

# - INTERNATIONAL -

# PRESS

# CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 7. No. 21

24<sup>th</sup> March 1927

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

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## The Tenth Anniversary of the February Revolution.

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

1. On the bloc of the "Die-hards" with the Tsarist diplomats — On General Hoffmann and the flourishing hopes of monarchism — On Fascist Italy and Cyrill the autocrat, and why it is of advantage for the working population of the Soviet Union to remember the old regime.

Comrades, To-day we are assembled to celebrate the memory of our glorious victory in February 1917. But the festival of to-day is not an ordinary anniversary, like many other days in our calendar. Ten complete years have elapsed since the tempest of popular indignation swept away the two-headed bird of prey, that symbol of Imperial Russian despotism.

Naturally it might be asked, is it not out of place for us, the champions of the proletarian revolution, to celebrate the February revolution, which, in doing away with Tsarism, brought the bourgeoisie to power? Such a question might be asked us. But we have every right to reply that the February revolution is nevertheless our revolution. For it can be rightly said that the October revolution was the great successor of that of February.

There is another question which might be asked. We might be asked what sense there is in our reminding ourselves of Tsarist despotism, that curse of our land, now that the bones

of the last monarch have long been rotting in the damp ground, now that there is no longer any remembrance of the old regime in our country, which is harrowed by the deep-reaching tractor of the revolution? The answer to this question is simple enough. These remembrances weld us together again and again when we recall the heroic days of our common history. That is the idea of such remembrances.

They possess a special significance, however, on this tenth anniversary of our first great decisive victory. Now more than ever it is expedient that we call to mind the old regime and all its "splendours" and our own long and terrible fight against it.

We know full well our present international position. Every press telegram brings us fresh news of the so-called "crusade" which is being prepared against us by the international bourgeoisie, led by that of Great Britain. We have naturally every reason to affirm that the bourgeois system of society will not succeed to attack us in any very near future. But, comrades, this is no reason for us to close our eyes to those truly, frantic preparations being made against us by the ruling classes of the capitalist countries, with the Conservatives of the decaying but yet very strong and powerful British Empire at their head.

For this very reason it is of use to recall what has long been buried underground and overgrown by the grass.

For do we not know very well that at the present moment the official British diplomats are in immediate relations with the representatives of the old Tsarist diplomatic corps? Do we not know that at this very moment the British monarchist "die-hards" are organising a united front against us? Are we not the witnesses of a sharp turn in the international policy of Fascist Italy, which is under the impress of a pronounced form of "Caesarism", a fundamentally monarchist principle. Had we not the "pleasure" a few days ago to read the highly significant lines characterising the mentality of General Hoffmann, one of the heroes of the imperialist war and the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, who pointed out that the struggle between so-called "civilisation" and the Soviet Union could only be decided by "force of arms"? Have we not quite recently heard the crowing of Gallic cocks in the French press?

And can we finally not see clearly enough how, under the beneficial "golden rain" of foreign capitalist aid, our emigrants are beginning to revive? Such semi-corpses, such dried up mummies, as Grand duke Nikolay Nikolayevitch ("Longshanks") or such types as the "Despot of all the Russians", Cyrill Vladimirovitch, of whom it was once said that the only reason he did not drown at the time of the Japanese war was that "fat always floats on the surface". (Applause, laughter.) Have we not already the official admission of people belonging to the ruling upper class in Great Britain, that they are in connection with Sablin, a Tsarist diplomat? It was only recently that we read the "reports" of this Tsarist boaster in our own press columns, documents which were not denied for the simple reason that they cannot be denied, since they differ from the so-called "Zinoviev letter" by being absolutely true.

Just now, when the monarchist cliques are playing the first fiddle in the international interventionist concert against us, our peasants and our workers must more than ever bear in mind what the order of society overthrown ten years ago really represented.

2. On the superstition of the English lords, the execution of the English king, and the abolition of the monarchy in England; on its restoration and on many other interesting facts, such as the "Zinoviev letter", the concealment, of Parliamentary documents and the incorrect methods of the historical calculation of certain statesmen.

