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The Alleged Attempt on Mussolini's Life and What Lies Behind it.

"THE DUCE CANNOT DIE."

By G. Aquila.

"Il Duce non puo morir!" — "The Duce (Mussolini) cannot die"! This is the most recent legend, which the whole Fascist apparatus has, for some time, been working hand in hand with the Catholic clergy to spread amongst the Italian people, which is, to a large extent, still incredibly superstitious. Mussolini who is the chief person interested in the spread of this legend, leads by his good example. His telegram, sent to the Bolognese Fascists after the last "attempt on his life" made on Sunday, concluded with the words: "Nothing can happen to me until I have fulfilled my mission." (!) The Pope also is said to have exclaimed — according to a Fascist announcement — when he heard the news of the "attempt" on Mussolini's life and learnt that once more he had not been hurt: "Another proof that he is under God's protection"! It is true — according to the same report — that he added, that it was imperative, by way of precaution, to reinforce Mussolini's guard.

But — was an attempt actually made on Mussolini's life in Bologna?

The fantastic reports as to the alleged crime condemn themselves. First: the bullet hit the Mauritius order, glanced off it and penetrated the sleeve of the Mayor of Bologna who was sitting next to Mussolini. Then: the order bears no trace of the shot, the bullet only hit the ribbon of the order. (Did it then

glance off the ribbon?) Later: the bullet was found in Mussolini's carriage. But — where is the pistol from which the bullet was fired? The "assassin", a 15 year old boy, was murdered on the spot in the most brutal manner by soldiers of the militia; the pistol should have been found on or near him. Of the pistol, however, there is no trace! Further: the unfortunate boy is — a Fascist! At the time of the "crime" he was wearing the Fascist black shirt and the Fascist badge. The latest "report" therefore is that the murdered boy was not the assassin at all, that there had been an unfortunate mistake, that the real culprit, an anarchist of about the same stature as the murdered boy (thus the — "mistake!") had escaped, that after the event, he had handed in a telegram at the Bologna post office (to what address?!): "I am quite well", and that, thanks to this telegram, the police are already on his track and hope to seize him soon.

One enormity, one stupidity after the other, with which Mussolini and his officials try to exculpate themselves, but with which they are inculpating themselves more and more.

One fact is certain: an innocent, fifteen year old boy was murdered by Mussolini's bandits in a brutal way by fourteen dagger wounds. The first official report with regard to it, runs triumphantly: "Hardly a minute and a half elapsed between the attempt on Mussolini's life and the execution of the criminal."

And Mussolini proclaimed: "Every Italian and the countries abroad ought to know that the people pronounced a verdict on the spot." Now it has to be admitted officially that the "passing of the verdict" by Mussolini's bandits was — "a regrettable mistake".

Another fact is certain: the "attempt on Mussolini's life" gave the Fascists throughout Italy an excuse for "taking revenge". The list of "acts of revenge" is so long that it is useless to attempt to enumerate them. On the same evening both the publishing office of the Communist daily organ "Unita" in Milan and the publishing office of the social democratic "Avanti" were destroyed. On the following day, the printing works of the Reformist organ "Lavoro" in Genoa was destroyed and the building set on fire (the fire brigade was not allowed to extinguish it!), the house of Benedetto Croce, the famous bourgeois liberal philosopher and professor at the University in Rome was also destroyed and plundered. Great excesses are reported from Trieste and Livorno, — in which connection it should be noted that only news with regard to events in the large towns, which cannot be kept secret, reach the public, whilst happenings in the provinces will only be learnt later.

These facts, however, do not answer the question: "How much truth is there in the 'attempt on Mussolini's life' at Bologna?", they only make it all the more urgent. And if, as seems to become clearer and clearer, no such attempt was made in Bologna, how was it possible that Mussolini's bandits round his carriage took some explosion, which probably came from his own motor, for the firing of a revolver and took a Fascist wearing the black shirt and the badge of the Fascists, for the culprit?

The answer to these questions is to be found in the conditions within the Fascist camp itself. The class contradictions between the large bourgeois group and the Fascist Government which represents the interests of the large bourgeoisie on the one hand and the disillusioned petty bourgeois adherents of Fascism on the other hand, have, in view of the ever increasing pressure of the economic crisis, become so acute in the last few weeks and months, that an explosion of the indignation on the part of the petty bourgeois Opposition Fascists against the Government and against Mussolini become an imminent danger. A number of Fascist Opposition leaders is already — in emigration! Among them Cesare Rossi, the former director of Mussolini's Press, who also gave instructions for the murder of Matteotti, then the Fascist deputy Massimo Rocca, Carlo Bazzi and others. About three weeks ago, Mussolini deprived these emigrant Fascist leaders of their Italian citizenship and had their possessions in Italy sequestered. Others, who did not succeed in escaping abroad, are in prison; amongst them for instance Calza Bini, the former secretary of the Fascist Provincial Federation in Rome and General of the Fascist militia. Mussolini also had Dumini, one of Matteotti's murderers arrested and thrown into prison for fourteen months for "lèse majesté of the person of the Prime Minister". (For murdering Matteotti, he was sentenced to 7 months imprisonment!) The "lèse majesté" consisted in Dumini having said: "If I was sentenced to 7 months for the murder of Matteotti, Mussolini ought to have been sentenced to lifelong imprisonment!" He actually threatened to make revelations; he despoiled the 65,000 lire, which he had received to cover "his costs" in connection with the Matteotti murder, at the Court, whereupon he was arrested the following day. The following episode is extremely characteristic: a few days before Dumini was arrested, the rumour spread in Florence that Mussolini had put Dumini out of harm's way; vast Fascist processions were immediately formed against Mussolini and large hand-painted Fascist placards appeared: "Mussolini has murdered Dumini — death to Mussolini!"

