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To the Workers of the Soviet Union!

To the Proletarians of all Countries!

To the Suppressed Peoples of the Whole World!

Manifesto of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

Leningrad, 16th October 1927.

The Manifesto of the Central Executive Committees of the Soviet Union to the workers of the Soviet Union, to the proletarians of all countries and the suppressed peoples of the whole world, was adopted unanimously by the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union.

The Manifesto gives in the first place a survey of the chief events of the October Revolution of the past ten years and enumerates a number of decrees of the Central Executive Committee which were directed towards improving the position of the working class and the peasantry. The Manifesto declares

that the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution symbolises the highest achievement of the international revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

Ten years ago the capitalist world stood in the flames of imperialist war. The rule of capital has brought the whole world to the edge of the abyss, to ignominious collapse, to a cultural void. In the midst of the enormous chaos of the war there flamed up in February 1917 the signal rocket of the Russian revolution. After the hardest fights with the enemies, the proletariat, under the leadership of the steeled cohorts of the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of our immortal Lenin,

mobilised its forces and in October 1917 made a deep breach in the imperialist front. The proletarian revolt brought freedom to all the peoples of old Russia. The Soviet power has converted the Russian empire, the prison house of the peoples, into the brotherly alliance of the peoples, "into a league of peoples voluntarily united and which is as firm as steel. Under the slogans, "equality of the peoples", "freedom of national development", "cultural advance", "abolition of all nationalist oppression", "fraternisation of the peoples" — under these slogans the proletariat led the suppressed peoples of old Russia to freedom.

In place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie there was set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. The main property of the bourgeoisie became the property of the workers' State.

The October Revolution of the proletariat has converted Russia from the international gendarme and world hangman into the stronghold of international revolution, into the herald of peace and of victory over the exploiters.

All forces of the old world united against the proletariat and against the peasants of the Soviet Union. All the means of struggle were brought into use against them: blockade and intervention, conspiracies and insurrections, sabotage and terror. All attempts to re-establish the old order were repulsed and crushed by the power of the proletarian and peasant masses. The inner counter-revolution made common cause with foreign counter-revolution. In addition to Koltchak, Dennikin, Yudenitch, Wrangel and Krassnov, the armies of the United States, of England, Germany, France, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Roumania plundered the Soviet country in all directions and supported the armies of the landowners and the Tsarist generals. All the armies were compelled to retreat before the Red Army of the workers and peasants. The counter-revolution was beaten back.

The period of civil war and of war communism showed and proved that not only is the proletariat capable of making a victorious revolt, but that it is also capable, in alliance with the peasantry, of vanquishing numerous enemies; that it is capable of strengthening and consolidating its power, building up its staff and breaking with iron fist the resistance of the exploiters. This period proved at the same time that victory is possible only under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party.

After the end of the war against the counter-revolution the proletariat and the Soviet power found themselves confronted with fresh tasks. It was now necessary to build up the economic life, and this by such a method that socialism had to succeed. It was necessary to proceed, on the basis of the nationalisation of the land, of factories and works and other means of production, on the basis of the foreign trade monopoly etc., to organise the constructive work of the million masses on the economic front.

The successful solution of the most severe economic-political questions became possible because the October Revolution had created the foundation for the systematic conduct of the economic life of the country. In a few years of the New Economic Policy the economy of the country recovered from all the confusion of the previous years and surpassed the pre-war level of the forces of production.

Industry, the socialist basis of national economy, has developed and grown stronger.

The co-operatives and the State trade have developed and have come to occupy the dominating position in the total turnover of goods.

From year to year private capital is being ousted more and more. The commanding positions of the proletariat are becoming continually more powerful.

Electrification is making headway. The power works at Volkov, Dniepr, a number of other enormous power works have arisen as great achievements of the Revolution.

The Semirechensk railway, the Volga—Don Canal and other gigantic undertakings are bringing new advantages to the whole national economy and will strengthen still further the economic-political struggle for socialism.

In the open country a great number of tractors have made their appearance for the first time. The Radio is finding its way more and more into all villages. In very many localities, electric power and light have been introduced.

The co-operative societies are growing; the defensive action against the Kulaks is increasing.

The position of the workers improves with every year. Wages are increasing. The income of the workers and peasants is growing. The number of poor peasant undertakings is declining.

The level of culture of the masses is rising. The liquidation of illiteracy is proceeding at a rapid pace.

The working women are being drawn more and more into the political life of the country. The young generation, thanks to the activity of the Young Communist League and of the Pioneer organisation, is receiving an education upon a new basis.

Ever fresh sections of workers are being educated in the spirit of socialism by the trade unions. The Soviets are more and more becoming great schools of construction. The Red Army and Navy are not only increasing their fighting capacity, but are becoming a factor of culture of the first rank.

In the whole country we have entered on a period of great undertakings, on a period of strenuous construction. The country of the proletarian dictatorship possesses a sufficiency of all that is necessary for the construction of socialism, as the Leader of the country and the Genius of the labour movement Lenin taught it.

But the country is still in the midst of hostile capitalist surroundings; the imperialists of all countries are waiting to spring upon it; its growth fills them with savage fear. They see how miserably empty, how absurd were their hopes for a degeneration of the Soviet State. Hence the change in the policy of the bourgeoisie. Hence the new attack on the State of the proletariat. Hence the new war danger, which is being eagerly kindled by the oil kings, bankers, generals of imperialist armies, diplomats and Tsarist emigration circles abroad. Hence the new wretched conspiracies and vile assassinations which are again becoming the practice of foreign political agents.

The consolidation of the military power of the Soviet Union is therefore the present task of all workers. Increase in military strength must be based on increase in economic and political strength. The Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union calls upon all workers to work with all their forces for this increase of strength.

The Central Executive Committee, in full agreement with the whole policy of the Soviet Union, declares:

The State of the proletariat makes it its aim to raise the level of the standard of living of the working and peasant masses. Contrary to all the capitalist countries without exception, where the working class and the peasantry constitute the classes of the exploited, suppressed and disinherited, the Soviet Union regards as its most important task the all-round development of all forces of the proletariat and the constant increase of the well-being of the working masses in town and country.

The Manifesto states in conclusion:

"On the threshold of the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union decided:

1. To secure to the workers in the factories and workshops within the next few years the transference from the eight hour day to the seven hour day without reduction of wages. For this purpose the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union will undertake, within a year at latest, to proceed to the gradual carrying out of this decision in the various branches of industry in accordance with the new installations and rationalisation in the factories and in accordance with the growth of the productivity of labour.

2. The items in the State budget for the building of workers' houses is to be increased by 50 million roubles as compared with the previous year, for the purpose of removing the shortage of houses of the workers in those localities which have to suffer specially from the shortage of houses.

3. In order to improve the financial position of the poor and propertyless peasantry in general apart from that 25% of peasant undertakings which have already been exempted from the agricultural uniform tax — a further

10% of peasant undertakings will be exempted from this tax.

4. The debts of the peasant undertakings representing loans granted by the State to mitigate the effects of the bad harvest in the years 1924 and 1925 are annulled. The arrears of taxes due from the poor peasants are cancelled and the middle peasantry are granted privileges in regard to payment of arrears of agricultural tax. The propertyless strata of the town and village population are granted privileges in regard to arrears of taxes and fines, as well as other taxes. The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union is pledged to issue the appropriate decrees regarding these measures on the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution.

5. All poor peasants and middle peasants possessing little means are provided with land at the cost of the State, and for this purpose, in addition to the sums provided in the budget for 1927/28, a further ten million roubles are granted.

6. The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, and of the Council of the People's Commissaries of the Soviet Union are instructed to draw up a law for the gradual introduction of universal State pensions for old people.

7. In the State budget for 1927/28, in addition to the sums already provided, a further 15 million roubles are to be granted as a supplementary contribution for the erection of new schools in the villages and for factory settlements. The insurance fund for war invalids is to be doubled at least.

9. The death penalty as a measure of social protection is to be removed from the penal code of the Soviet Republic for cases which do not constitute crimes against the State, military crimes and armed robber attacks.

10. The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union is entrusted to commute juridically or administratively imposed punishments of all condemned, with the exception of punishments of active members of political parties which strive to destroy the Soviet order, or such persons who have been found guilty of malicious embezzlement or bribery."

POLITICS

After the Recall of Rakovsky.

By Paul Vaillant-Couturier (Paris).

Poincaré who, hand in hand with the corrupt bourgeois press, is obstinately pursuing his policy of destruction, has succeeded in bringing about the recall of Comrade Rakovsky. The oil kings, the English imperialists and the white guardists of all countries are triumphing.

With the recall of Rakovsky one of the very few "facts" which were created by the Bloc of the Left under the pressure of the working masses, has fallen to pieces. The unanimity of the government of National Unity in its proceedings has again clearly shown that the "government of the Giants" is completely in the hands of big capital. The cowardice of the people, of the Left Bloc has in this matter exceeded all bounds.

The demand of the Poincaré government for the recall of Rakovsky was an undeniable step towards a breach with the Soviet Union. The comrades of the Soviet Union, the Soviet government, have in face of this step given a fresh proof of their unshakable peace policy. They have appointed a new Ambassador. At the same time, however, they have made it quite clear to the French government that its action has no justification whatever.

The Soviet government has thereby given the proper answer to the English oil magnates and their allies, who are working with all determination for war; it has exposed their hypocrisy.

The campaign of the allies of the British imperialists against the Soviet Union is still being continued. It is evident that with the present policy of the government no Ambassador of the Russian workers and peasants Republic is secure in France. The reactionary press already writes that it will "certainly" be very difficult in future to maintain relations with any Ambassador whatever of the Soviet Union.

The mercenary journalists of big capital are already declaring now, that is, at a time when the new Ambassador, Dolgolevsky, is not yet even in Paris, that he is "not wanted". Not wanted — because he is a Bolshevik, not wanted — because he works in complete agreement with his government.

Hence the campaign against the Soviet Union and its representatives is continued. As we already know quite well, certain persons have been entrusted with the job of finding all "appropriate" documents, that is, to forge them, in order to continue the anti-Soviet campaign. The stage manager working behind the scenes is Poincaré-la-Guerre.

With its blow at the Soviet Union the French government has also aimed a blow at the small owners of Russian bonds. For, thanks to Comrade Rakovsky, the negotiations between the Soviet government and the French government had progressed so far that the small owners of Russian securities would have had their claims settled on very favourable terms. This is what the British imperialists and their friends wanted at all cost to prevent. Hence the haste with which they have enforced the recall of Rakovsky. They reckoned by rapid action to take the petty-bourgeois by surprise. And now they boast that they have succeeded in dragging the petty bourgeoisie in their wake.

We must not for a moment give way to the illusion that because a new Russian Ambassador has been appointed for France the prospect of the anti-Soviet front and of the breach with the Soviet Union has receded in the far distance. No, all signs go to show that the machinations which are to lead to a breach with the Soviet Union and finally to war against Red Russia will be continued in an intensified form.

The French working class has no illusions regarding this development. It recognises the immediate tasks which confront it as a result. It must close the defensive front against the policy of Poincaré.

Already on the 15th of October the working class of the Paris district, in 20 mass demonstrations, proclaimed its will to conduct a determined fight against the offensive of the oil magnates, against the policy of a break with the Soviet Union, against the preparation of a new imperialist war. It has at the same time pledged itself, to work with unshakable energy for the maintenance of peace, that means, however, for the overthrow of the shameful Poincaré-Herriot government and for the setting up of a workers' and peasants' government.

Symptoms of Crisis in an Old "Democracy".

No Referendum upon Federal Wage Act in Switzerland.

By F. Wieser (Basel).

The Communist Party of Switzerland is just at the end of the most important political fight it has been engaged in since its foundation.

The "referendum" initiated by the Party against the Federal Wage Act has not been brought about. Instead of the 30,000 officially certified signatures prescribed by the law, only 26,000 were collected by the 4th of October, the date appointed for the completion of the petition. This apparent failure is in itself a matter for regret; it can, however, in view of the premisses of this fight, not be regarded as a defeat for our party. On the other hand, the actual passing into law of this questionable bill is objectively a defeat of the worst possible kind for the Swiss working class. Swiss Social Democracy together with the reformist trade-union leaders is entirely responsible.

This fight bore features of an absolutely new kind; it shook the foundations of the Democratic machinery of Switzerland and is worthy of general interest because the development of the "pure" Swiss Democracy is presented to the workers by the Social Democrats of all countries as an ideal worth aspiring after.

Apart from the so-called "Parliamentary Democracy", however, the Initiative and Referendum are democratic rights of far greater importance to the workers than is that of electing members of parliament, for these two rights render it possible

to appeal at any time directly to the whole nation. They, therefore, afford, as Lenin pointed out during his stay in Switzerland, very great possibilities for propaganda. Everybody with the right to vote must be visited by the agitators in his home and there convinced of the necessity of adding his name to the list, whether it be a question of subjecting to popular vote a law passed by Parliament (referendum) or demanding by means of an initiative the passing of a new law or an alteration of the constitution. Both rights can be exercised for the whole of the national territory or for single cantons; in certain cantons there is even an obligatory referendum upon certain kinds of laws, i. e. decisions of Parliament must be ratified by popular vote.

On previous occasions when a party undertook an initiative or a referendum the other parties only passed the word to their adherents either to give their support or to refuse it, and left the matter at that; the real fight in public began with the voting. In the case of our referendum against the Federal Wage Bill the Social Democrats took up the main fighting for the first time at the initial stage, i. e., they made the greatest exertions in order to prevent the workers from signing the referendum. Thereby they did not halt at the employment of purely Fascist methods. The names of trade-union members who signed the referendum were published in the Social-Democratic Press so that they might be denounced to their employers as Communists; Social-Democratic "shock troops" received orders from trade-union secretaries to follow our agitators and where possible to set about them. Lists were stolen from our agitators and torn up. One secretary of the metal-workers' union threatened to put on a black list any members who collected signatures, so that they should not be able to get work again in the place in question. Our best representatives, and especially those in the civil service, were threatened with expulsion from the union — all merely because these voters availed themselves of one of the most important democratic rights.

Towards the end of the campaign a new strategem was adopted: the lists deposited by us at the municipal offices for official certification were taken away (illegally!), the signatories were then looked up and compelled under threat to withdraw their signatures. In this way more than 250 out of 300 signatures were withdrawn in one locality! The authorities supported the Social Democrats in every way and divulged the secrets of the ballot.

The Social Democrats employed these fighting methods for two reasons: in the first place, they wanted to avoid at any cost having openly to defend this reactionary measure along with the bourgeoisie at the balloting. Even the referendum roused the reformist leaders to a blind fury. In Parliament the Social Democrats had at first sharply opposed the Bill — then they were defeated in order to avoid further fights. Open defence of the Bill would have exposed them in the eyes of the workers.

In the second place, they feared, and rightly, too, that a popular vote would go against the Bill. In this case, again, they would have been forced into fresh fights. Swiss Democracy is experiencing a serious "confidence crisis". The people, the alleged "sovereign", are very "ungraciously disposed" towards all new laws. Herein is expressed the profound discontent aroused by the economic crisis. It is assumed in advance at every ballot that about one fifth of the voters will say "No!" on principle. The fear of the masses which possesses both the bourgeoisie and the Social Democracy is now so great that the Federal Parliament last session withdrew an important decision concerning the introduction of a beer tax from the referendum as "urgent". Even bourgeois lawyers asseverated that this procedure constituted an indubitable offence against the constitution; it was, however, stated in Parliament that for fiscal reasons a possible rejection on the part of the nation could in no case be risked.

In this severe fight our Party had to face the united front of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats. The Social Democrats were compelled by the bourgeoisie to defend a Bill which entails for the civil servants a wage cut, abolition of the strike and marked limitation of their right of combination. Not a single group of the bourgeoisie would do the Social Democrats the favour of supporting the referendum and thus com-

promising the Communists, however much the Social Democrats desired it.

Our Party workers did tremendous work during these two months. They talked to many thousands of non-party and Social-Democratic workers and pointed out to them the treacherous policy of their leaders; Sunday after Sunday they went into the country and for the first time carried on intensive propaganda among the small peasants. This fight has, therefore, been an important advance for our Party.

The Berlin "Vorwärts" and the "Manchester Guardian".

By W. Mickiewicz-Kapsukas.

The Berlin "Vorwärts" of 26th September published extracts from my first article on the putsch of Tauroggen which appeared in the "Pravda" of 16th September, and draws from it "annihilating" conclusions for the Communists. How does it arrive at this result? The "Vorwärts" writes that the social democrats of Lithuania, who according to the words of the Communists are loyal to the fascist government, provoked a revolt against it! They (the social democrats of Lithuania) would not, is alleged, have anything to do with the mass struggle against the fascists and — called a general strike! While as a matter of fact it is the Lithuanian Communists who will have nothing to do with a revolt nor a general strike — writes the indignant "Vorwärts".

This would of course be annihilating if it were in accordance with the facts. As an actual fact, however, the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania never summoned the workers to revolt against the fascist dictatorship, nor did it declare any general strike. If the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania had in fact fought against the fascist dictatorship as the "Vorwärts" writes, then the Communists would have adopted another attitude towards them. As a matter of fact even the official fascist paper "Lietuvis" recently praised the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania on account of its loyalty towards the fascist government. Neither the official Social Democratic Party nor the party of the popular socialists participated in any way in the action at Tauroggen.