The deep-lying reasons of the hatred of the bourgeoisie against the rising Soviet republics are well known to all. Equally well known are the special reasons in connection with the growth of the revolutionary movement in the colonies and raising with particular emphasis the question of Great Britain's relations to the Soviet Union. Psychologically speaking, we can well understand why the Conservatives "see red" in their fit of rage. But, to put it mildly, we cannot altogether comprehend those Utopian expectations which are entertained by certain "die-hards", hopes of the "overthrow of the Soviet power". In the nature of things, these people cannot be designated anything else than phantastic optimists. For a cool and critical estimation of the proportion of forces now developing in international politics can hardly be encouraging to our adversaries or drive them on to any specially zealous attempts of a military nature. Perhaps, however, they are allowing themselves to be duped or encouraged in this connection by some additional motives. Who can tell?

It may be that some importance still attaches to the fact that the family of the King of England was closely related to the house of Romanov, and that the unceremonious treatment of the Romanovs is resented quite particularly by the adherents of the monarchist principle in Great Britain. In this connection, however, we must call to mind that at one time the British Ambassador himself, Sir George Buchanan, aided and abetted the overthrow of Nicholas Romanov.

Possibly certain wrongly understood lessons of British history have also contributed to this incomprehensible attitude. In bourgeois circles such phenomena are not infrequent. When they have exhausted their capacity of properly estimating the situation, an ungovernable inclination arises to replace this proper estimation by various forms of "telling fortunes from a teacup". The result is a curious form of mysticism, a belief in signs, a belief in "numbers". Thus it was repeatedly asserted that the number "nine" was a sacramental number and that our dictatorship would be bound to end in the ninth year of its existence. But "ten", too, is a remarkable number, especially

as regards English history, since in the first bourgeois revolution, the English revolution, the revolutionary power lasted for ten years. And perhaps the fact that the new regime in England was put down in its tenth year may have awakened superstitious hopes in the English minds of a similar termination in our case. The devil take it all, we ought to follow the example set by the "civilised countries" (Laughter, applause).

What is it that actually happened in England? We must call the facts to mind, if we are to comprehend the total lack of all reason in this superstition of the British aristocracy. I believe no one will consider it an "intervention" or an "interference in the internal affairs of a foreign Power", if we venture to recall some facts from English history (laughter, applause), seeing that the facts in question have attained a venerable age and we can hardly be supposed to have employed our "Soviet agents" in the seventeenth century, however much we might have endeavoured to do so. (Laughter.)

This is what occurred on January 27th, 1649. The House of Lords, which had been appointed by the House of Commons, that is to say by the actual English Parliament, passed the following sentence on the King of England:

"As a tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and an enemy to the State, Charles Stuart is to be subjected to capital punishment by having his head struck off."

On January 30th, this sentence was carried out. At the same time a declaration was passed by the House of Commons to the effect that any one proclaiming the son of the English king or any British subject King of England, should be accused of high treason. On February 7th, the monarchy was abolished by a declaration which argued as follows:

"Experience has proved — and the House declares — that the office of king in this country is superfluous, obnoxious, and dangerous to the freedom, security, and well-being of the people. It is therefore forthwith abolished." (Applause.)

This happened, as already stated, in 1649. But in 1660, i. e. ten years later (and this is obviously what promotes the "hopes" of the Conservative "young bloods" and comforts the old "die-hards") there follows the restoration of the Stuarts by the return of King Charles II., son of the executed monarch, Charles I. In this connection the Parliament, which was naturally quite differently made up, resolved that "on the strength of the old and fundamental laws of the realm, the Government consists and must consist of the King, the Lords, and the Commons."

The adherents of the new king and of the Parliament naturally hanged a considerable number of those who had followed their convictions in adhering to what the old Parliament had resolved. Even the remains of the deceased Cromwell, the revolutionary dictator, in whose lifetime the head of Charles I. had been severed from his body, were hanged so as to bring the people "better to their senses" and to provide a diversion for the aristocratic rogues.