In order to tame the shrews, Mussolini felt compelled last week to brush on one side the statutes of the Fascist party and, with one stroke of the pen, to abolish the right to elect functionaries. He nominates the General Secretary, the latter nominates the Provincial Secretaries and these again the Local Secretaries. The provincial and local secretaries chose 7 or 5 "fellow-workers" respectively, who form the provincial or local directorate, as the case may be. The Party Congress and the Provincial Party Congresses were done away with. The policy of the party is determined by the "Great Fascist Council", the members of which are also nominated by Mussolini. Finally, every member of the party is bound to take a new oath which runs: "I swear to

fulfil unquestioningly all the commands of the Duce and to serve the cause of the Fascist revolution with all my powers and, if necessary, even with my blood."

At the same time, Mussolini has taken over the supreme command of the Fascist militia, in order to suppress petty bourgeois Opposition there also with the authority of his person. His first command was laconically: "The parole is: unconditional submission!"

Nevertheless these measures of Mussolini's, which throw a glaring light on the conditions, cannot banish from the world the class contradictions within the Fascist camp, which are getting ready to burst forth; on the contrary, they are only oil on the fire. There is fermentation in the Fascist camp, and the fact that any report is immediately taken for a shot fired at Mussolini and that a Fascist in a black shirt is taken for the would-be assassin, shows how the atmosphere is superheated.

The class contradictions in the Fascist camp can no longer be concealed, can no longer be suppressed; the class war in the Fascist camp has turned into an open fight.

POLITICS

The Struggle for Liberty and Parliamentarism in Egypt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The tension which was called forth for a short time by the election victory of the Wafd (Nationalist Party) at the end of May this year, the acquittal of the accused Zaghlulists, and in connection with it the resignation of the English Public Prosecutor Kershaw, which was followed by fresh threatening demonstrations by the English fleet, did not lead to any open conflict but was relieved by a provisional compromise. The leadership of the government, which is closely connected with parliament by whom it is supposed to be controlled, was taken over by Adly Yeghan Pasha, a representative of the Liberal Constitutional Party, which, although only possessing a minority in parliament, became acceptable for the Zaghlulist majority (thanks to a timely breach with their former allies, the Ittehad Party which after the May elections were completely discredited). The majority of the portefolios in the Adly Government as well as the Presidency of Parliament were in the hands of the Zaghlul Party. Thus even though the Adly government was actually completely in the hands of Zaghlul, nevertheless the latter, by keeping himself in the background, was much better able to preserve his popularity than if he were officially responsible for Egyptian policy, as in the year 1924.

For the present situation of the Egyptian government is by no means calculated to increase the popularity of those responsible for it. The session of parliament which lasted for three and a half months, presented the unique picture of an assembly which turned from its real tasks and duties to occupy itself with innumerable trifles, and assumed that it could also divert the electors, who were expecting from it something quite different, from the chief business. This chief business however — namely, two fundamental demands with which the Wafd went into the election campaign and emerged victorious: Evacuation of Egypt by the English and union of Egypt and Sudan —, was hardly touched upon during the whole parliamentary session; in fact every reference to this was anxiously avoided.

It is true, endeavours were made to placate disappointed public opinion by means of all kinds of sensational affairs. In the first place a thorough settlement of accounts was made with the Zivar government, the individual ministers of which were attacked, exposed and brought to trial. A whole number of decrees issued by this government were simply annulled. The budgets of the various Ministries are being completely revised, while great changes and alterations are being carried out in the staff of officials and in the diplomatic corps. In every question the sovereignty of parliament (which means in the present situation Zaghlul Pasha and his Party) is emphasised and Adly Yeghan Pasha is continually made to feel that he

only holds power by the favour of his former rival, Zaghlul. But what is weighing upon every deputy, what, in spite of every reserve, somehow finds expression in every speech and determines the mood of the deputies who have come together from the villages and towns of Egypt: the fact that all the decisions of parliament, no matter how democratic it may be, are worthless so long as the country is under the yoke of foreign rule — this is not discussed.

The parliamentary session, therefore, was concluded in a somewhat depressed mood. Zaghlul Pasha in his speech at the closing of parliament endeavoured to console his followers by telling them that although they had not "achieved any fame they had carried out a number of useful reforms". At the same time Adly Yeghen's Foreign Minister, Sarvat Pasha, has journeyed to London in order to renew negotiations with England regarding the most important matter: the liberation of Egypt.

These negotiations are now engaging the attention of Egyptian public opinion more than are the proceedings in parliament. The cotton crisis in Egypt, which has resulted in the impoverishment of broad sections of the population, is a clear reminder of the consequences of the separation of the Sudan, which may result in the complete ruin of Egyptian economic life. The vast sums which have continually to be paid out for the English officials and advisers expose in the palpable manner the lie of Egyptian "independence".

The Wafd leaders who wish to postpone as long as possible the open conflict with England, are endeavouring by every means to pacify the small peasantry. Fathalla Barakat Pasha, one of the most prominent Wafd leaders, has taken over the Ministry for Agriculture and is endeavouring to carry out a wide-scale agricultural co-operation in order to raise the position of the peasants.

But the mood of discontent prevailing among the population, and which is reflected in the ranks of the Wafd itself, can no longer be repressed. It is becoming clear to every Egyptian worker that the idea that a parliamentary regime can serve as a substitute for real national independence is an illusion. The actual problems of Egypt which are connected with the question of English rule, such as the abolition of the capitulations, taxation of foreign capital, equality of the officials' salaries etc., are being pushed more and more to the forefront. Not only by the extreme nationalist press, but also by various wafd organs. And the demand that the Zaghlulist parliament, at the coming session in November, instead of being a debating Society, shall become an instrument in the struggle of Egypt for independence, is being formulated more and more clearly.

CHINA

Manifesto of the Koumintang Congress on the Blood Bath of Wanshien.

Canton, 31st October, 1926.

The Special Koumintang Congress has issued a manifesto on the Wanshien Massacre, from which the following passages were extracted.