When I wrote my first article on Tauroggen I had very little news concerning it. As however I was familiar with the situation in Lithuania I had not the least doubt that there could not be any general strike there. I warned the readers of the "Pravda" against illusions regarding the general strike. The social democratic leaders never thought for a moment of declaring a general strike, but went beseeching now the Minister of War and now the Archbishop to put a stop to the hunt which had been commenced against members of the social democratic and popular socialist party in connection with the action at Tauroggen.

The main purpose of my first article on Tauroggen was to point out that no Communist putsch had taken place there, as had been eagerly asserted in the communications of the Lithuanian government. The action of Tauroggen was participated in only by a group of Left popular socialists and social democrats, who, it is true, had not yet broken with the Right leaders of their parties; but these Right leaders of the official social democracy and of the popular socialists threw them to the fascist wolves. The action of Tauroggen bore the character of a conspiracy, of a putsch. Although a simultaneous action in other localities had been arranged, it was not supported in the other localities; they did not draw broad masses into the fight, and hence were easily suppressed. It sufficed to summon a small body of troops and an armoured car from Memel (there were no troops in Tauroggen) and the action was speedily liquidated.

The organisers of the action did not come to the Communists with the proposal to act together and to set up a united front of struggle against the fascists; like their Right wing leaders, they rejected the proposals of the Communists

to create a united front for a mass fight against the fascist dictatorship.

They did not understand that in the fight against the fascist dictatorship one cannot place any hopes in the Right leaders of the social democracy and of the popular socialists nor in the official parties, which do not go beyond opposition in words and to whom the Communists appear to be more dangerous than the fascists. They did not understand that he only conducts an effective fight against the fascist dictatorship who proceeds to establish the united front against it with the working class under the leadership of the Communists, who alone are capable of leading them to a victorious end. As a result the insurgents of Tauroggen were doomed to complete failure.

Obviously acting under the impression of the article in the "Vorwärts", the Berlin correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" published in the latter paper an article ("Manchester Guardian" of 29th September) in which he reports of the most pitiless white terror in Lithuania and cites my article from the "Pravda" of 16th September as follows: "The Communists who are opposed on principle to any revolt have not taken part in these events." Further, the correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian" says that the "Pravda" attacks the social democrats for supporting the action of Tauroggen and warns the working class against a general strike.

Of course this is all nonsense. I only wrote of the fundamental attitude of Communists against putsches, but not against revolt in general and against the general strike. In conclusion the Berlin correspondent philosophises on the causes of the "refusal of Moscow to proclaim sympathy with the Lithuanian insurgents". The efforts of the "Manchester Guardian" are in vain; the sympathies of the C. P. of Lithuania and of the Comintern were and are of course on the side of the Lithuanians, just as they are on the side of all other insurgents against the bloody fascist regime and not on the side of the stranglers of these insurrections. Of course the Communist Party of Lithuania is not a supporter of conspiracies and putsches which have no contact with the movement of the broad working and peasant masses.

The Communist Party of Lithuania was and remains a supporter of revolutionary mass struggle. When, however, any action breaks out against the fascist dictatorship it cannot adopt a neutral attitude towards it. It must make use of every action in order to strengthen the fight against fascism; it must draw into this struggle the broad strata and place itself at the head of the fight. If in my first article on the action of Tauroggen I did not speak of this it was only because that at that time there was no exact news regarding this action, and because it seemed to me and my comrades that in this action one of the provocations to which the fascist government so eagerly resorts played a great role.

The hypocrisy of the "Vorwärts", which pretends to come forward in defence of the action in Tauroggen, is to be seen quite clearly from the fact that, after having attacked the Communists in connection with my first article in the "Pravda", it did nothing in order to start a campaign against the shootings in connection with the action of Tauroggen, against the courts martial and against the white terror in Lithuania. The advocates of class collaboration who in fact help the fascist governments to suppress the working class and the poorest peasants, cannot conduct a serious fight against the fascist dictatorship. They even sacrifice the Lithuanian Left social democrats and Left popular socialists who ventured to oppose the bloody fascist regime with weapons in hand. The working masses of Lithuania and Germany will judge this attitude of the "Vorwärts" as it deserves.

The statements of the "Manchester Guardian" that the article by a Lithuanian Communist which appeared in the "Pravda" proves that we refuse sympathy to the Lithuanian insurgents, are just as unfounded as the article in the "Vorwärts", which states that while the Social Democratic Party of Lithuania supported a revolt against the fascist dictatorship and supported the general strike, the Communists opposed these measures.

THE BALKANS

The Recent Developments in the Balkans.

By M. Todorovitch (Belgrade).

The latest conflict between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia this time broke out quite unexpectedly, for in fact there had been generally expected an rapprochement between Belgrade and Sofia. The conflict very rapidly assumed the sharpest forms: exchange of ultimative notes, closing of the frontiers, noisy chauvinistic military demonstrations in both capitals. The danger of a severing of relations and a new war appeared to be extremely imminent.

The hostility, however, died down just as quickly as it arose. The frontiers were opened again, between Sofia and Belgrade amiable messages and wishes for good neighbourly relations were exchanged.

The whole blame was placed on the Macedonian autonomists. It is the Macedonians, it is alleged, who, by their Comitatchi raids and assassinations, are disturbing peace in the Balkans.

Raids and assassinations there certainly have been. In Macedonia there occurred in several localities actual bomb throwings and explosions; some of the official buildings were blown up; a general and some Serbian police have been killed. In this case, however, it is not only the Macedonian autonomists who are guilty; they are not acting alone. Behind this conflict, as behind all Balkan conflicts in the post-war period, there are concealed the figures of the three imperialist Powers most interested in the Balkans: England, France and Italy. Strange as it may appear, England is this time on the side of France against Italy. While in Europe and in other Balkan questions there prevails a most touching harmony between Chamberlain and Mussolini, on this sector, in the present phase of development of relations between Serbia and Bulgaria, they are conducting a concealed, but real fight against each other.

As a matter of fact the conflict is not a conflict between Belgrade and Sofia, but a collision between the Balkan policy of Chamberlain and the policy of Mussolini.

The fundamental line of England's foreign policy in the Balkans aims at the establishment of a bloc or some sort of alliance between the Balkan countries for the purpose of war on the Soviet Union. None of the Balkan States is to remain outside this bloc, or to remain neutral in this war. On the Balkan Peninsula, which constitutes the Right wing of the anti-Soviet front stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea, there exist between the various countries numerous antagonisms which are difficult to overcome. For this reason London is conducting in these two directions an extremely careful and systematic activity. After 1923 English diplomacy strove to include Bulgaria and Greece in the Little Entente, in order to transform the latter, to get control of it and subordinate it to its further plans. Later, towards the end of 1925, English diplomacy put forward through Greece a new formula, the formula of a "Balkan Locarno". The demand for a Balkan Locarno was extended at the beginning of 1926 to the demand for a League of all the Balkan States. The realisation of the Balkan League, which encountered great difficulties, was, however, postponed for a later period. The efforts of England are for the time being directed towards removing the existing obstacles, to cloak over the mutual conflicts and concluding a whole number of trade agreements and treaties of friendship between the various Balkan governments. The treaties are intended to be the first stage to a future alliance in the Balkans.

The greatest antagonisms are those between Italy and Yugoslavia and between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. It is here also that the strongest pressure is being exerted. London promises Sofia a loan, a moratorium regarding reparation payments, and permission to increase the armed forces. As a precondition for these favours England demands from Bulgaria that in place of the present government, which is based upon the soldateska and big bank capital, there shall be formed a more stable, broad coalition government in which all sections

of the bourgeoisie are to be represented. The most important demand is that of reconciliation with the Belgrade government and support of the same in annihilating the Macedonian movement. Lured by the London promises, above all by the fine jingle of some millions of English pounds, the greater part of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, under the leadership of Ljapchev and Buroff, has submitted to the Anglo-Yugoslavian demands.

The visit which took place six months ago of the present Yugoslavian Foreign Minister, **Marinkovitch**, to Sofia was followed by a whole series of negotiations behind the scenes, which ended with the meeting at Geneva between Marinkovitch, the Yugoslavian and Buroff, the Bulgarian Foreign Minister, and which led to an understanding upon a more concrete basis. When Yugoslavia, after the assassination in Macedonia, submitted its ultimatum, the **Ljapchev wing** of the Bulgarian government, after two days discussion, **accepted** the demands of Yugoslavia. Ljapchev undertook that the Bulgarian government would not offer any resistance to the punitive measures against the Macedonians, and in addition would adopt measures against them in Bulgaria itself; he has proclaimed a state of siege in the two districts of Petrich and Küssendil which are inhabited by Macedonian emigrants.

Thus the good neighbourly relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia were saved, the danger of war on the Bulgo-Yugoslavian frontier was removed. Nevertheless the conflict was transferred with even greater severity into the camp of the **Bulgarian bourgeoisie itself**. The tension between the "tribes" (groups) of the government party has become very acute, and will inevitably become even more acute, both as a result of the inner contradictions in the ranks of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and thanks to the intervention of Mussolini. The **Bulgarian bourgeoisie** could only be saved from disaster by a big loan; the **Macedonian autonomists** and the Bulgarian fascists could not exist any longer without the support of **Mussolini**.

In order to prevent the rapprochement between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, **Mussolini** set the Macedonian Comitatchi into movement. After his defeat in Macedonia, Mussolini will now rally and support the fascist-putchist elements in Bulgaria and the Macedonians who are behind **General Protegerov**.

France is playing a secondary role in this case. France, too, is in favour of an rapprochement between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Its motives, however, are not entirely in harmony with those of England. According to the intentions of France, the rapprochement between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria shall lead finally to the union of both States. It is the aim of France to increase its influence in the Balkans against English, but mainly against Italian influence. Even if in the present situation there exists between France and England a temporary community of interests, there may be expected in the course of further developments a sharpening of the antagonisms between them. Should France, with the aid of its allies the Serbian militarists, succeed in winning the upper hand in Belgrade and Sofia, it would be wrong to assume that France would oppose these countries being drawn into a war against the Soviet Union. It would only sell dearly the participation of these two countries in the war, in return for concessions in other parts of the Continent.

France also favours the annihilation of the Macedonian organisations in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Supported by London, Paris and Sofia, the Serbian government is actually conducting a **systematic campaign of annihilation against the Macedonian organisations in Macedonia**.

The Macedonian organisations, which in the year 1923 were made use of by England in order to overthrow Stambulisky, are now to be annihilated. The Macedonian leaders will find a new basis in Albania under the immediate leadership of Mussolini. The masses of the Macedonian people in Macedonia and the emigrants in Bulgaria will, however, be suppressed more strongly than ever by the most bloody terror, just as the working and peasant masses in the whole of the Balkans. The Macedonian people will see more clearly that their national emancipation is only possible by means of a common fight along with the workers and peasants against reaction in the Balkans and against European imperialism.

CHINA

Who Will Capture Peking?

By Tang Shin She.

After the whole of the Yangtse area had been placed under the flag of the Kuomintang and the power of the Northern generals had been shaken, there were many generals who would have liked to capture Peking. These were: **Chiang Kai Shek** from Nanking, **Tang Sen Dji** from Wuhan, **Feng Yu Hsiang** from the **Honan-Shensi** frontier and the model governor **Yen Shi San** (who up to then had been very reticent and neutral) from **Shansi**. As none of the "Kuomintang" generals would allow the others to capture Peking, they hindered each other from marching on the town.

Chiang Kai Shek was the first to make a move, by sending a representative to **Chang Tso Lin** for the purpose of negotiations in order to bring about an alliance with the latter and **Yen Shi San** against **Feng Yu Hsiang**. Thereupon **Tang Sen Dji** organised along with **Feng Yu Hsiang** an attack on the **Chang Tso Lin's** troops in **Honan**, in order to proceed from thence against **Peking**. After **Feng Yu Hsiang** had extricated himself from his difficult situation by the capture of the whole of **North Honan** and his ally **Tang Sen Dji** had run short of funds, **Feng** broke with the latter and allied himself with **Chiang Kai Shek** in order, on the one hand, to obtain funds from the latter and, on the other hand, to make the alliance of **Chiang Kai Shek** with **Chang Tso Lin** and **Yen Shi San**, which was directed against himself, illusory. **Chiang Kai Shek**, however, only gave **Feng Yu Hsiang** money, in order that he might use this to fight against **Wuhan**; but of course he would not hear of an advance by **Feng Yu Hsiang** on **Peking**. The sly **Yen Shi San**, who aimed at playing the chief role in **North China**, posed as being neutral and negotiated under the flag of peace with everybody, from **Tang Sen Dji** to **Chang Tso Lin**.

Since the breaking off of negotiations for union between **Wuhan** and **Nanking**, the **Wuhan**, **Nanking** and **Feng Yu Hsiang** generals have been fighting against each other, which is the reason why none of them is capable of commencing the march on **Peking**. **Yen Shi San**, who had quietly made his preparations, is now marching alone against **Peking**.

Is it possible for **Feng Yu Hsiang**, whose troops are immediately behind those of **Yen Shi San**, to prevent **Yen's** march on **Peking**? This is hardly to be expected having regard to his present situation. **Feng Yu Hsiang** has sustained a severe blow by the fact that his under-general **Shin Yün Ngo**, whose troops are stationed in **South Honan**, deserted him in **September** and joined his opponents in a plot against him. There are taking part in this conspiracy: **Tang Sen Dji**, **Sun Chuan Fang**, **Chang Tsung Chang** and **General Liu**, a former follower of **Wu Pei Fu**, but who is now still under the command of **Feng** and is at present in **West-Honan**. The brother of **Shin Yün Ngo**, **Shin Yün Pung**, who was formerly **Prime Minister** for many years, is meanwhile working openly in **Peking** for a great coalition government for the whole of **China**. He declares that he wishes to base himself mainly on **Yen Shi San**. By reason of all these facts **Feng Yu Hsiang** is compelled to adopt a loyal attitude towards the present advance by **Yen Shi San** on **Peking**. It is even possible that he will have to accept without grimace the capture of **Peking** by **Yen Shi San**, in order to preserve his position in **Honan** in the future. (**Yen Shi San** has not broken openly with **Feng**.)

Yen Shi San, who has always acted diplomatically, remains also today, even when he is undertaking for the first time in his life an attack by himself, the perfect diplomat by commencing his attack not on the **Hankow-Peking** line, where his strongest and **Feng Yu Hsiang's** main forces are concentrated, but on the **Peking-Kalgan-Suiyüan** line, where **Feng Yu Hsiang's** forces are weak. He thereby compels **Feng Yu Hsiang** to keep quiet, as otherwise he could immediately attack him along with the other generals who are allied against him. At present **General Feng** is opposed not only by the forces which formerly came over to

him from Wu Pei Fu; his own second and third former Kuomin Chün army is no longer reliable. His troops stationed along the Peking-Kalgan-Suiyuan line are likewise not very reliable, for they do not belong to his main cadres.

Will Japanese imperialism, the patron of Chang Tso Lin, permit Yen Shi San, who is under the Kuomintang flag, to march on Peking? It has not only nothing against it, it has even welcomed the action of Yen Shi San. Immediately after the attack on the Peking-Kalgan-Suiyuan line the Japanese official newspaper "Shuntien Shihpao", which appears in Peking, wrote that Yen Shi San is not an agent of the Bolsheviki like Feng Yu Hsiang, and that the latter had nothing to do with this attack. It should be known that Yen Shi San is an enthusiastic supporter of Japanese reform and that, just like other pro-Japanese Chinese generals, he received his education in a Japanese military academy. On the staff of Yen Shi San there are to be found just as many advisers from Japanese headquarters as there are with the staff of Chang Tso Lin. In the present situation a General such as Yen Shi San, who is on good terms with all sides and is even one of the main pillars of the Kuomintang, has much more prospects of success than a thoroughly reactionary general such as Chang Tso Lin, against whom the entire population is indignant.

The outspoken friend of Japan, Shin Yün Pung, who, as we have already mentioned, wishes to establish a great coalition government in Peking, was of course entrusted with this plan by the Japanese imperialists. According to this plan, one friend of Japan, Chang Tso Lin, is to be removed from Peking and his place taken by two others: Yen Shi San and Shin Yün Pung. There thus exists the possibility that the Kuomintang generals will, for the time being, conduct a uniform foreign policy and that the quarrel within the Chang Tso Lin clique will cease for a time. This union of all the Japanese friends and Chinese reactionary elements will have as a result that all the Kuomintang generals and Kuomintang leaders will openly abandon the slogans: "fight the imperialists" and "abolition of the unequal treaties". This achievement of the Japanese will be joyfully welcomed by the other imperialists.

What are the intentions of Japan towards Chang Tso Lin? Already since the past year the Japanese had imposed limitations upon Chang Tso Lin and warned him against conducting war in North and Central China. The reasons for this were: 1. that Chang Tso Lin's power would be completely crushed so that he could no longer dominate Manchuria; 2. that the war policy of Chang Tso Lin could completely paralyze economic life in Manchuria and thereby greatly damage Japanese economic influence; 3. that Chang Tso Lin could be influenced by other imperialists if his power were extended to Northern and Central China. The last two reasons were the most important for Japan. The paper money in Manchuria is depreciating in value every day. The other imperialists have also begun to exert influence. The anti-Japanese movement in Manchuria which has sprung up from the midst of the people has been joined even by higher civil officials, such as the civil governor Feng-tien. An action of Japan against Chang Tso Lin is therefore necessary.

