will do. One thing however is certain. If His Majesty does not fulfil the wishes of the moderate elements amongst his loyal subjects, then the influence enjoyed by the provisional committee of the state Duma will go over completely into the hands of the socialists who want a republic but who are not in a situation to create any stable government and who would inevitably precipitate the country into internal anarchy and external catastrophe..."

What deep political wisdom, and how clear it all is! How well the English friends (or perhaps masters) of Gutschkov and Miliukov understand the relationship of the classes and class

interests! "The moderate elements amongst his loyal subjects", that is to say, the monarchist landowners and capitalists wish for power to be placed in their hands and they realise very well that otherwise "influence" will go over into the hands of the „socialists". Why the socialists, why not any other elements? Because the English Gutschkovs see very well that there is and can be no other social force in the political arena. The proletariat brought about the revolution; the proletariat showed the greatest heroism and shed its blood, it drew the masses of the toilers and the poorest strata of the population with it, it demands bread, peace and freedom, it demands a republic and it sympathises with socialism. But the little group of landowners and capitalists with Gutschkov and Miliukov at its head wishes to counter and deceive the will and the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the people. It wishes to conclude a bargain with the decaying and falling monarchy, to support it and save it: "If Your Majesty will condescend to appoint Lvov and Gutschkov we will work together with Your Majesty against the people". That is the whole significance, the whole essence of the policy of the new government!

And how is the betrayal of the people, the stupefying of the people, the violation of the will of the overwhelming majority of the people to be justified?

They must be slandered; that is an old but ever new method of the bourgeoisie, and so the English Gutschkov slanders, swears, spits and hisses: "internal anarchy and external catastrophe", no "stable government"!!

But it is not true my dear Gutschkov! The workers want a republic, but a republic is a much more ordered and "stable" government than the monarchy. What is to guarantee the people that a second Romanov does not find a second Rasputin? It is a continuation of the war, that is to say a continuation of the policy of the new government, which will lead to catastrophe. A proletarian republic supported by the landworkers, the poorest sections of the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, alone will be able to give the people peace, bread, order and freedom.

The outcry against anarchy only serves to hide the selfish interests of the capitalists who wish to continue to enrich themselves out of the war and the war credits and to re-establish the monarchy against the people.

The correspondent continues:

"Yesterday the Social Democracy issued a manifesto the contents of which were calculated to stir up the people, and this manifesto was distributed in the whole town. They (the members of the Social Democratic Party) are purely doctrinaires, but in times like the present they are able to do very much damage. Kerensky and Tcheidse, who realise that without the support of the officers and the moderate elements amongst the populace they cannot avoid anarchy, are compelled to reckon with their less reasonable comrades and are being pushed into a position which will make the task of the provisional committee more complicated..."

A great English diplomat à la Gutschpov! How "unwisely" they have blabbed out the truth!

"The Social Democratic Party" and the "less reasonable comrades" with whom "Kerensky and Tcheidse are compelled to reckon" is, apparently, the Central Committee or the Petrograd Committee of our Party re-established by the January conference in 1912. It is the Bolsheviks who are abused by the bourgeoisie as "doctrinaires" because they have remained true to their doctrine, that is to say the basic principles, the teachings and the objects of socialism. The English Gutschkov abuses the manifesto and the attitude of our Party as disruptive and doctrinaire, obviously because of the appeal for a struggle for the republic, for peace, for the complete overthrow of the Tsarist monarchy and bread for the people.

Bread for the people and peace — that is mutiny. Ministerial seats for Gutschkov and Miliukov — that is "order". The old, old story!

What tactics are Kerensky and Tcheidse employing according to the description of our English Gutschkov?

Vacillating tactics. On the one hand they praise the Gutschkovs because they "realise (good clever children!) that without the support of the Officers and the moderate elements amongst the populace they cannot avoid anarchy" (We,

however, always believed, and still believe in accordance with our doctrine and the lessons of socialism, that it is the capitalists who force humanity into anarchy and war and that only the passing of the whole of political power into the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the populace can save humanity from war, anarchy and famine!)

On the other hand they are "compelled" "to reckon with their less reasonable comrades", that is to say with the bolsheviks, with the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party which has been once again built up and united by the Central Committee.