Thus the circle once more closed; the sands ran out, and again the English king was placed on his throne and the monarchy was reestablished, after having been designated in 1649 as obnoxious and dangerous to the welfare of the people.

It is of interest to note one characteristic "detail". The Parliamentary resolutions against the Monarchy were torn out of the Parliamentary archives by the adherents of the monarchic system. If the "die-hards" of the present day make an existing fact out of the non-existent "Zinoviev letter", their illustrious ancestors made a thing which actually existed non-existent. The forging of history is therefore a matter of sound tradition, and the faking of the "Zinoviev letter" is based according to all rules on a precedent. Be this as it may, the fact remains that ten years after the execution of one monarch another monarch appeared on the scene.

Obviously this example from English history is constantly before the eyes of the present British rulers. In its entirety it is of course not very "suitable" for the British monarchists, who are constantly appealing to examples from their own history. For no one has yet succeeded in proving that it is the Parliament of 1660 and not that of 1649 that must be taken as pattern. (Laughter.) Yet in 1649, it was also Englishmen who were acting, and surely England could not change its character as a "civilising factor" in so short a period as ten years. We have a great opinion of this country, as we have of every civilised country, and without the least shame for our proletarian consciousness we can regard it in certain periods of its history as the pattern of a revolutionary country, in contra-

distinction to that British fraud and hypocrisy of the present day, which in the eyes of a man like General Hoffmann represents "great civilisation".

We can assure our opponents most sincerely that "fortune-telling from a teacup" and veneration for sacramental numbers (yes, we must tell this to our opponents "with our whole heart") will not bring them any good. When people start discovering various superstitious signs, it is the first indication that all is not right with them. But, united as we are with them by our common human descent (since both the British lords and we are mortal, walk on two legs, and eat with our mouths) (Laughter), we will for the sake of humanity advise them not to permit their policy to be determined by considerations worthy of superstitious old women. This cannot contribute to their welfare, as has been conclusively shown and proved by the historical experience of Russian Tsarism.

An "analysis" of this kind, which rests solely on analogies, generally contains the one principal fault that its believers do not take into consideration the far-reaching changes in the entire situation. Therefore the conviction which results in their minds is somewhat as follows: If there are ten years of revolutionary power, that is the limit of all recorded historical terms, and it therefore follows that it cannot possibly be exceeded. If even England, which is the best organised of all countries and must therefore naturally also have had a revolution of greater durability than any other land, if even England showed the complete impossibility of revolutionary power, if even England confirmed the "historical law" that "there can be no revolution without a succeeding reaction", if even in England the period of "revolutionary madness" did not exceed the iron limits of a single decade, the Soviets must "inevitably" fall. Nietzsche, however, asserts that "you must push a falling man".

In all such "hopes" there is a "small" error, which consists in the total lack of comprehension for the fact that the times have changed, that the international situation and the relations of the main combatants are altogether different, that it is nonsense to think of a present, or future, nay of the very simplest repetition of the past without taking into consideration the concrete peculiarities of our epoch. The execution of a monarch had a precedent both in English and in French history. But even the October revolution had practically no precedent (we say "practically" in view of the Paris Commune); the Soviet Power had no precedent whatever, still less so the ten years' duration of a proletarian dictatorship.

The entire historic position of the present times is altogether different in its fundamentals from that of former times. Hence our conviction of the solidity of our achievements. At the same time, if the classes who have outlived their time mobilise even the Tsarist and grand-ducal scum against us, if they get into "contact" with the clowns of the Tsarist diplomatic corps, if they attempt to put figures into motion which are so characteristic of the times of Tsarist rule, we must by no means remain idle and it is all the more appropriate that we call to mind what the Romanov monarchy meant for us, a monarchy against which a whole series of generations fought, and in fighting for the fall of which the best forces of our land were sacrificed.

3. On the nature of the Russian autocracy, the real estate of the large landed proprietors, the poverty of the peasants, the taxes and other blessings which Tsarism provided for the peasants.