In short, of all the aspirants, Yen Shi San alone has undertaken the march on Peking: Japan has evidently drawn up the plan therefor. If Peking is captured it will mean that the imperialists' rule over the reactionary elements in China will be completely restored. The mass of the people will thereby recognise all the more clearly the true character of the Kuomintang traitors and will finally prepare to put an end to the policy of the generals by means of the revolutionary movement.

FOR LENINISM — AGAINST TROTZKYISM

The Opposition is Heading for the Formation of a Second Party.

Moscow, 14th October 1927.

The "Pravda" declares that the attitude of the Trotzkyist opposition recently shows clearly what road and what fighting methods the opposition has chosen before the opening of the Party congress. That is the road of the fight against the Party in which the Opposition uses every possible weapon. The plan of the opposition is clear, it wishes to place the Party before the accomplished fact of the creation of a second Party.

The "Pravda" points out the feverish activity of the Opposition to form its own illegal apparatus and declares that these methods of the Opposition have nothing in common with Leninism and with the traditions of the Bolshevik Party. An anti-Party illegal activity in the country of the proletarian dictatorship is not only an offence, not only a fractional excess, but the worst crime against the Leninist Party, an open challenge to bolshevism by bourgeois democracy. Therefore, one cannot limit oneself to pedagogic measures with regard to the opposition. And for this reason the Central Control Commission was absolutely right when it decided to expel Preobrazhensky, Serebriakov and Sharov who took the responsibility for the organisation of an illegal printing establishment.

The more the Opposition removes from the Leninist line of the Party, the more it makes use of the arguments of the class enemy in its criticisms. "Subjectively" the Opposition wishes the victory of socialism, but it does not believe in the possibility of this victory. In one line with the opposition are elements which certainly do not want the victory of socialism, namely the non-Party bourgeois intellectuals, not those intellectuals who are working in the interests of the workers, but those who cannot bear the pressure of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Opposition gladly joins hands with such elements.

The hostile activity of the Opposition is condemned by all bolsheviks. Under no circumstances whatever will the Party sink the flag of bolshevism before the flag of bourgeois democracy. There is no place in the bolshevik ranks for the heroes of an illegal printing shop. The fractional disorganisers will never succeed in disorganising the great constructive work of the C. P. A decisive end will be made with the anti-party illegal work.

The "Victories" of the Opposition on a "World Scale".

The Maslow-Ruth Fischer-Scholem group organised an open-air meeting in Berlin to announce to the people their... "victories". Of course they kept quiet about their "victory" in Altona where they received 364 votes as against 19,000 received by the Communists. They also kept quiet about the final results of the elections in Hamburg and Königsberg on the one hand and Lodz on the other, which are rather in dissonance with Trotzky's theory about the long list of defeats. But instead the speakers of that renegade group, particularly Ruth Fischer and Scholem, expatiated rather lengthily about their "victories" in France and Holland.

What are those "victories"? The French "victory" consists in the fact that "Treint himself" raised Trotzky's and Maslow's banner. On the basis of reliable sources known by him only, Scholem announced that the fact that Treint went over to Trotzky met with the indignation of the ranks of the French Party. It is clear that Scholem simply speculated on the absolute ignorance of his audience, thinking that it will take a fly for an elephant. Neither in the French Communist Party

nor in the Comintern is Treint taken seriously by anybody. The name "muddle-head" has so well attached itself to him that he is usually listened to with a smile, even if he says the right thing. Only one in absolute despair, one clutching at a straw can hail Treint's joining the Opposition as a victory.

The "victory" of Trotzkyism in Holland is of the same nature. Sneevliet from Nassa (National Labour Secretariat) has proclaimed the Opposition slogans in Holland. Sneevliet has long ago left the Comintern on his own initiative. When he was in the Comintern Zinoviev warned the Dutch comrades that to depend on Sneevliet would be tantamount to building on sand. But the Opposition business is in such a bad state that they will not even discard the trash, and take it as pure gold.

It would hardly be worth while to mention Scholem's and Ruth's boisterous speeches if their content were not characteristic of the Opposition in general and of their activities "on a world scale" in particular. Our Trotzkyist Opposition "opened a door" for itself to Europe with the help of Maslow the renegade. Feverish work is being carried on through this "door". The Oppositionists are working with unfolded arms in transmitting through it all their declarations, resolutions, letters, articles and platforms. Their agency abroad is doing fine work. It publishes everything and even letters from Treint and Vuyovitch. But only outspoken renegades such as Souvarine and hopeless muddle-heads such as Treint respond. Under such conditions there is nothing else to do but to shout from the house-tops proclaiming the Souvarines, Maslows, Treints and Sneevliets as genuine "Bolshevik-Leninists"!

But if we turn our eyes from the renegades and muddle-heads to the Communist sections of all countries we find that cordial solidarity prevails in the ranks of the Comintern, expressing itself not merely in the unanimous backing of the decision of the E. C. C. I. to exclude Trotzky and Vuyovitch, but also in the decisions of the central and local organisations of the most important Parties of the Comintern. It is extremely characteristic of the attitude of Communists — in contradistinction to the renegades and muddle-heads — to Trotzkyism to note that at the recent Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain there was not a single vote given in defence of the Trotzkyist Opposition platform. Such attitude to the Opposition we find in all other Communist Parties.

THE WHITE TERROR

Defend Comrade Köblös!

To Workers Everywhere.

The Czechoslovakian Government, which claims the name of being a democratic Government, has incarcerated Comrade Koeblesh because he, seeking to escape the Siguranza, sought refuge in the Czechoslovakian Republic. The rulers of Czechoslovakia who speak much of democracy, are now handing over Comrade Koeblesh to his hangmen at the direct request of the Roumanian boyars. Thus, the Czechoslovakian Republic, in alliance with the blackest and vilest reaction, is plotting to take the life of a man whose only guilt lies in the fact that he organised the workers of Roumania to resist their exploiters.

To turn Comrade Koeblesh over to the Roumanian butchers is to send him to his death. Workers throughout the world must prevent the execution of this base and blackguardly agreement between the Roumanian and Czechoslovakian bourgeoisie. Comrade Koeblesh must be saved!

Down with the Roumanian murderers and their henchmen!

Executive Bureau
Red International of Labour Unions.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Annual Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

By R. Page Arnot (London).

The Ninth Annual Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain held on October 8th, 9th and 10th, 1927, met at a moment when the chiefs of the Labour Party and the Trade Union leaders had made their submission to the capitalists and had begun to expurge even nominal socialism from their programme. Against this background the Communist Party Congress on the contrary voiced the revolutionary demand of the working classes to go on with the struggle and set itself to work out methods of strengthening resistance to the capitalist attack. The Congress was not intent on critical examination of the experiences of the past, but showed its main interest in planning for the future.

The prevailing difficulties had had their effect on the Party. The attendance from the Party Locals was not high — 175 delegates in all — and in the past year the number of members had gone down from the figure of nearly eleven thousand to 7377. Nevertheless the delegates who did come were good proletarian fighters, and the loss in membership, it was explained in the Organisation Report, had been almost exclusively confined to the mining areas, where victimisation, evictions, police intimidation, unemployment and abject poverty where some of the causes, while steps had been taken to remedy such other causes as lay within the Party organisation.

The Congress had to review a twelve-month which in the complexity and ferocity of the capitalist attack was unrivalled in the seven years history of the Party. Hence the political report dealt in sequence with:

1. the miners' struggle;
2. the attack on China;
3. the capitalist offensive in Britain (by which is meant especially the Governmental offensive);
4. the break with Russia and the war danger;
5. the fight against Imperialism (by which is meant imperialism in its aspect of colonial repression);
6. and the fight against Reformism.

The Report on the Miner's Struggle did not cover the whole seven months of that heroic fight, but was concerned mainly to record the attitude of the Party on the one hand and the Reformists and the Government on the other hand in the closing phases. Firstly the Levy and Embargo campaigns which, had they been carried out, especially the embargo by the transport workers, could have brought victory even in November 1926; the negotiations for settlement in the latter part of November, the slogans of One Miners' Union and Change of the Reformist leadership; Finally the refusal of the old guard of trade union officialdom at the Miners' Annual Conference in the summer of 1927 to accept these new slogans and their building of a pact with MacDonaldism. The Congress surveyed the future position of the industry; the threat of an immediate employers' attack on the large exporting district of Durham (where nearly a quarter of a million miners were in employment in 1924), and the general preparations of the coal owners' propaganda in every coalfield (dismal tales of losses, deficiencies, falls in profits etc., the fake "hard facts" that are to serve as an excuse for further wage reductions), and put forward a fighting policy that, could alone prevent the disintegration of the Miners' Federation from the existing federalism into complete anarchy.

The attack on China which became overt at the end of November 1926 was met by the British Party with a call to form "Hands Off China" committees and the spreading of a vigorous agitation in which many of the trade union leaders participated, and was carried on to the point where MacDonald and Thomas were compelled for the moment in the early part of 1927 to agree to a withdrawal of armed forces. Thereafter the struggle was against not only the Government but the

steady pressure of the Reformist leaders, especially the Leftists, desperately endeavouring to retreat from the advanced position of support of the Chinese Revolution which they had taken up only on the tacit understanding that the Chinese Revolution was going to be immediately successful. The Party at the same time strove on its own account for proletarian action to stop the war against the Chinese Revolution. However, "It has to be recognised" said the Report "that the Party did not succeed in stopping a single transport-ship or other form of reinforcements primarily owing to its weakness in the official machinery in the trade union movement. Nevertheless the Congress decided "to fight unceasingly against British intervention in China, and press for the withdrawal of all troops and war ships".

The Party, which had forseen the Baldwin Government's attack on the working class and had forwarned the workers and proposed concrete measures for resisting it as soon as the miners' struggle was drawing to a close and had for its pains been greeted by the Reformists as a Prophet of Evil had later in the spring and summer of 1927 to wage a special campaign within the trade union movement to compel those same Reformists to fight hard when the predicted attack actually took place. The attack on the workers took place from several angles. The first attack on the unemployed was contained in the proposals of a Government Committee to cut down the unemployment benefit of the large army of unemployed and so fluidify the existing reserve of labour.

The second attack was the alteration in the constitution proposed by the Government by which the hereditary House of Lords would be strengthened against the possibility of a working class majority in the House of Commons.

The third method of attack on the Trade Union Rights was not launched until after the miners' struggle was safely over and the Kuomintang was on the eve of the Chiang kai Shek treachery. It was not until April 5th that the Government produced its Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Bill. It had laid its plans well. The officialdom of the trade union movement refused even to discuss the slogan of a general strike, and made only such pretentious announcements of agitation as enabled Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, to say scornfully, "Call all your meetings, hold your demonstrations, blow all your trumpets, unfurl your Red Flags, and when it is all over I tell you the Bill is going through". The Communist Party which had taken its stand on its slogan of a General Strike carried on a campaign within the labour movement to get this policy adopted, and after the Bill was passed into law in the summer continued to urge the mobilisation of every labour force against it.

The leaders of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions resent the crippling of their funds that may result from this Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Bill, but instead of adopting a policy that would rally the working class against the Act, they seek to appease the Baldwin Government by a policy of industrial pacifism: at the same time the Labour leaders seek to win the middle class votes at the cost of working class interests. Against these Harry Pollitt, who with his colleagues of the Left Wing had conducted a strenuous fight at Blackpool, moved the Communist resolution which said:

"This Congress records its opinion that the decisions reached at the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool last week marked the highest point yet reached in the Liberalising process that has been steadily increasing in the Labour Party.

The leaders of the Labour Party, taking full advantage of the chaos and demoralisation of the majority of the present trade union leaders as a result of their betrayal of the General Strike, have consciously used their power to impose upon the Blackpool Conference resolutions which subsequently will be found to form the General Election Programme.

This policy is intended to prepare the Labour Movement for a coalition or mutual understanding between the Liberal and Labour Party leaders at or after the next General Election. In actual practice it will be found to constitute a gross betrayal of every socialist principle that the movement has been built upon."

This resolution was followed by another on the Trade Union Movement in which it was stated that the new offensive being prepared by the capitalists and being met half-way by the Reformists with a policy of industrial peace; scrapping of internal democracy within the Unions; by the growth of Yellow Unions; the breaking of the Anglo-Russian Committee; must be met by the Party organising resistance and pushing forward a policy for the rebuilding of the Anglo-Russian Committee and the special industrial Anglo-Russian Committees; by the summoning of a Special Trade Union Congress to help the woollen workers, the miners and the unemployed, each of whom are being attacked; by the propaganda for a World Trade Union International; by the fight for trade union democracy; by the advocacy of organisation by industry; by the building of factory committees; by the giving of more power to the General Council, cleansed of traitors; by the giving of more power to the local Trades Councils; by the cementing of an alliance between the Trade Unions and the co-operatives, and by all these and for all these tasks to strengthen the trade union activity of Party members and build up a revolutionary Left within the Unions. On the question of the war danger and the other questions mentioned in the Political Report which are familiar to the readers of *Inprecorr* the task of the Congress was to master, understand and adopt the standpoint of the Communist International. Accordingly a lengthy thesis on the International and National Battlefield, a resolution of the Plenum of the E. C. C. I. on the situation in Great Britain, and the War thesis were successively adopted by the Congress.

After discussion on the Russian Opposition a Resolution was unanimously carried in which the Congress

"Records its emphatic condemnation of the continuing fractional activities of the Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev.

The anti-Leninist and objectively counter-revolutionary role of the Opposition stand out particularly clearly in the light of the growing peril of an imperialist military attack on the Soviet Union. By their persistent attempts (in flagrant defiance of repeated promises) to consolidate and extend their fraction and thereby break the unity of the C. P. S. U. the Opposition are encouraging the elements of counter-revolution.

We repudiate the false and disgraceful accusations that the C. P. S. U. is degenerating, that its leadership is moving towards 'Thermidor', and desire to inform Comrades Trotzky and Zinoviev that we have heard the self-same accusations word for word from all the Mensheviks, British reformists and capitalist propagandists ever since the open armed struggle against the Soviet Union was temporarily abandoned.

This Congress sends to the Communist International the assurance that in fighting the anti-Leninist and objectively counter-revolutionary work of the Opposition it will have the full and unhesitating support of the British Party."

The Struggle in the Communist Party of Greece against the Liquidatory Tendencies of the Right Wing.

By B. Smeral.

The Communist Party of Greece was recently under the necessity of excluding the prominent member Puliopulos; who, himself an intellectual, not of proletarian descent, had entered the Greek Party at the time of rising revolutionary sentiments just after the catastrophic defeat of the Greeks in the Turkish war in 1922. He joined the Party as the leader of a group of ex-combatants returning from the defeated Greek army in Asia Minor. After three months already he was made secretary of the Central Committee. Then, when the reaction was victorious, he was brought before the court and had to pass two years in prison and in exile on the islands.

Already from the autumn of 1926 onwards, this man, who four years ago was secretary of the Central Committee, proved incapable of resisting the pressure brought to bear on the

Greek Communist Party in the 14 months of its first illegal period. Released together with other Communists after the overthrow of General Pangalos a year ago, he immediately revealed traits by no means compatible with a revolutionary character.

The Greek Communist Party is relatively weak, young, inexperienced, and poor in trained members, besides which it has only just emerged from a state of illegality. With the aid of the Comintern, on the occasion of the recent third Party Conference (March 27th to April 5th, last), the Party subjected the main faults of Puliopulos to a severe criticism, isolating him within the Party but by no means barring his way back to Leninist principles or to activity in their midst. However, Puliopulos had already developed into a liquidator of the extreme Right. The difficulties of the situation had broken his courage and his faith. The petty-bourgeois anarchist intellectual, the individualist who in his inmost sentiments was far removed from proletarian ideology, had vanquished the Communist within him. He lost the last vestige of self-criticism.

Puliopulos had developed a very definite opinion in regard to party discipline.

"The problem here treated by me is infinitely above the formalities of discipline." (Article on "The Crisis in the Party after November 1924", published in the "Risospastis" in February).

"Your (the Polit-Bureau's) views of discipline seem to be mechanical at the root. We are therefore in fact not infringing any form of discipline. We should have been committing a great crime, had we remained inactively watching the state of affairs you have brought about by your deeds."

And he suited his actions to his words. When in August 1926 the Party emerged from the state of illegality, the general desire was that Puliopulos should again become secretary of the Central Committee. He declined to undertake this post, retiring to his family at Thebes for the purpose of "studying" there, a proceeding which he sought to justify with the following words:

"After sincere and severe self-criticism I retire and I trust every honest comrade will do likewise."

But it cannot be overlooked that this apparently modest retirement for the purpose of "studying" took place in the same week in which, on September 7th, 1926, a monarchist coup was attempted, when the streets of Athens were for the first time thronged with the masses, when part of the Communists, in arms, occupied a Government building, and when the entire situation called for a man of action.

His views in regard to the organisation of the Party were no less characteristic. In this respect his attitude was apparently extreme Left, though the practical consequences he deduced therefrom were very far on the Right. Within the Party there was a great danger of a sectional formation. In March of the same year, at the time of the Party Conference, the Communist Party numbered no more than 860 members, though more than 60 per cent. of the 100,000 workers organised in trade unions were obedient to our influence. The conditions for the admission of workers from the factories into the Party were so severe that at Salonica, e. g., the workers had to absolve 32 lessons prior to being admitted. In consequence, the social composition of the organisation is very bad, favouring the intellectuals at the cost of the workers.