The Second Hague Conference categorically prohibited naval bombardment of undefended ports, towns, villages, dwellings or other buildings "under all circumstances and conditions". This is laid down in Article 1, Convention IX, signed by Great Britain and other Powers who preach sanctity and inviolability of international agreements and treaties.

This specific and written law of nations is cited in order to emphasise the barbarity and inhumanity of the British naval bombardment of the undefended and unfortified Chinese city of Wanshien, where the murderous British firing, which lasted nearly three hours, resulted in the death of over 500 killed, 1,000 wounded, nearly 2,000 houses destroyed and the loss of over ten million dollars' worth of property.

There was absolutely no reason or excuse for this crime. It cannot be justified on account of the seizure by a Chinese military commander of two British steamers in connection with

the drowning of 50 Chinese soldiers due to the culpable negligence of another British steamer, nor can justification be based on the death of seven British officers and seamen, who lost their lives in the armed British attempt to recapture the steamers. And, the shadow of any excuse or justification is dissipated by the fact (admitted even by British news-agency) that four hours before the bombardment, the Chinese military commander in question (General Yang Sen) with his troops, retired to a distance inland of about 20 miles. The premeditated character of the deed is revealed by later information which shows that all the British and foreigners were "advised" to leave before the British trained their guns on the hapless city.

Shooting and killing of unarmed Chinese is of course not an unknown or unusual proceeding on the part of the British in China. It has been done repeatedly ever since the British opium ships forced their entrances into our waters and led to British exaction of the first of the Treaties of oppression on which alien Imperialism is today bottomed in China.

The massacre of Wanshien (equally with the other massacres of May 30th, and June 23rd) (Shanghai & Shameen, 1925, C. I. B.) is as necessary to the maintenance and duration of British Imperialism in China as the Amritsar massacre and other little daily massacres of villages on the Indian frontier, are vital to the health and strength of British Imperialism in India.

Today in every stronghold of foreign Imperialism in China, the British Press has been demanding the despatch of a second punitive expedition for the avenging of the seven British deaths at Wanshien. There is a daily cry for blood — more Chinese blood.

British Imperialism feeds on blood — the blood of the oppressed peoples — and as long as it continues to entrench on Chinese soil there must be repeated acts of death like May 30th, June 23rd and the massacre of Wanshien.

The Koumintang in special Congress assembled indicts the British and their system of privileged interests and force in China. First and specially for a deliberate and flagrant violation of Convention IX of the Second Hague Conference, as well as for a shameless act of barbarism and inhumanity; and secondly and generally, for being the historical oppressor of the Chinese people, and the outstanding barrier to progress and modernisation of Nationalist China.

THE MINERS' STRUGGLE IN ENGLAND

The Leaders and the Masses in the Miners' Struggle.

By A. Lozovsky.

It is now six months since fighting activities began in the British mining industry. A paradox underlies the whole unheard-of length of the strike: that is the lack of correlation between the leaders and the masses, the general staff and the army. Of course the miners' leaders are head and shoulders above the leaders of the General Council and other trade unions. But the tragedy is that they have not risen to the occasion, that they run in traditional harness, all the time casting backward glances, apologising for every bold gesture and word, ready to come to any compromise; that they seek for a united front with the leaders, all the time listening to the whispers of "society"; that they neither will nor can understand that the strike, from the very first day, stepped out of the narrow framework of trade-union traditions, and took on a profoundly political character.

This difference between the attitude of the leaders and that of the masses was strikingly evident at the last miners' conference. While the leaders, Cook among them, came to the conference in a depressed mood, the ordinary workers, straight from the battlefield, were permeated with a fighting spirit. They listened gloomily to defeatist statements and urged a practical programme for the struggle. The gist of this programme may be shortly stated thus: if we fight at all, we'll fight to a finish.

It would seem that after the Conference's decision there was nothing left for the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation but to put into practice the suggestions carried, among which one of the most important was the decision to call out the safety men. But Smith, Cook and other members of the Executive Committee, instead of carrying out the decisions taken, embarked on a policy of sabotage and this meant a heavy blow for the strike, a blow which was, of course, an advantage for the enemies of the strike. Instead of removing this category of workers from their post, which might have decided the struggle in a very short time, the leaders of the Miners' Federation intensified propaganda and agitation, deciding to substitute for a programme of action feats of oratory. Of course propaganda and agitation play a very great role in the organisation of the attack on the mine-owners but the leaders' misfortune consists in that they themselves by the very intensification of agitation and propaganda contradict their programme of action.

On the other hand the leaders of the Miners' Federation again turned to the General Council with the proposal to take up, at last, the organisation of assistance. The General Council offered to convoke a special conference of T. U. executive bureaux on the 3rd of November, for the consideration of ways and means of affording every possible assistance to the Miners' Federation. In order that there should be no sort of doubt as to the character of the assistance suggested, Arthur Pugh came forward with an explanation that "the question of the embargo will not be considered at the coming conference of Trade Unions, but that the General Council will take immediate steps for the establishment of connections with the trade unions concerned. It must be admitted of the English leaders that they are very coolheaded men and do not lose their heads when it is a question of affording help to strikers: Arthur Pugh promises to "get into contact", and Cook, for unknown reasons, is "extremely satisfied with the decisions of the General Council". This same Pugh came forward in the "Times" with a new project of agreement while the Bourgeois press gave a fair enough estimation of the coming conference of Trade Union Executive Committees on the basis of this last declaration of Pugh's. The newspapers express their supposition — more than well-founded — that the General Council will probably convert the special conference of T. U. Executive Committees into "a shop for bargaining" with the miners. The General Council has been nothing but a petty shop during the whole miners' strike. Every time it has interfered it has played the role of agent for the mine-owners, demanding concessions, from the Miner's Federation. It would seem that experience ought to have taught both Smith and Cook that there is nothing to be expected from the General Council, that every new encounter with the General Council confuses matters, that every re-appearance on the scene of Messrs. Pugh, MacDonald and Thomas is a new blow at the miners, and nevertheless the miners' leaders continue this game.