What force "compels" Kerensky and Tcheidse to reckon with the Bolshevik Party, a party to which they have never belonged and which their literary representatives ("social revolutionaries", "People's socialists", menshevik "O. K." ists\*) etc.) always abuse and condemn as a little illegal circle, a little sect of doctrinaires etc.?

Where and when has it ever been experienced that in a time of revolution, in a time of dominant mass action, reasonable politicians have been compelled to reckon with "doctrinaires"? Our poor English diplomat a la Gutschkov has made a mistake, he could not be logical, he could not lie completely nor tell the whole truth and so he has only betrayed himself.

The influence of the Social Democratic Workers Party behind the Central Committee (the Bolsheviks, Ed.) upon the proletariat, upon the masses, compelled Kerensky and Tcheidse to reckon with them. Our Party remained with the masses, with the revolutionary proletariat, despite the arrest and exile of our members of parliament to Siberia, in 1914, despite the tremendous persecutions and the mass arrests suffered during the war by the Petrograd committee for its illegal work against the war and against Czarism.

"Facts are hard things" says an English proverb. I would remind you of that my dear English Gutschkov. The fact that our Party led the Petrograd workers in the great days of the revolution, or at least supported them whole-heartedly, was even admitted by the English Gutschkov. He was also compelled to recognise the fact that Kerensky and Tcheidse vacillated between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The people around Gvosdiev, the "Defenders of the Fatherland", that is, the social chauvinists, the defenders of the imperialist robber war have now gone over to the bourgeoisie altogether. Kerensky who entered the ministry in the second provisional government has also completely gone over to the bourgeoisie. Tcheidse has not done so, he is continuing to vacillate between the provisional government of the bourgeoisie, of Gutschkov and Miliukov and the "provisional government" of the proletariat and the masses of the poor people, the soviet of workers' deputies and the Central Committee of the united Russian Social Democratic Workers Party.

The revolution has consequently confirmed that which we pointed out with particular stress when we appealed to the workers to distinguish clearly the class differences between the main parties and the main tendencies in the working class movement and amongst the petty bourgeoisie, that which we wrote, for instance, in No. 47 of the Geneva "Social Democrat" almost a year and a half ago on the 13th October 1915:

"The participation of the social democracy in a provisional revolutionary government together with the democratic petty bourgeoisie, we consider, now as before, to be permissible, not however, with the revolutionary chauvinists who strive for a victory over Tsarism in the interests of a victory over Germany, the looting of other countries and the consolidation of the dominance of the Great Russians over the other peoples of Russia etc. The situation of the petty bourgeoisie as a class is the basis of revolutionary chauvinism. This class always vacillates between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Now it is vacillating between chauvinism (which prevents it from being logically revolutionary even in the spirit of the democratic republic) and proletarian internationalism. The political mouthpieces of this petty bourgeoisie in Russia are at the given moment, the Trudoviki, the social revolutionaries, the Nascha Sarya (now Dielo), the Tcheidse

fraction, the O. K., Plechanov etc. If the revolutionary chauvinists were to be victorious in Russia, then we would be against the defence of their "Fatherland" in this war. Our slogan is: Down with the chauvinists whether they are republicans or revolutionaries, down with them and up with the alliance of the international proletariat in the name of the socialist revolution".

\*

However, let us return to our English Gutschkov. He continues:

"The provisional committee of the state Duma saw the dangers by which it was faced and therefore deliberately refrained from carrying out its original plan of arresting the ministers, although this could have been done yesterday without the least difficulty. The door was therefore left open for negotiations and in consequence we (this "we" is British finance capital and imperialism) will enjoy all the advantages of the new regime without having to undergo the terrible and searching tests of the commune and the anarchy of civil war."

The Gutschkov people were in favour of civil war in their interests, but against it in the interests of the people, that is to say in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the working masses.

"The relation between the provisional committee of the Duma representing the whole nation" (This of the committee of the fourth Duma, consisting of landowners and capitalists!) "and the workers council which represents purely class interests" (the language of a diplomat who hears learned words with one ear and wishes to conceal the fact that the workers council represents the proletariat and the village poor, that is to say, nine tenths of the people), "but which in times of crisis like the present has a tremendous power, caused much fear amongst people capable of judgment who realised the possibility of a collision between the two, the results of which might be very terrible.