But at this critical time Puliopulos made it one of the foremost items on his programme that the Party must still be "purged" by being disencumbered of the "ignorant", workers who have "no Marxist training" and of the "morally untried" and "adventurous" elements, who were allegedly "accessible to demagogy".

Let us inquire further into the relation to the Party of this disappointed intellectual individualist of a Greek liquidator... We may find admissions showing plainly that he had diverged hopelessly from Leninism.

"We are convinced," he says, "that in Greece no serious Communist movement can exist, unless joined by the serious ideologists from the ranks of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois strata with a view to imparting to the

illiterate Greek proletariat the light of scientific socialism, while on their part adopting the psychology of the proletariat." ("Our Credo", a detailed programmatic platform, published by Puliopulos before his exclusion in collaboration with his follower Jakopulos.)

This attitude is allied with his demand of unrestricted and continual discussion within the Party and with the systematic discrediting of the Party leaders.

"Discussion must always be open to all members of the Party."

Similar to his attitude towards the Party is his relation to the Comintern.

"It is inadmissible that any international commando should autocratically decree that other Communist Parties should promulgate principles incompatible with the objective conditions of their countries." ("The Crisis within the Party").

The following quotation may serve as an illustration of his anti-Leninist attitude in the national question.

"In my opinion our national policy was quite particularly mistaken. The principle of "united independent Thrace and Macedonia" has been proved by subsequent events to have been entirely wrong, leading to results which have been catastrophic for the Greek labour movement."

During the last two months, the liquidatory group in Greece has been adopting more and more the terminology and tactics of fractional fight, culled from the Opposition in the C. P. S. U. The offensive of the latter enhanced their courage and their demands. Puliopulos, who at the Party Conference in March still felt quite weak and promised to subordinate himself to the Party and to restrict his activity to non-fractional literature, is now beginning to wage open war on the Party with a view to forcing them to recognise his fraction. He reckons with the fact that the Party will accustom itself in time to his continual attacks, so that he can practically gain a legal position as a party within a Party. By the beginning of August he was already starting to publish an independent organ called "The New Course", in the prologue to the first issue of which he seeks to justify his schismatic proceeding as follows:

"The official Party organ ceases to be the organ of the entire Party. It has become the organ of a group. The Party is conducted not by a party management but merely by a fraction."

In a further article in the same issue discussion is demanded on the question of "the theory of socialist construction in a country and international opposition". In a third article, entitled "The Critique of our Criticisms", he already announces his solidarity with the standpoints of the Opposition in the C. P. S. U., and although he can but cling to them quite artificially he seeks to make use of them for the purpose of strengthening his fractional and disorganising activity.

"We are opposed to the theory of 'socialism in a country', which we consider contrary to Leninist and Marxian principles."

In the last few weeks, when all that has been recounted above had happened, the leaders of the Party once more warned Puliopulos. His answer was a fresh provocation. Under these circumstances, all leniency and patience observed throughout the year being exhausted, there was no expedient left save exclusion.

Now at length the way will be free for the Party, with the aid of the Communist International and in co-operation with all Leninist elements, to proceed towards overcoming the mistakes, deficiencies, and weaknesses of the past. Puliopulos, meanwhile, will soon be where the inevitable logic of destiny has placed Ruth Fischer and Souvarine — outside all connection with the international revolutionary labour movement.

DOCUMENTS

Resolution of the Presidium of the E.C.C.I. on the July Insurrection in Vienna.

I. The spontaneous rising of the Viennese proletariat on July 15th and 16th of the current year is an event of the greatest importance in the history of the class struggle of the Austrian workers and of the international proletarian revolution.

The rising indicates a decisive turning-point in the development of Austria. It has, with one flash, revealed the situation in Austria, the intensification of class antagonisms, the treachery of the "Austro-Marxists", the will to fight and the fighting power of the proletariat, the absolute necessity of a revolutionary leadership which would embrace the whole of the masses; it has revealed it clearly and distinctly without the cloak of "democratic" and sham radical phrases and has created a new situation, a situation of the most acute intensification of the class contradictions in Austria.

The momentary victory of the bourgeoisie which implies the beginning of an intensified offensive against the proletariat must necessarily become the starting point of a period of fresh conflicts between the classes which will constantly grow in intensity.

The International Significance of the Insurrection.

II. The international significance of the spontaneous rising of the Viennese proletariat lies in the fact that it showed once again and in the clearest form the vacillating, uncertain and temporary character of capitalist stabilisation and that, after the gigantic struggles in England and China, it once more gave practical evidence that the revolutionary class struggle does not die out on the soil of capitalist stabilisation but is, on the contrary, intensified, and may come to a head in the form of a revolt. From the point of view of the international class struggle it is a special characteristic of the Vienna revolt that — for the first time since 1923 — the banner of the revolutionary class war was again raised in Central Europe in spite of all the attempts at stabilisation made by the international bourgeoisie, and that, as a matter of fact, a struggle was entered on with regard to the "to be or not to be" of the capitalist class rule.

1. The Viennese insurrection proves that, in estimating the present period, Social Democracy is wrong when it holds the view that revolution has come to an end and that capitalism is entering on a long period of peaceful development and that the Comintern were right in regarding the period of relative stabilisation as a period of intensification of the class contradictions.

2. The Viennese insurrection has opened the eyes of the workers of all countries to the fact that, with the period of relative stabilisation, the fermentation among the proletariat is growing and the class contradictions are becoming more acute. In the measure in which the will of the working class to fight is growing, the Communist Party of every country should be prepared for severe, imminent contests. The mass action for rescuing Sacco and Vanzetti is a proof that the strengthening of the readiness to fight has not been limited to Austria alone. These events and the Viennese revolt prove, on the contrary and on an international scale, that the question of the seizure of power by the proletariat is approaching.

It is the most important lesson, that revolutionary mass fights for the conquest of power are possible, nay inevitable even in a period of partial stabilisation and may lead to victory — provided that there is a revolutionary lead which embraces the masses.

3. The Viennese revolt finally resulted in the ideological bankruptcy of Austro-Marxism because it signifies the defeat of the policy of the model party of the 2nd International and with it the bankruptcy of the policy of the Left phrase.

4. The unprecedented blood-thirsty suppression of the movement among the workers in Vienna and the openly reactionary

measures introduced by these acts of terror are part of the international preparatory measures of imperialism for an attack on the Soviet Union. This also was once again very clearly demonstrated by the attitude of the Austrian bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the barricades erected in Vienna and the mass movement in favour of Sacco and Vanzetti are an alarming signal of the tremendous revolutionary resistance with which the bourgeoisie would meet, should it proceed with an attack upon the Soviet Union.

The Problem of Intervention.

III. The spontaneous rising in Vienna has evolved the problem of the balance of Powers in Central Europe. The Austrian bourgeoisie tried to frighten the workers by threatening them with intervention on the part of Horthy and Mussolini. As a matter of fact, not only was the sympathy of the bourgeoisie of all capitalist countries on the side of the Austrian bourgeoisie, but the latter was directly supported and promises of further support made to it. Simultaneously however with this unanimous attitude against the Austrian proletariat, the contradictions existing between the individual capitalist States became evident. The question of Austria joining Germany was again raised for discussion and thus a concrete matter in dispute arose.

Mussolini's and Benesch's statements that they had never for a moment considered the plan of intervention, only shows the antagonism between the two groups of powers, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, France on the one hand, Hungary, Italy and England on the other hand. In spite of these antagonisms however, capitalist intervention in Austria is threatening at the moment when the Austrian proletariat will overthrow the rule of capitalism and take the power in its own hands. The capitalist States would then, sooner or later, try to suppress the Austrian revolution by armed force. An intervention of this kind would, on the other hand, inevitably lead to an intensification of the conflicts between the separate capitalist States of Central Europe, possibly even to a decision by force of arms and would hasten the revolutionary rise of the proletariat in the adjacent countries. The 15th of July has given evidence of both, of the deep-reaching differences between the capitalist States and of the solidarity struggle of the proletariat in the neighbouring countries. Under a determined revolutionary leadership and supported by the masses of the poor peasantry, the Austrian working class is perfectly able victoriously to defend the Austrian revolution against foreign intervention.

Social Democracy, by declaring that a victory of revolution would be impossible because the revolutionary movement would be suppressed by Horthy's Hungarian troops and by Mussolini, only shows that it purposely overlooks the severe dissensions between the capitalist States and, above all, that it puts no faith in the solidarity of the proletariat in the neighbouring countries.

The Causes of the Rising.

IV. The causes of the insurrection in Vienna are not only to be looked for in the general consequences of the post-war crisis of capitalism, but also in the fact that the latter was intensified by specifically Austrian conditions.

By the imperialistic Peace Treaty of 1919, the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was split up into a number of small States which, though nominally independent, are in reality the tools and objects of exploitation of the great imperialist Powers. On the grounds of the Peace Treaty of St. Germain, Austria was doomed to particularly severe crises. Encumbered with the administrative apparatus of a State of 60 millions and with the greatest part of its financial apparatus, with an industry possessing no sources of raw material and no markets for sale, the new Austria was the weakest of the succession States of the old Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

At the moment of decay of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, the Austrian bourgeoisie was unorganised and without leaders. Great discontent prevailed among the whole of the peasantry and an attempt to form a new State from the remains of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy could only fall back upon the sole organised power which existed at that moment, i. e. the proletariat.

At this moment, when the bourgeoisie was weak and without leaders, when the objective possibility of a seizure of the power by the proletariat was given, Austrian Social Democracy committed the greatest treachery by undertaking to organise a bourgeois capitalist Austria. It saved the bourgeois order of society by opposing the assault of the proletariat and directing the revolutionary mass movement into "legal" channels. It betrayed the Soviet dictatorship in Hungary which was in great danger and left the Bavarian workers in the lurch.

On June 15th 1919, Austrian Social Democracy suppressed forcibly the attempts of the Viennese workers to come to the rescue of the Hungarian proletarians. It left the police department and the administration in the hands of the old officials of Monarchy and helped in strengthening and organising them, in order again to put fresh means of power into the hands of the bourgeoisie at the moment when the latter had succeeded in rallying and organising themselves.

The bourgeoisie had succeeded, not only in rallying the urban bourgeoisie and a large section of the petty bourgeoisie, but also in winning over for themselves all strata of the peasantry.

Supported by Social Democracy, the bourgeois Government proceeded with carrying out the League of Nations' plan of colonisation in Austria and with re-establishing the capitalist supremacy at the cost of the working class.

By driving the workers into a state of pauperisation and throwing hundreds of thousands of workers from the factories on to the street, the Austrian bourgeoisie succeeded in arranging its State finances and fulfilling the demands of the League of Nations. Social Democracy on its part, made every effort to conceal, with the help of charity measures, the fact of the workers sinking into misery thanks to the policy of reconstruction. It distracted the attention of the workers from their chief task, the struggle for power, by offering a sham opposition to the policy of the bourgeois Government and combining it with measures for general social welfare and reconstruction in the scope of capitalism and of the bourgeois charity policy. This "practical policy" was the basis of their action for attracting the masses. The insignificant alleviations which the municipal policy bestowed on the workers helped Social Democracy to increase its numbers of votes and at the same time to direct the threatened radicalisation of the workers "into legal channels" in the same way as Social Democracy had done it in 1919.

It was the policy of the Social Democrats which caused both the Government and the Fascist organisations supported by it to take up a more and more hostile attitude towards the working class. The Social Democratic mass organisations responded only feebly to a series of provocations on the part of the bourgeoisie.

For the time being, the growing radicalisation of the working class proceeded within the ranks of Social Democracy. The brutal policy of stabilisation of the bourgeois Government carried the discontent with the existing regime deep into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie and even into some sections of the peasantry. Social Democracy did everything in its power to turn these circumstances to account for the winning of new votes.

The last elections to the National Council in April 1927 were absolutely characteristic of this development. The Government suffered a defeat. Not only did it lose large numbers of the petty bourgeoisie, but in some districts even sections of the peasantry who went over to Social Democracy. On the other hand, the Communist Party, in spite of the right policy and their right slogans failed to win over the masses. Social Democracy was still in a position which enabled it to keep the discontented section of the workers in its fold with the use of radical phrases and demagogic promises. These radical phrases, which were nothing but manoeuvres on the part of the Social Democratic leaders, were received by the masses in good faith. Acting in accordance with the phrases of the Social Democratic party about the power of the workers, they refused to put up with the provocations of the Fascist and bourgeois class justice. Especially in Vienna they had so often been told that they were the rulers, that they finally wanted to exercise their power!

The contrast between the increased consciousness of their own power and of the will to fight of the working class on the one hand and the passivity of Social Democracy on the other hand at last found expression in the spontaneous general strike, in the mass demonstrations on July 15th, which assumed spontaneously the character of a rising in which the workers fought against the common opposition of the bourgeoisie and Social Democracy.

The Contradiction between the Masses and the Leaders.

V. The point at issue in the fight on July 15th was the defence of the proletariat against the advance of Fascism and its provocative promotion by bourgeois justice. The objective class importance however, the political bearing of the insurrection reach much further. The assertion of some comrades that the 15th of July was but a "mass rising", no insurrection, is an opportunist mistake. The struggle began as a spontaneous mass movement, a demonstration in the form of a strike of the decisive strata of the workers, but it resulted in a general strike and — also spontaneous — revolt of the proletariat against the class rule of the bourgeoisie, a revolt which, if it had developed successfully, might finally have led to the overthrow of the bourgeois rule and to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The chief contradiction of the Viennese insurrection lay in the tremendously powerful, heroic impetus of the spontaneous mass movement and the absence of a revolutionary lead of the working masses. Not only did the Social Democratic Party of Austria combat the Viennese insurrection ideologically and on principle, but it organised and helped in its suppression. Burgomaster Seitz tried to rally the "most reliable" elements by organising the Vienna communal police in order to protect the bourgeois State under his own management. The Communist Party of Austria immediately proclaimed its solidarity with the insurgents and placed itself in the first ranks of the fighting proletariat. The slight influence of the Party and its numerical weakness prevented its entirely taking over the lead in the fight. Thus, the discrepancy between the fighting power of the proletariat and the leaders was the cause of the defeat.

The Social Democratic Party.

VI. The basis of Austro-Marxism was a peculiar form of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, a collaboration with the Social Democratic Party concealed under Left revolutionary phrases. The Social Democrats helped the bourgeoisie in restoring the shaken capitalist rule and economics in Austria, whilst at the same time maintaining an appearance of opposition, and receiving in return insignificant concessions from the bourgeoisie which were, with much noise, represented to the workers as revolutionary socialist achievements. The policy of the Social Democratic Party was that of "persuading" the bourgeoisie and of trifling concessions, by which the watchfulness of the workers was lulled and the bourgeoisie strengthened. This policy had been possible up to the present because the bourgeoisie has hitherto been too weak to maintain its supremacy by any other methods.

By means of these insignificant improvements, which the Social Democratic Party of Austria has hitherto been able to achieve through its municipal policy, its compromises in parliament, and by radical catch-words about the power of the working class, which was said to be standing at attention and to be in a position easily to parry any attack of the bourgeoisie, the Social Democratic Party succeeded in keeping the masses of workers in the party. In the 2nd International, it was the spokesman of the so-called "Left wing".

As the party which supported the State, which held aloft the "national idea of union with Germany", which protested against the "betrayal of the Fatherland" by the Christian Socialists, which offered to manage the capitalist State better than did the bourgeois parties, which made the protection of the tenants the chief point of its election campaign, which introduced socialism without expropriation by taxation of champagne etc., which appeared as the only party of bourgeois progress in contrast to the unity of the reactionary parties of the Christian

Socialists and of the Pan-Germans, the Social Democratic Party of Austria succeeded in attracting ever increasing numbers of the petty bourgeoisie.

Up to July 15th, the Social Democratic Party of Austria was thus in a position to carry with it both the masses of the industrial proletariat and the masses of the petty bourgeoisie. This was only possible because it had hitherto been able to shirk all decisive problems; because the workers had still faith in its radical phrases, as they had not yet realised by practical experience that they were nothing but hollow phrases; further because the petty bourgeoisie permitted these demagogical catchwords, finally hoping that the workers would never detach themselves from the Social Democratic Party leadership and take the catchwords seriously in order to carry through their own class policy, their own class war even in the most acute form. The strength of the S. D. party of Austria was founded on specifically Austrian conditions; and Austro-Marxism, which is of course an international phenomenon, as it represents the policy of the so-called "Left Social Democracy" in Germany, England, France etc. also, could only reach such a flourishing development under Austrian conditions. But even in Austria there sounded the death knell of Austro-Marxism on the 15th of July; it is bankrupt, it has lost its basis for further development.