Moreover the miners' leaders not only pretend that they are "extremely satisfied" with the General Council's decisions but jump at any move made by any public figure, thus making it quite clear that they are ready to make concessions. Towards the end of the sixth month of the strike Lord Derby appeared on the scene in the role of an angel of peace. "I am profoundly convinced", pronounced this amateur middle-man "that even now means of reconciling the conflicting interests of the mine-owners and miners might be found and that peace might be concluded on terms satisfactory to both sides. But I don't care to take the chance of coming forward with suggestions unless I am asked to".

The miners' leaders are unable to understand that Lord Derby came forward with his "peaceful" suggestions by way of a division of labour with Joynson Hicks. For while Lord Derby carols "Peace, perfect peace" Joynson Hicks is not letting the grass grow under his feet. There have already been cases of firing on the strikers, hundreds of picketers have been arrested, meetings forbidden in the mining districts as to all of which the miners' leaders, arriving at meetings fresh from the field of action, could convince themselves if they liked. Joynson Hicks declared in the name of the government "we will place at the disposal of all wishing to work the whole power and strength of the government and we will provide defence for all those who wish to work". On this understanding orders were given to the chief of police in all mining districts. The prohibition of meetings and the increasing of military and police detachments follow on the ag-

gressive tactics of the government. And at that very moment when pressure on the part of the government grows stronger and stronger, at that very moment when millions of miners have been converted into helpless slaves, when they have been deprived of their elementary rights — in that very moment the leaders of the Miners' Federation continue to abstain from carrying into practice the decisions taken at the last Conference. This intentional spinning-out of the most important question made it possible for the government to make its preparations: at present special military detachments have been sent to all mining districts, to substitute the workers guarding the safety of the mines, in the event of these workers being removed from their posts. We thus see a well thought-out campaign on the part of the government, a campaign which will stop at nothing, a tremendous will to struggle in the mining masses, and a perpetual uninterrupted wobbling among the leaders, a wobbling which threatens to ruin the whole miners' movement.

At the same time the outlook is by no means as dark for the miners. The Labour Research Department published, in the beginning of October a White Paper (The Coal Shortage), showing why the miners must win. From this White Paper it is evident that the position of English national economy is becoming daily more and more acute. Of all the coal produced in 1924 (268 million tons), 188 millions went on home demands. Thus in six months of strike a deficit of more than 90 million tons has arisen*), not counting export. Up to the 1st of October "black" coal was imported to the amount of 12 million tons; if we consider the imports for October to be equal to that of September, by the end of six months 17 million tons will have been imported. If we add to this amount the "black" coal produced in England itself, (about 2 million tons in the last two months) such a vast hole appears that not all the threats of Joynson Hicks can fill up. The influence of the strike on English national economy is already much more destructive than the last earthquake was to Japan. The position of the metal workers is especially catastrophic. From January to April 1926, 147 furnaces producing 538 thousand tons of cast-iron and 697 thousand tons of steel, were working, and in August only six furnaces, producing 14 thousand tons of cast-iron and 52 thousand tons of steel, were working. If we enumerate one branch of industry after another, we shall be convinced of the mortal blow dealt by this strike at the most important branches of industry in England.

What does this strike cost to English national economy? "The Financial News" of the 7th October maintains that the strike costs three million pounds a day. The president of the Federation of British Industries, Muspratt, fixes the cost of the strike up to the beginning of October at 561 million pounds. Even if we accept the more modest figure of the "Financial News", it is evident that by the end of October the strike will have cost more than 500 million pounds — in other words — more than two Japanese earthquakes. Finally we may quote the opinion of a very prominent member of the English Government. "The stand-still of work for a period of two to three weeks" said Winston Churchill, on the 20th of May in this year, "is a matter that can be mended, eight to ten weeks would leave a deep mark on the life of the whole nation and twelve to fourteen weeks would probably lead the country to such a pass that it could only recover in two or three years. The whole point is the duration of the strike. A continuous interruption in the production of coal is equal to the ruin of the whole economic life of the country." We are quite in agreement with Churchill that "the whole point is the duration of the strike". As for the duration Churchill has received, as we see, complete satisfaction. The six months strike has created new economic circumstances in England. However the import of foreign coal may increase it cannot satisfy the normal demands of English national economy. These facts and figures taken by us from the White Paper of the Labour Research Department, show that circumstances in themselves are favourable to the strikers. To these circumstances must be added a subjective factor — the appreciation on the part of the miners' leaders of the necessity of not crossing the will to struggle of the masses. We criticise in a comradely spirit Cook and the other miners' leaders because they:

*) From this sum must be subtracted that quantity of coal (about 14 million tons in six months) which was used on the working of the mines.

1. Have not, from the very beginning, understood the broadly political character of the struggle;
2. Refused to criticise the treacherous General Council;
3. Made a united front with the leaders, instead of appealing over their heads to the masses;
4. Refused to bring forward the question of the general strike at Bournemouth, thus saving the skins of those who betrayed the strike from the first day;
5. Jumped at isolated expressions of Baldwin's, at the suggestions of the clergy and others, distracting the attention of the masses from the immediate struggle.
6. Did not come forward themselves and prevented others from coming forward on the question of the miner's fight at the Margate conference;
7. Refused to carry out in practice the decisions of the miner's conference as to the calling out of the safety men.

This list might be enlarged, but the points enumerated are enough. The leaders of the Miners' Federation, with all their personal sincerity and passionate desire to win the struggle, several times acted in such a way as to strike against the interests of the miners, and to make it still more difficult for the masses to achieve victory. This divergency between the masses and their leaders has made itself felt during the length of the whole six months of struggle. Up to the present, whenever hesitation began among the leaders, intense pressure came from below and the ranks were brought into line. A moment so critical has arrived that it demands especial steadiness, special self-control, special intuition and far-sightedness from the leaders. The following may, without fear of error, be said: If the miners' strike is lost, it will not be because of lack of energy and self-control of the masses, but because of the weakness of the leaders. Let us hope that the mining masses of England will once more correct the mistakes of their leaders and bring the struggle to a favourable end.