Fortunately this danger was avoided — at least for the present — (let us note this "at least") thanks to the influence of M. Kerensky the young advocate with great oratorical powers who clearly realises (in contradistinction to Tcheidse who also "realises", but perhaps, in the opinion of our Gutschkov, somewhat less clearly) that it is necessary to work together with the committee in the interests of its working class electors. (that is to say in order to catch working class votes, to flirt with the workers.) To day, (Wednesday the 14th March) a satisfactory agreement was concluded, thanks to which all unnecessary strife will be avoided."

We do not yet know what sort of an agreement that is, whether all the members of the workers council have signed it or what its conditions are. This time the English Gutschkov has concealed the most important thing. Naturally! Clear, exact and generally known conditions are not favourable to the bourgeoisie, for then it is more difficult to violate such conditions.

\*

The previous lines were already written when I read two very important communications. First of all the text of the appeal of the workers council concerning the "support" to be accorded to the new government, this appeared in the Paris conservative bourgeois paper "le Temps" of the 20th March, and secondly, extracts from the speech of Skobelev in the State Duma on the 14th (1st) March which a Zürich paper ("Neue Züricher Zeitung" 21. 3.) reprints from a Berlin newspaper ("Nationale Zeitung").

The appeal of the workers council is, unless its text has been distorted by the French imperialists, a remarkable document and shows that the Petrograd proletariat, at least at the time of the issue of this appeal, was under the dominating influence of petty bourgeois politicians. I recall the fact that I include people of the type of Kerensky and Tcheidse, as I have already said, among this sort.

We find two political ideas in the appeal, and in accordance with them, two slogans.

\*) Supporters of the menshevik O. K. that is, organisational committee. The bolsheviks supported the Central Committee. Ed.

First of all, the appeal declares that the (new) government consists of "moderate elements". A peculiar, incomplete, purely liberal and non-Marxist description. Even I am prepared to recognise that now, after the completion of the first stage of the revolution, every government would have to be in a certain sense — I will explain this in my letter — "moderate". It is, however, absolutely impermissible to conceal from oneself and from the people that this government is in favour of the continuation of the imperialist war, that it is an agent of English capitalism, that it wishes to restore the monarchy and consolidate the domination of the capitalists and large landowners.

The appeal declares that all democrats must "support" the new government and that the workers council has requested and empowered Kerensky to take part in the provisional government. The conditions are: the carrying out of the promised reforms immediately, not waiting until the end of the war; a guarantee for the freedom of the cultural development (only "cultural"?), of all nationalities (a miserable cadet and liberal programme!); and the formation of a committee to control the actions of the provisional government, this committee to consist of representatives of the soviet and the "military".

We will consider this control committee which is connected with the ideas and slogans of the second sort, further on.

The appointment of the Russian Louis Blanc, Kerensky and the appeal to support the new government are, so to speak, a classical example of the betrayal of the cause of the revolution and the cause of the proletariat; treachery of the same sort which was responsible for the defeat of a whole series of revolutions in the 19th century, quite independent of the honesty and loyalty to socialism of the leaders and supporters of such a policy.

The proletariat cannot and must not support the government of war, the government of restoration. The workers must fight against the reaction and prepare themselves to repulse the possible and even probable attempts of the Romanovs and their friends to mobilise a counter-revolutionary army and restore the monarchy. They must not support Gutschkov and his friends, but they must **organise**, develop and extend a **proletarian militia**, the people must be armed under the leadership of the workers. Without these most important and fundamental measures it is useless to speak of any serious resistance to the restoration of the monarchy or the attempts to withdraw or limit the promised freedom. Without these most important and fundamental measures it is impossible to take a determined course to win bread, peace and freedom for the people.

If Tcheidse, who was a member of the first provisional government with Kerensky (the Duma committee consisting of thirteen members) really refrained from entering the second provisional government from considerations such as those set out above, or similar ones, then it does him honour. That must be said openly. Unfortunately such an interpretation is contradicted by other facts and above all by the speech of Skobelev who has always gone hand in hand with Tcheidse. Skobelev, if one can believe the source quoted, said "the social" (? probably social democratic) "group of the workers has but little contact with the aims of the provisional government", that "the workers have concluded a temporary armistice with society (that is, liberal society) although their political aims are as far apart from those of society, as are the heavens from the earth", that "the liberals must abandon their insane war aims etc."