The Linz programme represented an attempt to establish programmatically a policy which is, in reality, a Reformist, i. e. thoroughly bourgeois, progressive policy concealed by radical catchwords. Even at this point the dissensions which prevail in the party, through its ideology, between the petty bourgeoisie and the industrial workers who hold revolutionary views, began to show themselves. But it was still possible to bridge over this discrepancy with the old methods, because the masses lacked experience. The 15th of July began to reveal the effect of this difference of opinions. On the one hand the S. D. party of Austria — as a State upholding party — is forced to act more and more openly in a treacherous manner and to approach the attitude of the S. P. of Germany, on the other hand it cannot straightaway abandon its radical phrases without running the risk of losing at once the broad masses of the working class. At the same time, the bourgeoisie, which believed itself to be sufficiently strengthened to begin a sanguinary offensive against the working class and to abandon many forms of collaboration with the Social Democratic Party, drove the latter into a position which made it less easy for it to manoeuvre, conceal and negotiate — which forced it to show its hand. The result of this disharmony and of these conditions is that the petty bourgeoisie, frightened by the events of July 15th, is seceding from the party in increasing numbers whilst, on the other hand, a Left proletarian workers' opposition is forming within the party. These Left moods of opposition are vague and unstable, but they are a sign of the revolutionary awakening of the Austrian industrial proletariat from the deceitful illusions of Austro-Marxism. The Party should explain the significance of this process to the workers and support it, without hesitating to criticise any half-heartedness, vacillations or lack of clearness on the part of the Opposition. At the present moment, this process of development is the determining factor for the further decision of the class war in Austria.

The Attitude of the Communist Party of Austria — The Slogan of the Workers' Soviets.

VII. It must be admitted that the Communist Party of Austria stood the test in the July struggle although, it had only at the beginning of this year, by a forcible operation, terminated its internal disagreements and fraction struggles which had persisted for years, although it had suffered a defeat at the election in April, although its organisation was weak for objective reasons and owing to mistakes made in the past and to the fact of its being isolated from the masses.

We must refute with the greatest energy the calumnious assertions of the Ultra-Left about the Party "being invisible" or "not existing" during the July events etc. The Party placed itself at the head of the workers in the fight. It took part in the fight with entire devotion and tried to conduct it in the right revolutionary direction. After the defeat it openly and boldly professed, in face of the campaign carried on in common by the

bourgeoisie and the S. D. leaders, that it sided with the struggle of the workers and the Viennese insurrection.

The political line of action of the Party, which found expression especially in the manifesto of the C. C. on the occasion of the murder in Schattendorf in January, further on the occasion of the raid on the arsenal, in the open letter to the S. D. party of Austria, on the occasion of the election, and on the delivery over of the weapons from the arsenal, was correct.

Long before the insurrection, the Party recognised that the slogan of arming the proletariat corresponded with the specific position of Austria and ought to be made the centre point of agitation in spite of relative stabilisation. By repeating this slogan indefatigably for months, it became the slogan of almost the whole of the proletariat, although it was just on this point that the leaders of the S. D. party of Austria carried on the most embittered agitation against our Party.

The slogans issued by the Party during the fight were correct and good: disarming and dissolution of the Fascist organisations and of the police, arming of the proletariat, the formation of real self-defence organisations, overthrow of the Seipel Government and a fight for the workers' and peasant government.

The tactics of the Party during the struggle of July 15th had to take as a starting point the fact that the Viennese workers were rising, although they did it spontaneously. The Party did not sufficiently rapidly and completely grasp this fundamental point of view and the whole political bearing of the events, although it realised immediately that the fight on July 15th and on the following days was more than merely a reply to the provocation of Fascist justice. The fight for overthrowing the Seipel Government and establishing a workers' and peasant government was, in the last resort, a fight for the overthrow of bourgeois class rule.

The Party failed to issue the slogans of the general strike and of the overthrow of the Government already in the night of July 14th or the early morning of July 15th, because it underestimated the radicalisation, the readiness to fight of the workers and the indignation prevailing among them about the Schattendorf verdict. Since this mistake was, however, made good a few hours later, it was of minor importance.

The C. P. of Austria itself did not issue the slogan of the immediate establishment of workers' soviets, which was contained in the proclamation of the Executive Committee; neither did the Party leaders take measures for organising any initiative group of workers. The Party felt itself too weak to call upon the working class with this clear main slogan, to rouse it to the conquest of power, and to lead it along this path. Needless to say even a considerably stronger C. P. could not have effected general, regular elections of workers' soviets in a few days. What might have been organised, even in half a day, was the formation of an open, serious fighting leadership, consisting of representatives of revolutionary mass organisations (in the first instance some trade unions which are under Communist influence, some revolutionary factory councils etc.) and of course also of representatives of the Communist Party. A broad centre of this kind could and should not have replaced the leading rôle of the Communist Party leadership, on the contrary, the C. P. ought to have tried to exercise its leading influence on as wide a stratum of the working class as possible with the help of the said body which would have acted publicly as the central organ of the movement of insurrection (in which the majority ought of course to have been reliable revolutionaries). It would have been the duty of that body, which ought to have been formed at once, immediately to call upon the workers to create workers' councils, thus appearing itself on the platform as the group taking the initiative and being the first provisional central body of the workers' soviets. In this way the elementary rising of the masses would have immediately been given a centre of organisation and at the same time a general organising, revolutionary slogan, which could embrace all the strata of the proletariat which were prepared to fight, a slogan which would clearly have impressed on the consciousness of the masses the task of capturing power. This slogan would best of all have served the purpose of spreading further and intensifying the fight of the masses and of driving a wedge between the active, social democratic masses and their treacherous leaders.

The C. P. failed to understand this task and made no steps in this direction. Instead of doing this, it issued, during the insurrection, the slogan: "Immediate conference of the factory councils." This was essentially wrong. If the Communists regarded the alleged "compromising" of the workers' soviets in Austria by the anti-revolutionary campaign of the S. D. leaders, as an absolutely compelling reason for abandoning the slogan of workers' soviets, the actually predominant position of the Social Democrats among the legal factory councils (with only a few exceptions) ought all the more to have been a compelling reason against summoning these factory councils during the insurrection.

The general line of action of the Party after the struggle was correct, it did not, however, express the necessary, merciless criticism of the S. D. leaders and their treachery with sufficient severity and decision in the "Rote Fahne".

The efficient and courageous attitude of the Young Communist League and of the fighting proletarian youth of Vienna deserves particular mention. It is now more necessary than ever for the Party to support the work among the youth with all means in its power.

The Immediate Prospects.

VIII. The 15th of July has opened up a period of intensified class struggles in Austria. The bourgeoisie is resorting to an open, reactionary attack. It will make every effort to transform the victory which it won with armed force on July 15th into hard cash. This winter the most violent attacks will be made for developing capitalist rationalisation, i. e. against the eight hours' day, against wages, against unemployment benefit etc., further in favour of increasing customs duties, against the protection of tenants etc. At the same time the bourgeoisie will make attempts further to consolidate its political supremacy. The civil guards and national guards are being increased in numbers and provided with arms. The "reorganisation" of the militia is being continued. The bourgeois government is turning with all its might against the Communist Party and trying to render its work impossible.

This broad offensive of the bourgeoisie will rouse the resistance of the proletariat. On July 15th, the Austrian workers, who are becoming more and more radicalised as reaction increases, saw the true features of "Democracy", but they have also realised their own force and will not let themselves be defeated and completely deprived of their rights. The approaching severe and embittered fights may again give rise to severe conflicts between the bourgeois power of the State and the proletariat.

The coming struggles in Austria will be of great significance in respect of the preparations for war against the Soviet Union. The struggle of the Austrian workers will be at the same time a war against the threatening war, against intervention in the Soviet Union, as a complete victory of the Austrian bourgeoisie would be equivalent to the restoration of a firm connection between the reactionary Border States of Poland and Hungary on the one hand, and of Italy on the other hand.

The possibility of carrying on a sham radical policy which the S. D. party of Austria has had until now, no longer exists in the same measure. Fresh treacheries will follow the open, naked betrayal on July 15th. The S. D. party of Austria has already capitulated in the question of the communal police, of the education laws, of amnesty for the July prisoners, nay even in the question of the "Democratic" investigation committee. It will commit the same treachery in the fight against capitalist rationalisation and its consequences, in the question of customs' duties, of the protection of tenants, civil guards and republican defence corps. In the course of this struggle and of these betrayals, however, a Left proletarian wing of the S. D. party of Austria, in favour of the fight of the proletariat, will develop more and more.

Spontaneously and organised by our Party, organs of the mass movement will be formed, which are absolutely necessary for carrying on a revolutionary fight. Revolutionary factory council committees, committees for combating Fascism, unity committees, etc. will be established, organs arising out of the masses, out of the fight, and formed for conducting the fight.

The Chief Tasks of the Party.

IX. The C. P. of Austria, which must earnestly draw lessons from the Viennese insurrection and make them clear to the masses of workers, has the following chief tasks to fulfil in the near future:

1. Severe, relentless exposure of the treachery of the Social Democratic leaders.

2. Organisation of a mass fight on a broad basis for the demands of the day made by the workers (against, capitalist rationalisation and its effects, against customs, for tenants' protection, for amnesty for the July prisoners etc.) in connection with the general fight against Fascism and reaction, against the bourgeois State (under the slogans: disarming of the Fascist organisations, arming of the proletariat, overthrow of the bourgeois government, establishment of the workers' and peasant government).

3. Promotion of the formation and support of a Left proletarian Opposition within the S. D. party of Austria without in the least abandoning criticism of an undecided, vacillating attitude.

4. Strengthening of our activity in the trade unions, formation of a Left wing embracing all the workers who are dissatisfied with the Reformist trade union policy.

5. Development of the Party into a mass party, combined with strengthening and consolidating the Party by means of organisation. For this purpose, the recruiting of members, distribution of newspapers and literature, the development and formation of factory nuclei, intensification of our activity in the provinces and the establishment of special connections between the central party leadership and the provincial organisations, improvement of technical and organisatory connections, the adoption of the organisation and methods of work of the Party to the more vehement line of action taken by the bourgeoisie against the Party, and preparations against possible complete illegality of the Party. In addition to this, the Party should defend its legal existence to the utmost.

6. Widest propaganda among the masses for establishing a revolutionary organisation of self-defence of the proletariat. Whilst calling attention to the treacherous attitude of the leaders of the Republican Defence Corps, the Left workers of the Defence corps should be enlisted. At the same time the Party must strengthen its Party defence formations and use them as cadres of the future Red Front Fighters League.

7. Thorough examination of the agrarian question and rapid working out of a programme of agitation of the Party for its activity among the poor peasants. Activity in the village should be begun on a large scale.

In carrying out all these tasks, the Party should always bear in mind that Austria is only a section of the front of the revolutionary class war carried on by the international proletariat, and should combine its fight with a fight in the defence of the Russian and Chinese revolution and with a fight against the threatened imperialist war of intervention.

International Tasks.

X. The most important international tasks arising from the Vienna insurrection are the enlightenment of the masses as to the shaky character of relative stabilisation, which may at any given moment lead to severe revolutionary conflicts; further a thorough elucidation of the significance of the rising by means of propaganda and agitation; merciless unmasking of the treacherous part played by Austro-Marxism; enlightenment of the masses regarding the plans of intervention cherished by the imperialist neighbouring States of Austria during the insurrection and regarding the mobilisation of the working class for active prevention of any counter-revolutionary intervention against the rising of the proletariat.

Moscow, end of September 1927.

AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA

English Factory Newspapers.

By Eugen Paul.

The English Labour movement has made tremendous progress in the last few years; it has entered on a new period of its development. The class-consciousness of the English proletariat, its perception of and understanding for world historical events and their connection with events in England have increased enormously. From being the most "reliable" bulwark of Reformism it has become, with a wave of the hand, so to speak, an advance-guard of the revolutionary world proletariat. We cannot better characterise the English factory newspapers than by stating that this grandiose transformation within the English Labour movement is clearly and unmistakably reflected in them.

After the collapse of the tremendous strike movement a portion of the factory newspapers had to cease appearing for the time being. But in the factory newspapers there is not the least sign of any discouragement or despondency on account of this collapse of the strike movement. On the contrary, everywhere there is to be heard a note of confidence, the unshakable consciousness of victory on the part of a proletariat, that is capable of accomplishing its tasks.

What strikes one at the first glance when reading the English factory newspapers is their close contact with the life of the factory or workshop and with its staff. We just mention as examples in this respect "The Punch", "Cambrian X-Ray", "The Sprag" and "Llwynpia Searchlight", though it would be possible to make a long list of factory newspapers from which one can recognise at the first glance that they are really written "by workers for workers". Between the editor and the workers there exist the closest connection and co-operation. A great number of factory newspapers regularly publish Letters from Workers, which often fill more than half the paper. As examples of this we mention "The Fryston Star" No. 3, "The Pet" No. 3, "The Miners Star" No. 1, "Lochee Mill Workers" No. 3, etc. etc. Between the editors and the workers there is a constant exchange of ideas as to what can be done to improve the factory paper, satisfy the thirst for knowledge on the part of the workers etc. etc. In No. 10 of "The Ripper" a worker writes to the editor:

"Can't you form some sort of a Library and lecture room to learn the workers the theory of Communism, Working class history etc.?"

The editor replies, that is not possible at the present moment,

"we can say however with surety, that as soon as we can procure rooms we shall set the classes away".

In the same number there appears a letter from a worker who has sent drawings to the paper and who likewise suggests that a reading room be set up. In "The Punch" (railway depot paper) No. 40 the worker correspondents are given directions as what they shall write:

"The publishers of the "Punch" welcome letters dealing with any of the following points:

1. Grievances against the management, lack of proper facilities for taking food etc.
2. Branch reports dealing with questions of importance to railwaymen etc.;
3. the policy of the E. C. of the Union is always 'fair game' for criticisms. We welcome letters dealing with national policy etc.

An extremely valuable feature of the English factory newspapers is their fight against the reformist leaders, both of the trade unions and of the Labour Party, which is conducted very systematically and skilfully by many factory newspapers. "The Flash" No. 36, in an article entitled "The 'Restoration' of the Guaranteed Week", deals with the capitulation of the union officials to the railway companies and calls for a fight against this policy. An article in "The Sprag" No. 41 dealing with the fight against war and another article in the same factory newspaper dealing with trade union reform, both warn the workers

against placing confidence in the trade union and labour leaders who have so often betrayed them.

"The General Council is encouraging this new attack on the trade unions, as is shown by their recent decision re the Minority Movement"....

"The Punch" No. 40, in an article entitled "Soviet Russia and British Labour", and "The Pet" No. 3 in its Editorial Notes, attack the reformist traitors. In the "Miners Star" No. 1 there appears a letter from a worker describing the misery of the miners. In which he says in conclusion:

"Comrades, my belief is that if we had leaders who were fighters and not 'Ratters', we should not have been in this unfortunate position."

It is greatly to the credit of the English factory newspapers that they have for the greater part rid themselves of provincialism, of a narrow outlook confined to their "own" local and factory affairs. Even at the time when the waves of the struggle in England reached their highest point (autumn of 1926) very many of the English factory newspapers devoted a great deal of space and attention to the events in China. And the same is the case today. At the same time the events in China are often cleverly brought into connection with events in England. On the other hand many of the English factory newspapers already know how to deal with factory affairs in the light of general politics. "The Flash" No. 36, in an article entitled "Railway workers and British Imperialism" deals with the bad working conditions in China and then asks:

"Is there any moral or practical justification for us to assist British imperialism in forcing the Chinese workers still further down?"

"The Paddington Star" No. 17 publishes a portion of the appeal of the Chinese railway men to the British railway men and transport workers, and then says:

"It is an appeal from thousands of our railway comrades in China opposed by the same forces who oppress us, exploited by the same section and parasitic element which we fought during the General Strike"....

A further great merit of the English factory newspapers is the systematic campaign for unity coupled with a regular agitation for trade union unity and the Minority Movement, especially in the Mining industry. The slogan "one national union for all mine workers" is emphasised at every possible opportunity. "The Fryston Star", "The Hornsey Star", "The Ripper" etc. etc. are examples of this.

The united front with the "black-coated" proletariat is very skilfully propagated. A workers' letter published in the "Llwynpia Searchlight" No. 2 states:

"The question of clerks or colliers is now one of clerks and colliers. Capitalism in its decline has to economise, and clerks, colliers, engineers etc. are thrown on the scrap-heap. If they fully realise that they are no different to any other wage slave under capitalism we hope that they will become class-conscious enough to join the Communist Party. To obtain economic security they must strive to abolish a system which stands in their way"....

The method of agitation of many English factory newspapers stands on a high level. A valuable feature is their simple but forceful and impressive language as well as striking drawings and caricatures, although progress in this last field is not so striking as in other spheres.

The English factory newspapers, as we see, have many excellent features; but they are not yet free of all faults, nor can they be as they are products of a very changing development. One of their main faults is their more or less considerable neglect of the question of unemployment, which is very seldom mentioned. The central problems of English and world politics — the threatening war against the Soviet Union; the Minority Movement; the question of "Left" leaders of the type of Purcell etc.; the offensive of the Conservative Government against the English Trade Union movement and the working class etc. — are not placed sufficiently sharply in the foreground in the factory newspapers. There are also too few contributions from

women and young workers. Ideological faults are to be seen. Thus in "The Frystone Star" No. 2 the fact that on the occasion of a fatal accident in the mine there was no cessation of work, was simply condemned as "neglect of an old-established Pit custom" instead of there being pointed out the necessity of a protest by a cessation of work.

But all this cannot in any way alter the total impression. that the English factory newspapers are in the front ranks of the international factory newspaper movement.

THE EFFECT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ABROAD

German Social Democracy and the October Revolution.

By Paul Frölich.