FOR THE UNITY OF THE C. P. S. U.

Why is the Deviation of the Opposition a Social Democratic Deviation.

Moscow, November 3rd 1926.

To-day's leading article in the "Pravda", entitled "Why is the deviation of the Opposition a Social Democratic Opposition?", states:

"Our Party has always defended and will always defend the Leninist purity of its ideology, its programme and its tactics like the apple of its eye. Our Party has never surrendered and will never surrender even a particle of its Leninist heritage. The Party will reject with iron determination every attempt to replace Leninism by alien ideological elements. Hence, the ruthless struggle of the Party against all unbolshevist deviations in its ranks. Hence, the necessity to weigh and consider all differences which divide the Party from the Opposition. Hence, the necessity to examine carefully and dispassionately the political essence of the oppositional deviations. For Bolshevism, clarity is a first necessity. Our whole Party must clearly recognise the essence of the oppositional platform; it must look the truth in the face openly and fearlessly, and declare that the deviation represented by Trotzky, Kamenev and Zinoviev is a social-democratic deviation.

Why does the Party bring these accusations against the Opposition? Why do the theses of Stalin which have been approved of by the Polit-Bureau and presented to the 15th Party Conference, declare that the political line of the Opposition is a deviation in the direction of the Social Democracy? The ideology of the Opposition is a social democratic deviation before all because it is a defeatist ideology, the ideology of capitulation. Just as in October 1917 when the Party and the working class took up arms to overthrow the power of the landowners and the capitalists, Comrades Kamenev and Zinoviev retreated in

face of the difficulties of the struggle, became the victims of 'crying pessimism', deserted the Revolution and sank into defeatism, so now in the present new phase of our revolution (the transition from the period of reconstruction to the period of socialist construction), the oppositional block is retreating before the difficulties of the work of building up socialism and does not believe in the possibility of victory. We see the same panic in face of danger, the same 'crying pessimism', the same propaganda with regard to the strength of our class enemies and our own weaknesses ('everything is good for the bourgeoisie and everything is bad for us') the same defeatist deviations. We are weak, we are making no progress ('we are backward'), private capital is making progress everywhere, the Kulak is assuming the form of a legendary Samson, a whole sea of troubles is rushing in upon us, we are 'degenerated', we are beginning to 'abandon our position' — this is the hopeless and defeatist social democratic estimation of our situation by the Opposition.

The deviation of the Opposition is a social democratic deviation because the Opposition does not correctly estimate the role of the middle peasantry. In this the Opposition shows a fatal relation to Menshevism. The political platform of the Opposition pushes the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry — this alliance which according to Lenin is the highest principle of the proletarian dictatorship — into the background and forgets completely the middle peasants, the co-operative plan of Lenin and the possibility of the socialist transformation of the village. The peasantry is regarded as a hostile social force to be feared, 'exploited' and overcome by the policy of high prices. The incorrect estimation of the peasantry by Menshevism is one of the most important factors which separate the latter from Bolshevism.

The line of the opposition is a social democratic distortion of Bolshevism, because its theoretical basis is the Trotzkyist theory of the 'permanent revolution', that estimation of the driving forces of our revolution which was opposed by Lenin and condemned by our whole Party, but which Trotzky has not yet abandoned. The impossibility of the building up and the victory of Socialism in our country results from the theory of the 'permanent revolution' ('without the state support' of the proletariat of other countries the revolution in Russia is doomed to perish). The disbelief in the socialist perspectives, which was condemned by the 14th Party Congress is part and parcel of the Trotzkyist theory of the 'permanent revolution'. This is, however, a social democratic theory, although it is 'left' and beloved of the Austro-Marxist of the Otto Bauer type. The surprising agreement between the standpoint of Trotzky and Otto Bauer's estimation of the driving forces of our revolution is no accident. The complete harmony of the central ideas and the almost literal similarity of the chief formulations of Otto Bauer and Trotzky, as proved clearly and exhaustively in the speech of Stalin, is no accident. The oppositional block is carrying in its political knapsack the burden of Otto Bauer's opportunism with the theory of 'permanent revolution'.

That the political attitude of the opposition is openly becoming social democratic, is shown by the fact that the oppositional criticism of our Party is chiefly along the same lines followed by Menshevist criticism. The similarity of the 'critical arguments' is obvious to everyone. The Mensheviks contend that we will get the worst of the struggle with capitalism and with the Kulaks and that we will develop capitalistically. The Opposition does the same only a little more 'carefully'. The Mensheviks deride and laugh at our 'Asiatic mind', at our 'national limitation', at the building up of socialism in Turkestan, etc. Our Opposition is also ironical about the building up of socialism 'in a circle', etc. The Mensheviks 'prove' that capitalism is being restored under the cover of the Soviet State. Our Opposition supplements the Menshevist fable about the re-establishment of capitalism by the theory of our Thermidor degeneration, by the 'principles' which the Opposition does not abandon. The Mensheviks are in favour of the introduction of 'political (read: bourgeois) democracy' in our country, whilst our Opposition favoured the renegade Ossovsky with his 'two party' theory. The Opposition even attempted to carry this theory into practice up to its declaration of October 10th (disruptive policy). One must be blind in order not to see that the oppositional methods of 'criticism' are a deviation in the direction of Menshevism.