This speech is a perfect example of what we called in our quotation from the "Social Democrat" a "vaucillation" between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The liberals will remain liberals, and cannot "abandon" the "insane" war aims. These aims do not depend upon them alone, but also upon Anglo-French finance capital, this world dominating force which must be reckoned in hundreds of milliards. One must not attempt to "persuade" the liberals, but rather to enlighten the workers, telling them why the liberals have arrived in a blind alley, how it comes that they are bound hand and foot, why they conceal the agreements of Tsarism with England, and the agreements of Russian capitalism with Anglo-French capitalism etc.

When Skobelev says that the workers have concluded some sort of agreement with liberal society, without protesting against it, without explaining to the workers from the Duma tribune how damaging such an agreement must be for the workers,

then that means that he approves of the agreement. Such approval, however, must in no case be given.

The direct or indirect, clearly expressed or silent approval by Skobelev of the agreement between the workers council and the provisional government shows Skobelev's tendency towards the side of the bourgeoisie. Skobelev's declaration that the workers demand peace, that their aims are as far removed from the aims of the liberals as heaven from earth is a tendency of Skobelev towards the side of the proletariat.

The second political idea of the appeal of the soviet of workers deputies dealt with by us is purely proletarian, really revolutionary and absolutely correct in its sense. I mean the idea of the creation of a "control committee" (I don't know what this committee is called in Russian, I am translating freely from the French), the idea of control by the proletariat and the soldiers over the doings of the provisional government.

That is it that is worthy of the workers who have shed their blood for freedom, peace and bread! That is a real step on the way towards real guarantees against Tsarism, against the monarchy and against the monarchist Gutschkov, Lvov and Co.! That is a sign that despite everything, the Russian proletariat has gone a step further than the French proletariat in 1848 when it "empowered" Louis Blanc. That is a proof that the instinct and the understanding of the proletarian masses is not content to be fobbed off with declamations and promises, reforms and hopes of freedom, with the title of "a minister empowered by the workers" and all the rest of the utilities, but is seeking support where it is to be found, namely, in the armed masses of the people organised and led by the proletariat, by the class-conscious workers.

That is a step in the right direction, but only a first step.

If this "control committee" is to be a purely parliamentary affair, an institution of a purely political type, that is to say, a commission which will "table questions" before the provisional government and receive answers, then the whole affair is only a game, and nothing more.

But if this leads at all costs to the immediate creation of a workers militia or workers defence corps really representing the whole of the people, both men and women, which will not only replace the overthrown and abolished police, but will make it impossible for any constitutional-monarchist or democratic-republican government in Petrograd or anywhere else in Russia to re-establish it, then the progressive workers of Russia are really advancing along the way leading to new and great victories, leading to victory over the war and to the practical carrying out of those slogans which, according to newspaper reports, shone on the banners of the cavalry demonstrating in Petrograd in the square before the state Duma:

"Long live the Socialist Republics of all Countries!"

I will express my thoughts about this workers' defence corps in my next letter.

I will try on the one hand to show that the formation of such a militia, led by the workers and embracing the whole of the people, is the correct solution of the tactical tasks of the present peculiar transition period which the Russian (and the international) revolution is experiencing, and on the other hand I will try to show that this workers defence corps must in order to be successful, first of all have an absolutely general and mass character and really embrace the working population of both sexes, and secondly, it must unite not merely its purely police functions, but also its general state functions with its military functions and must proceed to the control of social production and distribution.

## Chronicle of Events.

20th March.

The provisional government orders the Tsar and Tsarina to be placed under guard.

The executive committee of the Petrograd soviet elects a "liaison commission" to keep the soviets informed concerning the actions and intentions of the provisional government with regard to the demands of the revolutionary people and to control the activity of the government.

The Petrograd committee of the Bolsheviki demands the free access of all revolutionary agitators to the front and decides to address itself to the international proletariat through

the socialist parties of all the belligerent countries with an appeal to take up the revolutionary struggle against its oppressors and to fraternise at the front with the revolutionary troops of the Russian democracy.

The first number of the "Social Democrat" appears in Moscow as the organ of the Moscow bureau of the Central Committee and of the Moscow Committee of the Bolsheviks.

The Central Committee of the Lettish social democracy takes up connections with the Russian bolsheviks.

Great workers, peasants and soldiers demonstrations in the provinces.