From the times when the Bolsheviki took so prominent a position in the Russian revolution that it was realisable even to those abroad to the end of the great war, the Social Democratic Press of Germany maintained a benevolent attitude towards them, with only a few exceptions which are however all the more characteristic of their policy. Even before the Independents had removed from the Mensheviki and Social Revolutionaries, the said Press took the side of the Bolshevist party, and when this party had conquered the power, the Social Democratic Press of Germany also on the whole countenanced it, whereas the Kautsky, Stein, Ströbel and others among the Independents made an infuriated charge against the Bolshevist policy.

The outbreak of the Russian March revolution was very sceptically commented on, by the Social Democratic papers. The "Vorwärts" wrote that there could be no talk of a real revolution, that it was only a case of a somewhat forcible change of Ministers brought about by British policy and that this change did not transfer the power to any new class, but merely into the hands of the most resolute pro-war party, the party of Miljukov and Rodsianko. Only when it became quite evident that the March revolution was a gigantic rising of the people, at whose head marched the working class, they welcomed it joyously and gave themselves airs, saying proudly: This is our work! Parvus then wrote in his article "The Social Balance of the War":

"All honour to the heroic fights of the Russian revolutionaries, but we also have helped in the overthrow of Tsarism, we the Social Democrats of the Central Powers. For this we went to the front, and we have achieved our end. Without the defeats Russia suffered, there could be no victory of the Russian revolution. It is we who have done it and certainly not those who, when the workers of Germany and Austro-Hungary were bleeding to death in their fight against the Tsarist military forces, attacked them in the rear with a line of fire and gas bombs and, with cold cruelty left the women and children in Germany to die for want of food in order to paralyse the energies of the men."

Others were even more clumsy than Parvus. The fascinating tale about the fight against Tsarism with which the workers had been enticed to join in the war policy of German Social Democracy, a tale that had long been drowned in the roaring of the cannons was suddenly heard again. It was intended to win back the confidence of the workers in the policy of the S. P. G. which had been lost, at a moment when the treachery to the working class became more obvious than ever. While the triumph over the victory of the Russian revolution as having been achieved by the troops of German workers was a despicable hypocrisy and abuse of Karl Marx' name, the Social Democrats on the other hand understood very well how to judge of the events in Russia from the Marxist point of view. When the Mensheviki and Social Revolutionaries joined the bourgeois Government, the Social Democrats cried treachery. Cunov explained in the "Glocke" (1917, No. 17) that the only right policy of the workers' parties was to collect the necessary forces in the country and

then "to overthrow the liberal Bourgeois Government, to establish a purely Socialist government and institute a dictatorship of the proletarian masses."

Thus the only policy which was revolutionary and promised success was propagated by the German party leaders, to be immediately forgotten, it is true, when they themselves were faced by the necessity of coming to a practical decision. Cunov moreover appropriated to himself the whole Bolshevist programme: Constituent Assembly, reform of administration, laws for workers, agrarian revolution.

What was the political meaning of this attitude? Had these political Scheidemanns suddenly turned into revolutionaries? By no means! Marxism was good for Russia, in Germany, however, war credits were granted, Ministers were cajoled, hopes were set on Ludendorff and the workers were lulled with vain illusions. The Germans were zealously at work stamping out the sparks from the revolutionary conflagration which were carried eastwards. Whilst the Bolshevist tactics in Russia met with so clever an understanding, German politicians got writer's cramp in their effort to prove that these tactics were in place in Russia but utterly useless and inadmissible in Germany. Germany was a civilised country, which was going to abolish absolutism under the omnipotence of their Generals in a strictly legal way.

The policy of Social Democracy agreed to a T. with the Supreme Command. Revolution was welcome as a military means of weakening Russia. There was great satisfaction over the fact that one opponent in the East was falling out so that German imperialism could be led to victory in the West with increased vigour. In the same way in which the Supreme Command had the Bolsheviki removed to Russia in sealed cars, so did Social Democracy propagate Bolshevist ideas under the seal: German workers, this is nothing for you!

When the Bolsheviki had taken over the power in the October revolution, the German Social Democrats welcomed the Government of the workers and soldiers and speeded the Mensheviki with some curses on their way. There was an actual race between them and the Left Independents for the favour of the Bolsheviki. Parvus was zealously endeavouring to bring about a collaboration between the German Social Democrats and the Bolsheviki, and it was only when the latter turned them a cold shoulder that their enthusiasm cooled down.

Neither the terror, nor the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly nor the proletarian dictatorship were enough to damp the social democratic joy over the Bolshevist policy. Indeed, they defended everything which they condemned afterwards as a crime against humanity and against which they enlisted the robber bands of the Baltic States and the Noske terror.

Wilhelm Blos, later President of Württemberg and a solicitous father to the Mechtlerstedt students of murder, proved in an article entitled "The New Russian State" ("New Time" of January 25th 1918) that there was an absolute harmony between what was being practised in Russia and Marx' teachings. Others followed in the same tracks. Even in October 1918, when revolution was already knocking at Germany's door and the Scheidemanns trembled in their shoes from dread of the Bolsheviki, the "Neue Zeit" published an article by N. E. Verov in which the following passage is found:

"It is hardly comprehensible that, on the basis of biased reports, even a section of the Socialist Press joins in the chorus against a Socialist party which doubtlessly represents the mass of the Russian workers and Russian Marxists and is to-day trying to transform the decaying bourgeois Russia into a socialist community by struggling against the unscrupulous counter-revolutionary Coalition..."

As a matter of fact the talk about a Bolshevist dictatorship of the proletariat being incompatible with democracy only shows how even the so-called Marxists are under the influence of Radical-Liberal views and how little they have grasped Marx' theory of the class war and the State."

This was written in a journal which was managed by Cunov, the same Cunov who understood at that very same time shamelessly to forge the Marxist theory of class war and

of the State in a "deeply erudite" book. What was the cause of this honesty on the part of the Social Democratic leaders towards the Russian revolution and the Bolsheviks? Why did they thus forget their rôle as professional liars? We do not wish to do them injustice — they remained true to their unfaithfulness, to their treachery. They sided with the Bolsheviks as being the Russian party which was to conclude peace with Germany, which, being the party of the revolution, carried on war against the imperialist war and therefore offered a guarantee that Russia would not go back into the folds of the Entente. — The Mensheviks had shown that, at the decisive moment, they sided with their own bourgeoisie and thereby with the war of conquest of the Entente. In order to cut off the ground under the feet of the latter, the German Social Democrats defended the internal policy of the Bolsheviks with the arguments of revolutionary Marxism whilst at the same time they forged Marxism and the foreign policy of the Bolsheviks.

The Social Democrats revealed these German imperialist motives as soon as the Bolsheviks refused to help the German Government in deceiving the people. As is well known, the German Government had espoused the Bolshevik slogan of peace without annexations and compensations with a clear conscience and, with the same clear conscience had drawn up a mad programme of conquest in its draft of the peace treaty of Brest Litovsk. The Government presumed that the Bolsheviks in their difficult position, would not be over-particular and would acknowledge as the result of an imaginary self-determination of the peoples what was, in reality, violation of these peoples. When Trotsky, by breaking off negotiations in Brest had made it clear to the whole world that he refused to play a duet with an imperialist power, the "*Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*", the organ of the Government, opened an attack against the Bolsheviks and raised an outcry against the "Russian anarchy".

Up to that time the Government Press had pampered the Bolsheviks no less than did the Social Democratic Press with the exception that the former could dispense with the Marxism of the cheap Jacob. At a signal from above, the Social Democratic Press immediately wheeled round. In the "*Vorwärts*", Stampfer wrote essays of revolting baseness and with so much hypocrisy that even those are repelled who are used to putting up with a good deal from that quarter. On February 15th 1918 the same paper published an article by Otto Braun, member of the governing body, now Prime Minister of Prussia, in which all the methods of the later *Anti-Bolshevik League* were already put to the test. We quote from it as follows:

"They are aiming a deadly blow at Democracy and are substituting for it energy and brute force. In a manner which must rouse the envy of the most brutal serf of the Tsar, they are gagging the public opinion and throwing large numbers of their comrades into prison even though they only differ in their tactics.

They are knocking down all who oppose them by means of the armed power of the soldiers who are still devoted to them. This rule of the unbridled Bolshevik Socialist military rabble is however as reprehensible as the despotism of the Tsarist military rabble. It cannot last long.

The chaos in the economic and political domain will, of necessity, become gradually worse and finally lead to the collapse of this unnatural socialist rule of the sword.

What the Bolsheviks are doing in Russia is neither socialism nor democracy, it is rather an outrageous putschism and anarchy.

For this reason, we must draw a marked and clearly visible line of separation between Bolshevism and ourselves."

This was too much even for the Vienna "*Arbeiter Zeitung*", which called the article a document "of the moral and mental condition of some comrades in Germany". The agitation in the German Social Democratic Press continued up to the moment when the Bolsheviks, with their teeth set and their faces averted, signed the Peace Treaty. At that moment it was broken off, and the courting of the favour of the Bolsheviks began once more. What does the intermezzo signify? It was a manoeuvre

for distracting the workers and win them for German imperialism. The object was, by agitating against the Bolsheviks, to distract the attention of the masses of German workers who were indignant at the Brest Treaty and to hush up the crime committed by the German Government. It was a continuation of the disgraceful treachery on the occasion of the great January strike.

This vileness was repeated when Social Democracy was called upon to decide whether or not it should accept the Brest Peace Treaty. The Social Democratic Press had hardly ventured to utter a word against the attempts at conquest in the East. It had not made the slightest attempt at rousing a movement against the Treaty and had, on the contrary, helped in suppressing the January strike.

With a smile of satisfaction, the leaders of the party calmly watched the doings of the pro-conquest politicians and awaited the time when their "striving for peace" should be "forcibly suppressed". When the Peace Treaty was placed before the Reichstag, a few good creatures indeed did get up and say that it would never be possible to give and express consent to such a predatory peace. Hermann Wendel used even very impressive and determined words against the policy of the party. In the "*Frankfurter Volkszeitung*" he stated that there was a "complete catastrophe of the social democratic peace policy", and against those who were prepared to accept the Peace in order "not to endanger the achievements of the party", he wrote as follows:

"Are we to grant war credits for the sake of such a trifle, in order that German regiments may — glorious task! — suppress revolution in Finland? Are we going to sell our honour, our souls, our future for a mess of such a pottage?

The party can no longer join in this war policy. It cannot give its consent to this peace! It must not grant new war credits!

If it nevertheless does so, it should at least be honest, take down its present sign-board and wipe out the old firm from the registers of history."

The few voices soon died away and their possessors bowed their heads. The voices in the Press were very different. The same people who had, without being asked, professed their good intentions to the Bolsheviks and were ready to play the same tune again in a short time, were decidedly in favour of consenting to the Peace Treaty. Stampfer said that it was necessary to accept it, as otherwise the Russians might arrive at erroneous conclusions and want to resume fighting. The "*Hamburger Echo*" abused the literary men of again putting a spoke in the wheel of the party and had the disgusting courage to write: "If the Russians and Roumanians accept this peace for want of a better one, why should we be the ones to reject it?"

In the Reichstag faction not more than 12 voices were in favour of rejecting the treaty. With the greatest trouble a decision was come to to abstain from voting.

The Social Democrats naturally promoted the campaigns of German imperialism against the revolution in Finland, in the Baltic Provinces, in the Ukraine, in the Caucasus in that they concealed from the workers what was happening in the East. Wilhelm Jansson of the A. D. G. B. (German General Federation of Trade Unions) even applauded the murder of workers in Finland. In spite of all this, they continued their efforts to get into the good graces of the Bolsheviks. When however the German revolution was knocking hard at the doors, it was Mr. Scheideman who agitated in the Government for a breach with Russia and found a pretext for it. At that time the Social Democracy entered on the period of the most rascally calumniations of the first Workers' Revolution; the party put at the service of this campaign the sworn enemies of the German working class and the scum of the servile members of the Press.

In its whole attitude towards the Russian revolution and the Bolsheviks, German Social Democracy did not for one moment fix its glance on the interests of the German, still less

of the international working class. It was exclusively guided by the aims and wishes of German imperialism. It is responsible for the infamous predatory peace of Brest Litovsk and for the attempts at slaughtering the Russian revolution. It has promoted this policy of German imperialism by a brilliant feat of malicious craft and insidiousness. Even where it said the truth about the policy of the revolutionary party, this truth turned, in its mouth, into the most ignominious lie.

The Russian October and the Chinese Revolution.

By Tang Shin She.

The alarm-bell of the Russian October roused the Chinese people which had been lying deeply asleep for a long time. It has now risen to fight against foreign imperialists and native feudalists, to fight for national freedom and social equality.

The history of China records several great revolutions initiated by the masses of peasants and directed against the rule of a foreign tribe. But they were made without system and without a broad point of view. As a rule, the old dynasty was indeed overthrown, but the peasants were over and over again caught by a newly arisen celestial son. These revolutions meant nothing else but a change of dynasties.

The last great revolution in 1911 overthrew the Monarchy and prepared the way for the foundation of the Republic. In reality, however, personal dictatorship rules China nowadays as before that time, with the exception that the one celestial son has been replaced by many small gods. This result of all the revolts must be attributed to the fact that the revolutions in question were made without any revolutionary theory. In the course of time, one revolution after the other was suppressed. Chinese philosophers therefore expressed the following idea: "After a period of order comes disorder, after a period of disorder, order".

The Russian October did not only once again rouse the revolutionary impulse among the Chinese, it imparted to them an understanding of the revolutionary theory. The Chinese know to-day that it is necessary to organise the revolutionary masses. They distinguish between the main forces and the camp-followers of revolution. They know that no benefit is derived from the overthrow of an old political regime if the old dilapidated economic system is allowed to persist. Briefly, they have realised what is the nature of revolution, why, to what purpose and with what means revolution is made.

Immediately after the revolution in Russia, lively reports on the activity of the Bolsheviks were published in the Chinese Press. The Chinese revolutionaries, under the impression of the constant defeats of the revolutionary risings in 1911, 1913 and 1916, tried to find an issue and passionately discussed the victorious Russian October revolution. The enthusiasm about it assumed such dimensions that even an entirely reactionary clique, Lien Du Shi's group (Union for Studying the Constitution) published in its Press enthusiastic reports and discussions about the Russian revolution and recommended carrying out the Chinese revolution on the pattern of the Russian.

The workers' and students' movement has then started in China with all energy. The strict Chinese customs and morals handed down by tradition over thousands of years were cast away as lumber by the young freethinkers. Physical work was no longer regarded by them as degrading but as the sacred duty of man. This encouraged the lowest strata of the population, the workers, to turn against the "high" class of the bourgeoisie. This movement began with a wave of strikes which swept over the whole country.

The Versailles Peace Treaty and the Washington Disarmament Conference robbed the Chinese bourgeoisie of the illusions it had received from Wilson, that the Chinese people would soon be granted the right of self-determination. At the same time, revolutionary Russia, which had before been a Power which severely oppressed China, proclaimed the abolition of unequal treaties, privileges and concessions in China, in as far as they applied to Russia and China. The Chinese people then realised

who were its opponents and who were its friends. It realised that the liberation of China from the yoke of the Foreign Powers could only be achieved by an irreconcilable fight against the imperialists whilst at the same time an alliance with Russia would be of great benefit.

In order to hasten the Chinese revolution, the Kuo Min Tang, which was almost disintegrating in consequence of constant treacheries, was reorganised. It became the head-quarters of the united front of revolution. The Communists joined the Kuo Min Tang; the masses of workers and peasants drew nearer to it. After the reorganisation in 1924, the Kuo Min Tang was extraordinarily strengthened. It was indeed the chief fighting organisation of the Chinese revolution. Soviet Russia and the workers of all countries supported it in every way. The prestige of the foreign Powers decreased enormously whereas the prospects of revolution improved from day to day.

The sudden tremendous growth of the Labour movement, especially in the towns of Shanghai, Canton and Hankow, and the development of the revolutionary activity of the peasants during the expedition to the North inspired the bourgeoisie with such fear that it detached itself from the revolution. It preferred to proceed against its own people in common with foreign imperialists. In the period of from April to July 1927, the whole of the bourgeoisie, from Chiang Kai Shek to Wang Ching Wei committed acts of treachery.

In spite of the attacks of the deserters on the revolution, it was not defeated. On the contrary, its character was clarified. For the revolution is now developing into a workers' and peasant revolution.

The question which had been mooted: "Who assumes the hegemony over the present Chinese revolution, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie?" has been solved. The proletariat has become the leader of the revolution. It is fighting in common with the peasantry for the slogan: "Land to the peasants!" The slogan of "All power to the Soviets!" has also gained ground in view of the treachery of the so-called Left Kuo Min Tang people. All this indicates that the revolutionary front is to-day firmer and more consolidated than ever. The path of the Chinese revolution which has now been decided upon does not lead to capitalism, but to socialism.

At the same time the front of the enemies of the Chinese revolution has of course also expanded. Not only foreign imperialists and native feudalists belong to it at the present moment. The whole of the Chinese bourgeoisie is on the side of the counter-revolutionaries. But in spite of the formation of an apparently united front between the imperialists, the feudalists and the bourgeoisie against the Reds, dissensions among them are becoming more intense from day to day. As regards the imperialists, there is a deep-reaching cleft between the English and Japanese on the one hand and the Americans on the other hand. A very embittered feud exists between the feudalist Generals and the bourgeoisie. Not only are Generals Feng Yu Hsiang and Yen She San fighting against Chang Tso Lin in the North, but in the South also the so-called united Kuo Min Tang has been divided into dissenting groups. The Kuo Min Tang now consists of three groups with various tendencies: Nanking, Wuhan and Canton.