The social democratic deviation of the Opposition remains social democratic. It cannot be separated from the present, platform of the oppositional block, and all the beautiful revolutionary 'super-proletarian left' phrases used by the opposition do not alter this. No one is deceived by the boasting of the Opposition which has no real belief in the construction of socialism, about its super-industrialism, by its noise about Kulak and NEP dangers, by Zinoviev's 'milliards'. The super-industrial 'super-proletarian' programme of the Opposition, the programme of industrialisation at the cost of the peasantry and against the peasantry, is only a utopian complement to social democratic errors. This programme of the Opposition is a gesture of despair. On the other hand, however, it is simply a demagogic masquerade to cover the Right wing essence of the concrete oppositional platform (the policy of high prices which reduced real wages; abandonment of the sphere of commodity exchange to private capital, Sokolnikov's proposal for the liquidation of the monopoly of foreign commerce, etc.).

By recognising that the representatives of the Opposition embody a social democratic deviation in the ranks of our Party, the latter is aware of those dangers of Trotzkyism, in its period of decadence, to the ideological unity of the ranks of Bolshevism. The Party warns the opposition that it will fight against social democratic ideological deviations to the bitter end, to their complete annihilation."

The Central Committee of the C. P. of Hungary to the Central Committee of the C. P. of the Soviet Union.

Dear Comrades,

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Hungary has already decided its attitude to those questions which have been raised by the combined Opposition. It approved the decisions of the XIV. Party Congress and also the decisions of your Plenary sittings and condemned the activity of the combined Opposition. In our difficult work we are following with the greatest attention and concern the events in your Party life. We are filled with great anxiety on account of the attitude of the Opposition after the decisions of the Party authorities. We were quite unable to imagine how Party comrades, who for years, in fact for decades, were educated in the revolutionary school, could abandon the basis of bolshevism, both politically, and organisationally, in such a manner. In our field of work, which still shows the result of our own political mistakes and the injury done by the victorious counter-revolution, we are able to say with certainty whether such a policy as that of the opposition would lead if this policy and attitude were not opposed by the will of a firm and united bolshevist Party. We therefore make use of this opportunity, when your Party Conference is meeting to adopt important decisions, not only to convey greetings to the champions and architects of socialism, but also in order to assure you that in your fight for the defence of the correct Leninist policy and its bearer, the united C. P. of the Soviet Union, against the all-round revision of Leninism, you will find us at your side.

Our Party, in whose ranks there are many who have fought together with you in the same front against the inner and outer enemy, sends its representative to your Party Conference in order to convey by word of mouth the assurance of our complete solidarity with you.

Long live the unity of the C. P. of the Soviet Union!

Down with all efforts which aim at falsifying Leninism and destroying the Bolshevik unity of the Party, no matter whence or from whom they may come!

With Communist greetings:

The Central Committee of the C. P. of Hungary.

Budapest, 11th October 1926.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

New Forms of Class Collaboration in England.

By Louis Zoobock.

One of the results of the failure of the General Strike in England was the increased propaganda in favour of class collaboration, both on the part of the employers, and on the part of the most reactionary leaders of the Wilson, Pugh, and Cramp type. Both sides commenced to seek new forces, new organisations of class collaboration in order to prevent the recurrence in the future of such a "disaster" as that which overtook the country in May.

The Institute of Industrial Balance. The foundation of the so-called "Industrial Institute" for the enquiry into all the possibilities of "balance" in industry was one of the first moves made in this direction. This institute is managed by conspicuous manufacturers, who are ardent enemies of the working class, such as Mr. Vyle, chairman of the Association of the British Chambers of Commerce, and labour "leaders" as Pugh, late chairman of the General Council, Cramp, and Snowden.

What are the chief aims of this institute? This question is answered by a letter written by its founders and published in the Times of 15th July, 1926.

"We ask", they write, "is there any single point round which, for all our differences, we can rally, with good hope of mutual co-operation? We are at one in desiring the welfare of all our people, but have we any tools with which we can all agree to work together to that end? . . ."

It seems that one of these tools is the newly founded institute. Its chief aim, as its founders explain, is to promote the balance of industry.

"We mean by 'balance' such a co-ordination between production and consumption that irregularities of unemployment will be reduced. It is an immensely wide and difficult problem. It involves not only co-ordinated action in this country, but arrangements affecting other countries . . ."

"The support given to this proposal by members of the Institute establishes the validity of our fundamental belief that men of every variety of interest and outlook may be associated and united in the unprejudiced search for truth."

In other words, this institute, founded with the aid of bourgeois agents in the workers' midst --- Pugh, Cramp, and Snowden --- aims to discover ways and means for the spreading of class collaboration; and for more than this, --- for the most active support of all the imperialist plots devised by the Government. For the "balance of industry", which is sought by the institute, not only depends upon the "co-ordination of action" with the country itself, but upon the "co-ordination of action" with all countries in the clutch of British Imperialism.

"Industrial Peace Union of the British Empire." Another British labour movement's reactionary leaders' offspring is the "Industrial Peace Union of the British Empire." The General Strike came as a great shock for such trade union bureaucrats as Thomas and Havelock Wilson. They then learnt that such demonstrations on the part of the working class sooner or later must put an end to their power in the labour movement, and hence drew the following conclusions: that it was imperative to prevent at all costs further strikes. And so, Hodges, Wilson and others commenced to talk about the necessity of signing an "Armistice" in industry for at least 5 years. They led a most fierce attack against the Communist Party and against the National Minority Movement of Great Britain who, according to them are hindering the attainment of "class peace." In his speech at a dinner given by the Railway Companies to the railway servants on the 25th of September, Thomas, cynical and frank as ever, outlined his philosophy of class collaboration.

"I am one of those trade union leaders who not only hate the talk of class bitterness and class warfare, but am

convinced that I can never attain the best results for my own people (i. e., the railwaymen, L. Z.), unless I can instil into their minds this principle --- that while they demand the best from the other side, they must be prepared to give the best in return."

(The Times, September 27 th).

The Union, of course, selects its members from all classes of the population, organises mass meetings in all industrial towns for the dissemination of its doctrines, advertises and appeals in all capitalist newspapers for donations in aid of its work, etc., etc.