21st March.

The executive committee decides to arrest all members of the Romanov family, to confiscate their property and to deprive them of all civil rights.

A resolution with the following contents is adopted at a mass meeting of workers and soldiers:

"1. The present provisional government does not represent the interests of the people; 2. The Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies must immediately depose this provisional government of the liberal bourgeoisie and declare itself as provisional government."

The United States of America recognises the provisional government.

22nd March.

The executive committee of the Petrograd soviet learns that a tendency exists inside the provisional government to permit the Tsar and his family to leave for England. The executive committee takes measures to prevent the departure of the Tsar, giving as the reason that he could conspire against the new order from abroad. The following agreement is concluded between the executive committee and the provisional government upon the basis of special negotiations:

"1. The Tsar and his family may only leave the country with the agreement of the provisional government and the soviets;

2. The family of the ex-Tsar will for the present be held in confinement in Tsarskova Selo; the new compulsory residence of the Tsar to be decided upon jointly by the provisional government and the workers council. The latter will despatch a special commissar to control the security of the arrested."

The bureau of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks adopts a resolution declaring that the chief task of the revolutionary social democracy, now as before, is the transformation of the present imperialist war, hostile to the people, into a civil war. The practical tasks enumerated for this purpose are: 1. the establishing of connections with the proletariat and with the revolutionary democracy in all the belligerent countries; 2. a systematic fraternisation of the soldiers in the trenches with the enemy; 3. the demonstration of the army at the front and in the rear; 4. the support of the revolutionary movement of the people against the dominating class and its government in all countries.

23rd March.

Conclusion of an agreement between the Petrograd soviet and the Petrograd association of manufacturers providing for the introduction of the eight hour day, the election of shop councils and the setting up of committees of arbitration.

March 24th (March 11th old style).

Recognition of the Provisional Government by France, England and Italy. The ceremonious diplomatic reception in con-

nection with the recognition develops both through the speeches of the French, English and Italian Ambassadors and through Miljukov's answering note into a demonstration for the continuation of the war "to a victorious end". Miljukov stated, among other things, that the forces which Russia might be able to throw into the balance for the continuation of the war, had been doubled by the revolution.

The Provisional Government announces in a manifesto that it recognises all the debts of the former Government.

A meeting of the aristocracy calls for a gathering of forces round the Provisional Government, as this is the only power which makes it its aim to defend the order of the State and to carry on the war to a victorious end.

The Menshevik group "Unity" (Plechanov group) passes a resolution to support the Provisional Government and to continue the war. One passage of the resolution runs:

"The world war was brought about by the predatory aims of Austro-German capitalism and Junkerdom. The proletariat of Belgium, France, England, Italy and Russia, by defending their own countries, defend the interest of the proletarian movement of all countries against an attack, thus fulfilling the best commands of the International..."

March 25th (March 12th).

Abolition of the death penalty.

The Provisional Government resolves that the lands and income of the ex-Tsar shall be confiscated in favour of the State.

In Moscow a gigantic demonstration took place under the slogans: "Long live the Constituent Assembly, the democratic Republic, the eight hours' day, long live peace, fraternisation among the peoples and international socialism!" The Bolsheviks used the demonstration to unmask the counter-revolutionary character of the Provisional Government.

March 26th (March 13th).

Representatives of the all-Russian Peasant League call upon the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Workers' and Soldiers Council, demanding that an all-Russian Peasant Council be called at once.

Negotiations between delegates of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet and the Provisional Government with regard to summoning the Constituent Assembly. It was resolved to summon the Constituent Assembly at the latest in the summer, regardless of the war.

In Moscow, a strike was declared in some factories, because the employers declined to pay wages for the days of the revolution when work was stopped.

## TO OUR READERS!

The monthly subscription rates for the "Inprecorr" are as follows:

England . . . . .	2 sh.
America . . . . .	50 cents
Germany . . . . .	1,50 marks
Austria . . . . .	2 (Austrian) Schillings
Norway . . . . .	1,50 crowns
Sweden . . . . .	1,50 crowns
Denmark . . . . .	1,50 crowns
U. S. S. R. . . . .	1 rouble.

The subscription rate for other countries is three dollars (or equivalent in local currency) for six months.

These subscriptions include all Spécial Numbers besides the Regular Number.