The revolutionary wave is sweeping over the whole country. The strike movement has not only been resumed with renewed vigour in Canton, Shanghai and Wuhan, but it has also gained a foothold in Manchuria. Peasants revolts are on the order of the day not only in Kwantung, Hunan and Hupe where millions of peasants are already organised, but also in Northern China. The city poor are also on the march. There is unrest in many important districts in Wuhan, Canton Shanghai and Manchuria owing to the depreciation of the currency. The revolutionary soldiers are again gathering. All this shows that the revolutionary forces have become stronger and wider. This is to be attributed in no small measure to the teachings of the Russian October revolution.

TEN YEARS AGO

Before the Storm.

Fraternisation in spite of Shell Fire.

Russian Army Report of October 28th. Rifle fire of reconnoitering troops on all fronts. Near Illuxt the Germans fraternised with a dozen of our soldiers. They were dispersed by our artillery. Also in the neighbourhood of Krevo and the village Darovo, south east of Baranovitch the Germans attempted fraternisation.

* * *

Russian army report of October 21st. Rifle fire and fights between patrols on all fronts. Attempts of the enemy to fraternise with our soldiers are reported from the Western front near Lake Narotch and from the Roumanian front near the mouth of the Buzen. The enemy has each time been driven away by our fire.

* * *

Stockholm, 23rd October. Two meetings of the Russian Cabinet took place on the 17th October. Kerensky declared that much work is necessary in order to restore discipline in the army, because renewed attempts at fraternisation at the front did not remain without effect; further, on account of the approaching Winter, there were many desertions. The Ministers agreed to issue an official declaration regarding the rumours spread among the troops as to peace and an eventual termination of the war. The last passage, as well as the reference to the Winter desertions, indicates that the slogan spread among the soldiers to go home on the 1st October (old style) has found many followers.

The Russian Soldiers Mutiny also in France.

Petrograd, 22nd October. The report of the Russian military mission in France regarding the mutinies among the Russian troops stationed there, is published in detail by the "Rjetch". According to this report, the camp of the mutineers at La Courtin, has been fired on by Russian artillery. In the night of 4th September, after eighteen shots had been fired into the camp, 160 of the mutineers surrendered. On the 4th September the camp was again fired on, and after 30 shots the mutineers hoisted two white flags and commenced to leave the camp unarmed. Towards evening 8300 soldiers had left the camp and were received by the French troops. 150 mutineers who had remained in the camp opened heavy machine gun fire in the evening. On the 5th September heavy artillery fire was directed against the camp in order to crush the insurrection, and French troops gradually occupied the camp. The insurgents replied with machine gun fire. On the 6th September, at 9 o'clock, the camp was completely occupied. The losses of the Russian troops were: one killed, five wounded; among the insurgents 8 killed, 44 wounded. After the mutineers had been disarmed 81 of them were arrested.

Starving Soldiers Want Peace.

Petrograd, 17th October. At a meeting of the Petrograd Soldiers' Council a delegate from the front came forward with an extraordinary declaration. He spoke of the hunger and lack of clothing of the soldiers, and said that the soldiers are convinced of the impossibility of continuing the war. They demand immediate peace. Thereupon representatives of other army di-

visions came forward and declared that the soldiers have no confidence at all in the Commanding Staff, that fighting capacity and discipline are empty words and that the soldiers have decided to go home as soon as the first frost begins.

Action of the Donez Workers against Sabotage of Production by the Employers.

"Rabotchy Putj" of 16th October writes:

The bourgeois newspapers began suddenly, as if in response to a command, to carry on a campaign against the miners of the Donez basin. They accuse the proletariat of the mining areas of creating anarchy, and demand severe measures against them. Rumours are afloat that in order to "pacify" the indignant workers a special "dictator" with extraordinary powers will be sent to the Donez Basin and there "will be put at his disposal all means which a government authority possesses".

Wherein lies the guilt and the "anarchy" of the workers of the Donez Basin? Firstly in the fact that the workers insist that fresh workers cannot be employed without the approval of the workers' organisations; secondly that the members of the Presidium of the Soviets of workers deputies are freed from work in the factory; thirdly in various pits the eight hour day is demanded; fourthly the workers demand the dismissal from the administration of certain specially hated persons; fifthly, there have been cases where such persons in the administration have been roughhanded.

Apart from these last mentioned cases the "anarchy" of the workers of the Donez Basin is nothing else but the demand of necessary legal rights of the workers. The industrialists of the Donez Basin, however, wish to close down further works, although there exists the possibility of extending production. They therefore speak of "anarchy" in order to obtain a pretext for the despatch of the government commissar and for closing down works, i. e. for their whole sabotage of production. This is the policy of the industrialists of the Donez Basin, and it is they who are behind the bourgeois newspapers, whose columns are filled with indignation at the "anarchy" of the workers.

The Peasants Distribute the Land.

Petrograd, 17th October. The Minister for the Interior has received the following report: In the gouvernement of Kursk, forests have been confiscated for the peasants in accordance with a decision of the land committee; in the gouvernement of Pensa several estates, fields and forests were taken possession of by the peasants; in the Gouvernement of Kjasan the land committees have distributed estates and forests among the peasants.

The Party of the Bolsheviki has Captured the Masses.

Petrograd, 23rd October. The workers are streaming into the Party of the Bolsheviki and declare that they are leaving the parties of the Mensheviki and S.R.'s as a result of the latter's compromise policy.

A group of workers of the factory "Russkij Reno" who up to now belonged to the party of the S. R.'s declared in a letter to their former leaders that they condemn their tactics of compromise with the bourgeoisie and are joining the Bolsheviki Party.

In view of such a growth of Bolshevism, even such papers as "Rostovskaya Rjetch", "Vperjod" etc. cannot ignore the facts. They also report that, for example, among the miners Bolshevism is winning followers from day to day.

Flight of the Government?

Petrograd, 17th October. The Provisional Government dealt in a closed meeting with the question of its removal to Moscow. Kerensky was in favour of the government immediately leaving Petrograd, as this town is directly threatened by the enemy. Other Ministers did not consider this measure to be urgent. Finally it was decided to adopt at once all measures for the removal of the government from Petrograd and that this question be dealt with in the Preliminary Parliament. The government is confident of obtaining the approval of the Preliminary Parliament.

Kerensky Does not Dare it.

Petrograd, 17th October. The workers express their indignation in meetings at the intention of the government to leave Petrograd and to convene the Constituent Assembly in Moscow. The Bolshevik speakers point out that Kerensky intends to open Petrograd to the German troops in order to settle accounts more easily with the proletarian revolution.

Petrograd, 26th October. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) In the Preliminary Parliament Kerensky, when dealing with the question of the removal from Petrograd, declared that the capture of the islands of Oesel and Dagö by the Germans compel the government to discuss the possible consequences of this event. Kerensky concluded: I assure you for certain that all measures we have adopted are aimed solely at strengthening the defence of Petrograd still further, and the government emphatically repudiates any idea even of temporarily handing over the administration centre of the State to the enemy. The Preliminary Parliament then adopted the resolution, submitted by the defence commission, which takes cognisance of the declaration of the government to defend energetically the capital, to remain there as long as possible and to convene the Constituent Assembly in Petrograd.

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Petrograd, 26th October. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) A decree of the Minister for War states: In view of the anarchy prevailing in the country it is the duty of the army to guarantee the safety of the population to a much greater extent. The present civil guard is not in a position to fulfil this task. Therefore the army must soon be used to maintain order in the interior of the country. For this purpose the territory of the Republic is to be divided into departments corresponding to the reserve brigades and reserve regiments stationed there, and better trained officers, especially war invalids, are to be placed at the disposal of the civil guard. The same order also provides for an organisation to guard the railway stations and docks.

The Government "Purges" Petrograd of the Revolutionary Troops.

Petrograd, 22nd October. The staff of the Petrograd military command issued an order that a portion of the Petrograd garrison be sent away, under the pretext of gathering troops outside of Petrograd for the defence of the town. The intention of the staff encountered resistance on the part of the garrison. The general meeting of the Finnish reserve regiments refused to obey orders and adopted a resolution expressing mistrust in the government. The resolution demanded the calling of the All-Russian Soviet Congress, and the transference of power to the Soviets. The Petrograd Soviet is requested to convene a meeting of the representatives of the Petrograd garrison and to discuss with them the defence of the town.

* * *

Petrograd, 22nd October. The Plenum of the Petrograd Soviet of the workers' and soldiers' deputies dealt with the question of the removal of the revolutionary troops from Petrograd. After the Executive Committee had adopted a resolution, by 13 votes against 12, in favour of the order of the staff for the removal of troops from the town, the Plenum cancelled this decision by a great majority. Comrade Trotzky also spoke at this meeting. He expounded the arguments of the Bolsheviks who had left the Preliminary Parliament, and concluded his speech with the words: "Long live the direct and open fight for the revolutionary power in the country!"

The Opportunists Warn against Revolution.

Petrograd, 31st October. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) In view of the obstinate rumours that the Bolsheviks intend between the 2nd and 7th November to resort to arms, in order to capture power, the workers and soldiers' Soviet issued an appeal to all workers and soldiers warning them not to fall into the trap and not to respond to provocations, but to maintain peace. At the same time the workers' and soldiers' Soviet instructs the factory councils not to deliver any rifles and weapons to anybody, no matter who he may be, without the special permission of the workers' and soldiers' council.

The Proletariat Defends the Capital.

Petrograd, 23rd October. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The Petrograd Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet has decided to set up of a special revolutionary General Staff to defend the capital.

Workers' Guard and Civil Guard in Finland.

Helsingfors, 1st November. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The Finnish workers' papers publish the directions for the setting up of a special workers' guard which shall secure the political freedom of the workers. At the same time divisions of a civil guard are being formed in the whole country, which are organised on similar lines but have better equipment, arms and horses.

The C. C. of the Bolshevik Party Decides on Insurrection.

The Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks), at its meeting of October 23rd, adopted the following resolution on the motion of Lenin:

"Realising that both the international situation of the Russian Revolution (mutinies in the German fleet as the sharpest expression of the growth of the socialist world revolution in the whole of Europe, then the danger of a peace of the imperialists with the aim of throttling the revolution in Russia), and the military situation (the Russian bourgeoisie, Kerensky and Co. are undoubtedly determined to abandon Petrograd to the Germans), as well the fact that the proletarian Party has obtained the majority in the Soviets (elections in Moscow), and finally the open preparation of a second Korniloviad (the troops in Petrograd are being removed, Cossacks are brought to Petrograd, Minsk is being encircled by the Cossacks etc.), the Central Committee decides to place the armed insurrection on the agenda.

The C. C. is of the opinion that the armed insurrection is inevitable and perfectly ripe, and proposes to all party organisations to be guided by this fact and to judge and to decide all practical questions from this standpoint, such as the Soviet Congress of North Russia, removal of the troops from Petrograd, the actions of the Moscow and Minsk workers etc.

Letter to the Bolshevik Delegates to the Soviet Congress of North Russia.

By N. Lenin.

Written on 21st October, 1917.

Comrades,

Our revolution is passing through an extremely critical time. This crisis occurs at the same time as the great crisis of the growth of the socialist world revolution and of the fight of international imperialism against it. There is placed upon our responsible party leaders a tremendous task, the non-fulfilment of which threatens a complete collapse of the international proletarian movement. The situation is such that hesitation would be really fatal.

Consider the international situation! The growth of the international revolution is undeniable. The outbreak of indignation of the honest workers has been suppressed with incredible brutality, which shows the great fear of the government. In Italy it has already come to mass outbreaks of indignation in Turin. But more important than anything else is the mutiny in the German fleet. One must imagine what incredible difficulties revolution encounters in a country like Germany, even under the present conditions. It is impossible to doubt that the mutiny in the German fleet means a great crisis of the growing world revolution. If our chauvinists who preach that Germany must be crushed, suddenly demand of the German workers that they revolt, we Russian international revolutionaries know from our experiences of the years 1905 and 1917 that it is impossible to imagine a more convincing proof of the growth of the revolution than mutiny among the troops.

Just think how our revolution now appears to the German revolutionaries. They can say to us: We have only Liebknecht who openly called for revolution. His voice is rendered silent in prison. We have not a single paper which openly expresses the necessity of revolution; we have no liberty to hold meetings. We have not a single Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies. Our voice hardly reaches the really broad masses. And yet we have made an attempt at revolt in which our chances were hardly one to a hundred. You Russian international revolutionaries, however, have six months of free agitation behind you; you have twenty newspapers; you have a whole number of Soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies; you have gained the victory in the Soviets of two capital towns; you have on your side the entire Baltic Fleet and all the Russian troops in Finland, and you do not reply to our summons to revolt, you do not overthrow your imperialist Kerensky when your chances of victory are a hundred to one.

Yes, we should be really traitors to the International if in such a moment and in such favourable circumstances we were to reply to such an appeal of the German revolutionaries only with resolutions.

To this there should be added that we are quite aware of the rapidly advancing action and conspiracy of the international imperialists against the Russian Revolution. To strangle the revolution by war measures or by a peace at the cost of Russia, that is what the international imperialists are more and more striving to do. That is what is particularly intensifying the crisis of the socialist world revolution; it is that which renders hesitation to revolt on our part particularly dangerous. I might say criminal.

Let us also take into consideration the inner situation of Russia. The collapse of the petty bourgeois compromising parties which expressed the confidence of the unconscious masses in Kerensky and the imperialists in general, is complete. The collapse is complete. The vote of the Soviet Curia at the "Democratic Conference" against the coalition; the vote of the majority of the local Soviets of the peasant deputies (against the will of their Central Soviet in which there are sitting Avksentiev and other friends of Kerensky) against the coalition; the elections in Moscow, where the working population is in closest contact with the peasants and where over 49 per cent. voted for the Bolsheviks (and of the soldiers 14,000 out of 17,000), is this not the complete collapse of the confidence of the masses of the people in Kerensky and in the compromisers with

Kerensky and Co.? Can one imagine how the masses of the people could say more clearly than by this vote for the Bolsheviks: Lead us, we follow you?

We, however, who have in this way won the majority of the masses of the people to our side, who have captured the Soviets of both capital towns, we shall wait. What are we waiting for? Perhaps for Kerensky and his Kornilovite Generals to surrender Petrograd to the Germans, and by this means, directly or indirectly, openly or disguised, enter into a conspiracy with Buchanan and Wilhelm to throttle completely the Russian Revolution?

But the people have not only proclaimed their confidence in us by the Moscow voting and by the new elections to the Soviets; there are also signs of indifference and apathy. That is understandable. That does not mean the decline of the revolution, as the Cadets and their supporters proclaim, but the decline of faith in resolutions and elections. In a revolution the masses demand from the leading parties deeds and not words, victory in the fight and not negotiations. The moment is approaching when the people will come to believe that the Bolsheviks are no better than the others, for they could not act after the people had expressed their confidence in them.

The present revolt is flaring up in the whole country. It can be seen quite plainly that the Cadets and their followers consciously belittle the peasants' revolt in every way and designate it as "pogroms" and "anarchy". This lie is exposed by the fact that in the centres of revolt the land is beginning to be handed over to the peasants. Never have any "pogroms" and "anarchy" led to such outstanding political results. The enormous force of the peasant insurrections is demonstrated by the fact that the compromisers and S.R.'s in "Djelo Naroda" and even Breshko-Breshkovskaya are beginning to talk of handing over land to the peasants, in order to check the movement before it becomes too strong for them.

But we shall wait and see whether Kerensky, the follower of Kornilov, succeeds or not in suppressing, with Cossack troops, the peasants' revolt in its separate parts.

Many leaders of our Party do not seem to have perceived the special importance of the slogan which we have all recognised and repeated times without number. This slogan is: All power to the Soviets! There were times, there were moments during the six months of the revolution when this slogan did not mean revolt. It may be that these periods and these moments have rendered some of our comrades blind, and that they have forgotten that now, for us, especially since the middle of September, this slogan is tantamount to the summons to revolt.

There cannot exist a shadow of doubt in this connection. "Djelo Naroda" recently declared this in "popular" form by saying: Kerensky will not submit in any circumstances". It only wanted that.

The slogan: "All power to the Soviets!" is nothing else but the summons to revolt. And the blame will rest completely and indisputably upon us if we, after having for months gathered the masses for revolt, for the rejection of the coalition, on the eve of the collapse of the revolution, after the masses have expressed their confidence in us, do not lead these masses to revolt.

The Cadets and compromisers frighten the masses with the example of the 16th to 18th July, with the growth of the monarchist agitation (the black Hundreds) etc. But if on the 16th to 18th July a mistake was made, it was that we did not seize power. I believe, however, that no such mistake was made at that time. For we were not in the majority then; now, however, it would be a fatal error and more than an error. The growth of monarchist agitation is understandable as the increasing tension in the atmosphere of the approaching proletarian and peasant revolution. But to draw from this conclusions against the revolt is ridiculous, for it is not even necessary to prove the impotence of the Black Hundreds in the pay of the capitalists, the impotence of the Black Hundreds in the fight. In the fight they are nil. In the fight Kornilov and Kerensky can only rely on the savage divisions of the Cossacks. But disintegration is now beginning even among the Cossacks,

and in addition the civil war of the peasants threatens them in their own territory.