The aims of the Union are to propagate the idea of class collaboration. No means are too bad for the use of the Union in attaining its end. Its founders collaborate with the Government in the altering of the Trade Unions Law. And, above all, they seek to alter the Law, so that the trade union directors might be permitted to deposit TU funds with the various industrial concerns, thereby causing the workers to be financially interested in the business, and the development of the concern.

The "Morning Post", for August 18th, sums up the aims of the Union as follows:

"The promoters of the League consider that effect can best be given to these doctrines by an organisation, working through branches or centres for the promotion of:

1. Goodwill and co-operation between employers and employed.
2. Educational propaganda (including simple economics).
3. Co-operation on welfare work.
4. The registration of all members of the League at one centre who are pledged to work for the aims and objects of the League.
5. Social intercourse through the medium of athletics and sport, etc.

These various forms of activity all give scope for the true expression of Patriotism, Fellowship, Self-sacrifice, and Service.

At the present time, the League is holding a number of mass meetings in all the industrial cities all over the country. The first mass meeting was held in Cardiff, on September 19th. 3,500 were present at the meeting. The chief speaker was Havelock Wilson. He explained the aims of the League and appealed to his audience to aid by all the means in their power and to remove every possibility of all strikes, which cost the country far too dear.

The "Trade Unionists' Rights League" was formed quite recently, in September.

"Its supporters are men who object to being involved in strikes and lockouts without any say on their part. The League claims to be non political."

(Manchester Guardian, Sept. 27).

This League held its first mass meeting in Manchester on September 25th. The chief speaker was W. E. Loveday, a railway guard; a member of the National Railway men's Union (Thomas' Union), Loveday is honorary Secretary to the League, and played a prominent part in its organisation and development.

As regards the aims of the League, Loveday formulated them as follows:

"1. To secure better attendance at trade union branch meetings of the rank and file members, in order that decisions when taken shall be truly representative of the whole of the members and not those of an extremist and socialist clique.

2. To take such steps as may be desirable to bring members of different trade unions who desire full freedom of action on questions affecting organised labour generally into closer contact, with the object of making their views felt on important decisions affecting the interests of the country and their own welfare.

3. While reserving the right to strike, to co-operate with employers where such co-operation is obviously for the common good.

4. To secure the establishment of a secret ballot in trade unions, after the manner of a parliamentary ballot, for use when questions of great moment arrive.
The following resolution passed by the meeting is likewise not without interest:

This Conference of members of various trade unions, whilst yielding to no particular section in their desire for better conditions all round, is of opinion that these can best be achieved by constitutional methods, and bearing in mind the experience of the recent strike, at the same time possessing knowledge of the attempts that are being made among a certain section of the community to bring about another upheaval, is firmly of the opinion that legislation should be introduced in order that the workers generally shall be consulted prior to any strike action.

Summing up, we see that all three organisations follow one and the same aim — collaboration with employers and with the Government. All these organisations are against strikes and lockouts; they all fight against the Communist Party and the National Minority Movement, which, according to them, design to "plunge the whole of society into chaos"; they all preach the secret ballot in trade unions, whenever they are confronted with questions of decisive moment. This, according to them, will insure the "rank and file workers against the tyranny, repression and threats from the part of Communist elements". All three organisations are for "lawfulness", "constitutional order"; for open collaboration with the employers and even with the Government wherever "such collaboration is obviously for the common good" and, finally, for the institution of "balance in industry", "class peace", and the "co-ordination of action" of the bourgeoisie, not only within England, but in those countries which are subordinate to the yoke of British imperialism, and so on.

All the above aims are being sought both by the knights of industry, and by the Government. The latter is now considering the question of limiting the rights of trade unions, — again only in order to achieve those ends, which are being sought by the new organisations for class collaboration. Pugh, Cramp, Henderson, Snowden, and Havelock Wilson, who are taking the most active participation in the creation of these organisations and in spreading the idea of class collaboration, are thus playing the part of bourgeois agents among the working class.

The Strike in the Japanese Cotton Spinning Mills in Shanghai.

By K. Mitrofanova.

On August 20th, the workers of six cotton spinning mills, belonging to the firm Nagai-Wata-Kaisha, came out on strike. The causes of the strike were of a political nature. The immediate cause of its outbreak was the murder of a Chinese street-hawker on board the Japanese steamer Mauri Maru. On August 26th, two other spinning mills of the same firm joined in the strike. At that time 14,460 persons were already on strike, including the workers of the Japanese cotton spinning mill of the Nikka Company.

The strikers did not approach the management of the works with any direct demands, but, in the pamphlets which were widely distributed, they made the following claims: that legal proceedings be taken by a Chinese Court against the murderers of the hawker; that a pension be granted to the family of the murdered man; that guarantees be given which would prevent the occurrence of similar cases in the future; that the Japanese General Consul should apologise to the Chinese Government. In addition to this, the workers made demands directly concerning their interests: better treatment, prohibition of armed police in the precincts of the factory, increase of wages by 20%, payment of full wages for the period of the strike, release of all the workers who had been deprived of their freedom in consequence of the strike. Finally they protested against the dismissal of workers without valid reasons.

In spite of the fact that the Shanghai Trade Union Council had been dissolved by the police, it nevertheless conducted the

strike from its illegal hiding place. In common with the Shanghai section of the Chinese Trade Union Federation, the Trade Union Council carried on an intensified anti-Japanese agitation among the workers. In the town wall-newspapers were posted and all kinds of pamphlets distributed, for which reason several workers and students were arrested and handed over to the mixed courts. On August 27th, the police dissolved the Workers' Union of cotton spinners and confiscated the whole propaganda literature which was just at that time on the premises of the Union.

The Shanghai Trade Union Council organised the various groups of strikers into special associations, each of which had a strike committee with sub-committees for agitation, liaison etc. All these committees were united in the supreme strike committee which consisted of 650 persons.

On August 28th, two more cotton-mills belonging to the firm Nagai-Wata-Kaisha joined the strike. In this way only one of the twelve cotton-mills of this company was working.

During this strike, the strikers resorted to acts of terror, armed attacks were made on the overseers of the Japanese factories, and even cases of murder occurred.

On September 1st, the number of strikers reached twenty thousand. This powerful protest on account of the murder of a Chinese hawker, caused the Japanese authorities to make an inquiry into the case. Finally, two of the crew of the steamer were arrested and brought before the Supreme Court in Nagasaki. The strike lasted for more than three weeks. Some of the economic demands were fulfilled, some however were not considered. On September 17th, more than 75% of the workers of the firm Nagai-Wata-Kaisha resumed work, although the managers had dismissed 100 of the most active participants in the strike.

THE WHITE TERROR

New Wholesale Murders in Bulgaria.

By D. Ivanoff (Sofia).

The international public still knows practically nothing of the terrible events in the districts of Trojan and Lovech in Bulgaria, where hundreds of peasants have been executed without a legal sentence, where whole villages have been burnt to the ground and where, in 15 villages, the population has been interned for months, since the inhabitants are forbidden to leave their villages.

In the Summer of this year, the insurgent group of Wassily Popoff, who is known far and wide under the name of "The Hero", was formed in the districts of Trojan and Lovech. The ten members of this "band of robbers", as the Government papers term it, are young men educated at public schools, who are preparing to enter the University. Popoff himself is a master at a public school. They were arrested and beaten in the cruellest way. They nevertheless succeeded in fleeing into the mountains, where they formed a group of insurgents. It is a remarkable fact that a pronouncedly bourgeois paper ("Nessavissomost" of August 30th) could not but state that the insurgents had made no attack on the population either in the villages mentioned or anywhere else and that on the contrary the population was entirely in sympathy with them.

At first the Chief of Police Sandansky was entrusted with the pursuit of the "robbers". This Sandansky is a well-known murderer on a large scale who, amongst others, murdered the peasant deputy Tsonjo Matoff. He had also been guilty of many common crimes. Wherever he and his expedition arrived, he brought fire and murder.

He was later replaced by Lieutenant-Colonel Ditcheff, the commander of the 1st. regiment in Sofia, who, however, was worse than his predecessor.

The fight against the "robbers" was made a pretext for the litteral extermination by fire and sword of the opposition peasant elements in the district of Bulagria in question.

A state of siege was declared throughout both districts; no one was allowed to pass the boundaries of the village before 7 a. m. or after 5 p. m. (in summer) on pain of being shot. The inhabitants of the villages Golema, Jelesna, Borima, Orshak, Mikra etc. (including their cattle) were altogether forbidden to leave their villages. In this way, the crops of the peasants in these villages were simply destroyed.

This, however, did not satisfy their persecutors. For months on end, murders and tortures took place in the villages, the women were violated. Of the persons arrested who were alleged to be "accomplices of the robbers", hundreds were slaughtered without any legal proceedings.

The following recent data have become known with regard to these victims:

A group of eleven peasants were fettered and shot on the road between the villages of Lometz and Leshnizza. Several weeks elapsed before the corpses of the following peasants were found and identified by their relatives: Missalky, Milko and Nikola Gatjeff, Mirtcho and Peter Datcheff, Nikola and Datcho Ditcheff.

On August 4th, a group of nine arrested persons were shot in the forest of Ussojnata; six kilometers from the village of Golema-Jelesna. Their names were Ivan Missalsky, Mrs Maritza Kratchonsky and her son Simeon, Stoj Handieff, a reserve officer from the village of Jelesna, Christo Todoroff, elementary school master and his wife from the village of Barima, as well as a Moslem from that village.

Two other groups, each consisting of thirty persons, who were being led from the barracks in Lovetch towards Gurotovo, were shot near the State Hospital.

A further group of 17 unfortunate peasants were shot on the main road from Lovetch to Plevan, between the 13th and 14th kilometer stones.

Between the villages of Mikra and Borima, a grave was found, containing numbers of mutilated corpses. Only ten of the peasants could be identified: Ilya Koleff, a shoemaker in Trojan; Koljo Gatcheff, Secretary to the municipality of Borima; Wassil Pavloff, Ilya Tchervenakoff, 20 years of age; D. Petkoff, 15; Ivan Tsankoff; Radko Usunoff from the village of Borima; Lazareff; Vetoff and Ilya Todoroff from Lovetch.

From the village of Orshak 15 peasants have disappeared without leaving a trace. In the neighbourhood of the village of Mikra, human corpses were found, which had been torn to pieces by dogs.

As far as has been found out up to the present, the following amongst those who were arrested, have been shot: The wife of Doicho Gratzky from Jelesna, the student Marin Pentchoff; Gentcho Koloff, the burgomaster of Borima; Ilya Zembarsky; Christina Kovatchova and her sister Raina Kovatchova, a school mistress in Trojan.

About 200 of those arrested were thus murdered, usually after horrible tortures.

These data are chiefly based on the appeal of the foreign representatives of the Bulgarian Peasant League to the French League for Human Rights and on newspaper reports, above all the social democratic "Narod" and the "Nessavissomost". The "Narod" has pointed out that up to the present, the troops executing the Government's orders have done far more harm than all the bands of robbers in Bulgarian together, and pointed out that the whole responsibility for these infamous deeds lies on the shoulders of the Liaptcheff Government.

The terror in this district is still continuing. Thus, on October 10th, at a Fascist demonstration in the town of Lovetch, a female head, stuck on a pole, was carried in front of the procession.

The declaration of Liaptcheff, who is himself Minister for Home Affairs and therefore at the head of the police and gendarmerie, to the effect that in Bulgaria there is no longer civil war, no deeds of violence and that the country has calmed down, harmonizes very well with these conditions in the "democratically governed Bulgaria".