I write these lines on the 8th (21st) October; you will not read them before the 10th (23rd). I heard from a comrade who has arrived here that persons who travelled through the Warsaw line relate that Kerensky is bringing the Cossacks to Petrograd. That is highly probable, and it will be directly our fault if we do not thoroughly investigate this and study the forces and distribution of the Kornilov troops of the second calling up.

Kerensky has again brought Kornilov troops to Petrograd in order to prevent the taking over of power by the Soviets; in order to prevent an immediate peace proposal by this power; in order to prevent the entire land being handed over immediately to the peasantry; in order to hand over Petrograd to the Germans and himself to slink off to Moscow. Hence it is the slogan of revolt which we must spread as widely as possible; and it will have a tremendous success.

We cannot wait for the All-Russian Soviet Congress, for the Central Executive Committee can delay it until November; we cannot postpone and thereby permit Kerensky to bring still more Kornilov troops. At the Soviet Congress are represented Finland, the Fleet and Reval, which united together could undertake a rapid movement from Petrograd against the Kornilov regiments: a movement of fleet, artillery and machine guns and two to three army corps, who in Vyborg, have given evidence of their force and their hatred against the Kornilov Generals with whom Kerensky has again concluded a secret agreement.

It would be a great mistake to abandon the possibility and not immediately to crush the Kornilov regiments of the second calling up, out of consideration that the Baltic Fleet, by coming to Petrograd, would open the front to the Germans. The lying followers of Kornilov assert this, as they generally spread every sort of lie, but it is not worthy of revolutionaries to allow themselves to be intimidated by such lies and slanders. Kerensky will hand over Petrograd to the Germans. That is as clear as daylight, and no contrary assertions can change our full conviction, our conviction which arises from the whole course of events and from the whole policy of Kerensky.

Kerensky and the followers of Kornilov will hand over Petrograd to the Germans. It is precisely in order to rescue Petrograd that Kerensky must be overthrown and the power seized by the Soviets of both capital towns. These Soviets will propose to all peoples an immediate peace and thereby fulfil their duty towards the German revolutionaries; they will thereby make a decisive step towards dissolving the criminal conspiracy against the Russian revolution, the conspiracies of international imperialism.

Only a prompt action of the Baltic Fleet, of the Finnish troops, of Reval and Kronstadt against the Kornilov troops before Petrograd is capable of saving the Russian and the world revolution. And the probabilities are a hundred to one that such an action would lead in a few days to the surrender of a portion of the Cossack troops and to the complete annihilation of the other portion and the overthrow of Kerensky, for the workers and soldiers of both capital towns support such an action.

He who hesitates is lost.

The slogan, "All power to the Soviets" is the slogan of revolt. He who employs such a slogan and is not aware of that, who does not think of that can spit in his own face. Revolt, however, must be conceived as an art. I insisted on this at the time of the "Democratic Conference" and I insist upon it now; for this is what Marxism teaches, this is what the present situation in Russia and in the whole world teaches.

It is not a question of voting, of attracting the "Left S. R.'s" capturing the local Soviets, or of their Congress. It is a question of revolt which can and must be decided in Petrograd, Moscow, Helsingfors, Kronstadt, Vyborg and Reval. It is in Petrograd and in the neighbourhood where this revolt can and must be decided and realised as earnestly, as preparedly as rapidly, and energetically as possible.

The fleet, Kronstadt, Vyborg, Reval can and must proceed against Petrograd, crush the Kornilov regiments, arouse both capital towns, and conduct a mass agitation for power; for the power which immediately hands over the land to the peasants, immediately proposes peace, overthrows the Kerensky government and creates this power.

He who hesitates is lost.

Chronicle of Events.

October 14.

Peace Demonstration in Rostov on Don under Bolshevik slogans.

Soldiers' meetings in all places demand immediate peace. The Minister for Labour announces that in Petrograd 432,086 workers have been organised in the trade unions on the 1st October.

October 15.

The Petrograd Soviet of the peasant deputies demands the transference of power to the Soviets and immediate peace.

The Menshevik-social revolutionary Executive Committee of the Rostov Soviet resigns as a result of the peace demonstrations of 14th October in Rostov on Don.

Intensification of the food crisis in Petrograd, Minsk, Kutais and other towns.

October 16.

The Minister for the Interior calls on the trade union executives to report to him on the relations of the parties and the political currents within the trade unions.

A big deputation from a number of Soviets (Petrograd, Kronstadt, Helsingfors, Reval etc.) demand of the Minister for Justice, Maljantovitch the release of the Bolsheviks who are in prison as a result of the events of July 16th to 18th. Maljantovitch promises to "do his best".

The food prices are constantly rising.

October 17.

The Kerensky government decides to remove its seat from Petrograd to Moscow.

In Vladivostok the Executive Committee of the Soviet of the workers, soldiers' and peasant deputies orders searches for concealed foodstuffs, as owing to the food crisis speculators are becoming more active.

The workers of the Donez Basin demand of the government the immediate removal of the Cossack troops.

Peasant disturbances and confiscation of land in the governments Kursk, Pensa and Rjasan.

"Djerevenskaya Pravda" (Village Pravda) appears in Moscow.

October 18.

The central electoral commission of the Bolsheviks for the elections to the Constituent Assembly issues an appeal "To all Comrades".

The Provisional Government nominates a government commissar with extraordinary powers for the Donez Basin.

The second Conference of the representatives of the Baltic Fleet in Helsingfors issues an appeal "to the suppressed peoples in all countries", in which the proletarians of all countries are called upon to revolt against their oppressors.

October 19.

The Kronstadt Government Conference of the Soviet of the workers' and soldiers' deputies refuses to support the Provisional Government and declares that only the power of the Soviets can save the country.

The Petrograd soldiers' council, after a speech by Trotzky, adopts a resolution condemning the intention of the government to leave Petrograd and proposing to the government either to conclude immediate peace or to resign.

TEN YEARS OF SOVIET POWER

The Solution of the National Problem by the Proletariat.

By M. Kalinin.

The following lines are taken from a booklet by Comrade Kalinin, which was published by the firm of Karl Hoym Nachfolger under the title of "What is the Soviet Power doing for the Realisation of Democracy?" Ed.

In Tsarist Russia, the national question was one of the problems which it was easiest to criticise and most difficult to solve. For more than two centuries, Tsarism violently subjected one nationality after another, pursuing all the while a policy of oppression and national bondage for the purpose of an assimilation of the subjected peoples, the object in view being the complete destruction of the smaller nationalities and the confirmation on all hands of Russian dominion. The Russian soldier was followed in the newly-occupied territories by the colonist, who played the rôle of a pioneer of culture, though what he actually brought was the Tsarist knout and the Cossack whip. In connection with this colonisation, a terrible hatred of Tsarism and of all that was Russian arose.

The Soviet authorities were faced with the very difficult task of uniting the elements which had been played off against one another and which were imbued with hatred of all things Russian and were asking themselves with the greatest distrust whether a new scheme of Russification was not to be launched upon them under cover of the Soviet flag. To-day it may be said that the peoples inhabiting the territory of our Union have already come to recognise in the exponents of Soviet authority not oppressors and Russifiers but the real defenders of all nationalities of the Soviet Union.

In this direction Soviet authority has done radical good work. Suffice it to call the fact to mind that there are six Soviet republics that have united to form a union on the basis of special treaties authorising all and any of them to quit the union freely at any time. In regard to all ordinary acts of Government, the United Republics enjoy an extraordinary degree of independence, article No. 2 of the constitution saying expressly that "the sovereignty of the Soviet Republics is restricted only by the limits set forth in the present Constitution and only in regard to such objects as are within the competency of the Union; outside these limits each of the United Republics exercise its State authority for itself. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics protects the sovereign rights of the United Republics". As a matter of fact, the United Republics enjoy all rights in keeping with the constitutional principles of the Union.

Each of the Republics belonging to the Soviet Union comprises within its limits a number of autonomous Soviet Republics and provinces, as well as small autonomous national units. It suffices to say that the R. S. F. S. R. comprises ten autonomous Republics and 13 provinces, to make it comprehensible that it is the endeavour of the Soviet Union to safeguard national rights. Each small nationality, occupying a compact territory to the number of some tens of thousands of inhabitants, has the right to constitute itself as an autonomous unit and to carry on all State affairs in its national language. With a view to the protection of national minorities, a new "Chamber" has been created in the Central Executive Committee of the Union, this being the Nationality Board, which enjoys the same rights as those appertaining to the former "Chamber" of the Union Council. Indeed, these two Chambers together form the Central Executive Committee of the Union. It may be safely asserted that nowhere in the world is so much care and attention devoted to national peculiarities and requirements as in the Soviet Union.

It might be believed that this state of affairs would lead to the dismemberment of the extremely extensive territory of the

former Tsarist realm, with its many millions of inhabitants, many races, and many tongues. In the ninth year of the Soviet regime, however, it may be affirmed that each successive year sees a diminution in the narrow particularist policy both of the provinces and of the nationalities. The idea of unity takes ever deeper root in the sentiments and the self-consciousness of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Everywhere, in the remotest corners of the Union, I have made the same observation. When, e. g., a year ago, I visited Fergana, Buchara, the nomad villages of Turkmenistan, and numerous other regions, I found that everywhere it was the desire of the inhabitants to be regarded not only as Usbeks, Turkomans, Bashkirs, etc., but as citizens of the Soviet Union as well. It is highly characteristic that during my journey through Central Asia, e. g. in Usbekistan and Turkmenistan, I received some 3000 different letters in the local languages. Some of the heads of the United Republics said jocosely to me "In regard to Moscow the people have upset all constitutional standards. Just send us resolutions; we shall see that they are carried out here". Among the workers and peasants and quite especially among the young class of intellectuals developed from the people, a new trait may be observed, the wish to see Moscow, and in the case of the juvenile section of the population the desire to live for a time at Moscow and above all to study there.

Moscow itself, formerly a pronouncedly Russian town, where the "tchnika" (a long Russian surcoat with broad skirts) was just as general as the overcoat in Western Europe, is now thronged with the most varied costumes of the Eastern peoples. It is no matter of chance that tried leaders of these peoples, such as Nariman Narimanov, the former chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries in the Republic of Aserbeidjan and former chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Union, delegated by the Transcaucasian Federation, should be buried at Moscow. It is hard to say, which is the attracted party, whether the Eastern peoples of the Union attract Moscow or whether Moscow attracts them. Probably neither one nor the other. It is probably nothing but the development of a spirit of internationalism. The workers and peasants of the different nationalities of the Union feel the danger threatening them from capitalism and hold closer together, creating a common idea and a common weapon for the purpose of warding off the power of imperialism. This does not mean that the question of nationality, the question of close cohabitation and common work among very different nationalities, is at all easy for the Soviet Union to solve.

The development of technics and traffic leads to a gradual diminution of territorial distances. This circumstance brings people together, not only locally, but also in their manner of living, which grows more and more similar, though they may inhabit widely different climes. At the same time, the smaller nations foresee the approaching forfeiture of their national peculiarities, which they are therefore zealously desirous of protecting. In this way the following difficulties arise. On the one hand it is a question of putting into practice the complete right of self-determination of the small peoples; on the other hand such forms of cohabitation and collaboration must be found as will permit of the entire powerful popular forces of the Union being concentrated at its most vulnerable spots. Need it be said that this question remains difficult to solve? But by constant and gradual practical work the desired object will be attained. This conviction is all the stronger, seeing that the most important element of national differences, the exploitation of the one by the other, is disappearing in the Soviet Union. Where there is no big bourgeois class, there is no basis for national inequality. Does this not really and truly mean consolidation of democracy?

Social Insurance in the Proletarian State.

By L. F. Winow.

As early as December 1917, only a few weeks after the October revolution, the first enactments in regard to social insurance were promulgated, setting up the principles of social insurance in the Soviet republics as they are known to-day, viz:

1. Comprehension by social insurance of all wage receivers.
2. All expenses of social insurance to be borne exclusively by the employers, whether State, municipal, co-operative, or private.
3. Complete autonomy of the insured in the organs of social insurance.

Following on a great number of separate enactments appearing during the first few months and years of the Soviet regime, social insurance experienced a thorough and systematic standardisation on the basis of the "Labour Code" of 1922 (Chapter XVII). The first point established by this code was the insurance liability of every worker and employee, no matter what the character and duration of his work and independent of the extent of wages received.

The law in question contains express regulations determining that the cost of social insurance, which is payable solely by the employer, may under no circumstances be shifted to the insured party. The contributions payable by the employers for purposes of social insurance, are calculated on a percentage basis of the wages paid, ranging according to the normal tariff from 16 to 22 per cent. of the wage total including over-time, in proportion to the amount of risk or detriment incurred to the health of the employee by the variety of work in question. Besides the normal tariff, there are temporary privileged tariffs prescribing contributions ranging from 10 to 14 per cent.

The benefits of social insurance are as follows:

1. Medical aid; 2. Relief in the case of temporary disablement, also granted if the insured party in question is not himself physically incapacitated but in some other manner rendered unable to pursue his occupation, as e. g. in the case of a sick relative, devoid of other attendance, requiring his attention; 3. Subventions in the case of childbirth or decease; 4. Unemployment relief; 5. Invalid relief; 6. Relief for the dependents of deceased insured parties.

Articles 179 to 182 of the Labour Code regulate the aid accorded in cases of temporary disablement (e. g. sickness, accidents, pregnancy, childbirth, quarantine). In the case of any such incapacity to work, the relief figures at the full amount of the forfeited wage, a restriction being made only in the case of workers of the highest wage class, inasmuch as the aid accorded must not exceed 7 roubles, 50 kopecks a day and 180 roubles a month. The relief is paid from the first day of incapacitation until the complete recovery of working capacity on the part of the insured.

There are special regulations in force for pregnancy and childbirth relief. The former is paid to the full extent of the wage for a period of eight weeks before and eight weeks after delivery in the case of women engaged in physical work and of six weeks before and six weeks after delivery in that of office and other brain workers (save in particular instances, where the work in question is allowed to rank as physical), the beneficiaries in all cases being obliged to rest completely.

*) v. "The Foundations of Soviet Law", compiled in Russian by Prof. D. Magerovski, Moscow and Leningrand, 1927, State publishers, especially the chapter on "Labour Law" by I. Voytinski and J. Danilova.

Should the woman concerned not regain her full working capacity in the time mentioned, the relief is naturally continued.

Medical aid of all sorts is accorded to a full extent at the cost of social insurance to all receivers of wages and the members of their families. To a constantly increasing extent, patients are being sent to recuperate at health-resorts. 80 per cent. of the berths in the sanatoria conducted by the social insurance organs must be reserved for workers of both sexes who were immediately engaged in productive work at the time when they were taken ill. The technical and administrative workers and such others as are not immediately engaged in productive work, share the remaining 20 per cent. of the accommodation with the clerks.

Besides the relief already mentioned, there is a grant, in the case of childbirth, of a sum corresponding to an average monthly wage in the district in question. Besides this, the young mother is for the following nine months accorded a nursing contribution to the extent of one quarter of a month's wages.

The relief paid in cases of decease amounts to the average costs of burial in the district in question, in so far as they do not exceed an average month's wages.

A claim to unemployment relief is allowed in the case of (a) qualified workers and brain workers of high qualifications such as engineers or physicians; (b) unqualified workers if they are members of a trade union and have been working for at least a year prior to becoming unemployed; (c) unqualified workers not organised in trade unions, after three years' work; (d) employees organised in trade unions after three years of work and employees not thus organised after five years; (e) juvenile workers already employed, without regard to the duration of such employment; (f) juveniles under 16 years of age, if they have worked with the consent of the labour inspector; (g) persons discharged from the Red Fleet and Red Army, if they were engaged in wage-work prior to being enlisted, the duration of such prior employment being irrelevant.

In judging of these restrictions, the peculiar nature of unemployment in the Soviet Union must be borne in mind. The great majority of unemployed consists of peasants seeking work in the towns, but who have generally connections with the village which prevent them from being so completely exposed to misery as is the case of proletarian unemployed in the cities. The above restrictions aim at a reservation of the available means for the relief of the unemployed proletarian elements. It may be pointed out that, apart from State relief, the trade unions make many relief contributions of their own.

Invalid workers are supported by annuities or by being accommodated in old-age or invalid homes. The full extent of invalid or old-age pensions may not fall short of one half of an average wage. Supposing, however, that incapacity has been occasioned by an accident or by illness brought about through work, the invalid is accorded a pension to the full extent of his former wages.

Finally, mention must be made of relief paid to the dependents of insured parties, which amounts to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the full invalid rente in the case of three or more members of a family, to $\frac{1}{2}$ in that of two members, and to $\frac{1}{3}$ in that of one member only. If the bread-winner has died as the result of an accident in the works or of an illness contracted while working, the relief accorded to dependents must, according to their number, figure at not less than $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{1}{3}$ of the full wage-amount of the deceased.

Social insurance is naturally only one of the many institutions created by the Soviet authorities in the interest of the working population. But even from the above cursory remarks it will be obvious, with what spirit the labour legislation of the proletarian State is imbued.