The autocratic monarchy in our country was, even more than the autocratic monarchies in other countries, an embodiment of the rule of the large landed proprietors. The large landowners in general and the landowners in the times of serfdom in particular were certainly the most blood-thirsty and oppressive of classes. It was only at the end of their historical existence, that is to say when their rule was drawing to a close, that the bourgeoisie of the Fascist type, that last embodiment of the dictatorship of the capitalists, could vie with them in this respect. "Our" large landed proprietors maintained their power for a particularly long time. In no single country of Europe did the dictatorship of the big landowners last so long as in Russia. And therefore it is no wonder that especially in the last decades of the past century and at the commencement of the present century, Tsarist Russia was often called a "Prison of the People", the "International Gendarme", or an "Asiatic Despotism". For in Europe this order of things, a regime of this kind, had long become a thing of the past, swept away by the march of historical events.

Among us Marxists there are even now differences of

opinion as to what the Tsarist autocracy actually represented during the last years of its rule. To this question we feel bound to give a thoroughly exact reply. Down to the last days of its existence, the Tsarist autocracy did not cease to be the regime of the big serf-holding landlords. It is erroneous to imagine that after the revolution of the year 1905 the Tsarist autocracy underwent any radical change in its class nature. It was and remained a regime of big landlords. Our country was an extensive, tremendous, and enormously oppressive mechanism of a Government of large landowners. True, after the revolution of 1905, the Tsarist autocracy, as Lenin put it, "took little steps in the direction of a bourgeois monarchy". But these steps were very "little". The basis of power, to nine tenths of its extent, consisted of the large landowners and not of the bourgeois class; it was wild and had all the characteristic of feudal serfdom, but not of capitalism. All the more acute, the more crass, and the more pronounced was the difference between the autocratic regime and the total development of the country.

Tsarism was a dictatorship of serf-holding landed interests, a fact which our peasants in particular should always bear in mind.

The social basis, the social foundation of the regime of large landowners was the large landed property itself. A well known and highly popular publication is the calculation set up by Lenin giving a very striking survey of the landed property conditions in Russia. In fifty Gouvernements of Russia in Europe, 10 million peasant farms covered together about 73 million desyatins, while almost just as much ground, viz. 63 million desyatins, was in the hands of 28,000 large landed proprietors. 10 million farms on the one hand, and only 28 thousand estates on the other the latter in the hands of "noble and dirty landlords", as Lenin called them, here, by chance, employing an "English" analogy most happily. Of the above landed proprietors, 669 possessed practically 30,000 desyatins each. Of the 62 million desyatins, meanwhile, which belonged to the said 28,000 landlords, 44.5 millions were in the hands of the "noble aristocracy".

These few figures show us in the most striking manner the class character of the economic basis of the Tsarist autocracy. "The ground in the hands of the big landowners", that was the basis of the Tsarist regime, and this our peasants must bear in mind when the monarchists of all the world advocate intervention against the Soviet Union and prepare a "crusade", allegedly in defence of civilisation. The Romanovs are the personal, or rather the family embodiment of the regime of landlords, of whom they themselves were the very greatest.

But the fact that the overwhelming bulk of the soil was in the hands of the aristocrats, furnishes a supplementary feature of the large landowner society in our country down to the October revolution. Here it was not only a question of an insignificant number of landlords possessing a vast quantity of ground. It was also a question of this ground not being cultivated on a basis of progressive agriculture, leased not on a capitalist basis but against exorbitant payment from the "landless" and half destitute peasantry, who could not earn their livelihood without land. There were therefore quite mediaeval forms of exploitation, a policy of squeezing the peasantry by the lack of land and the so-called starvation lease system. While down to the year 1861, the illustrious bureaucrats and the serf-holding simpletons were wont to exchange their serf-girls for bottles of wine, and their young male serfs for young greyhounds, the big landowners began after 1861 (when the peasants were at the same time released from serfdom and deprived of their right to land) to throttle them by means of starvation leases and high taxation.

This "machinery" worked till the overthrow of the landlord regime. And this is what our peasants must remember, although ten years have passed since the time when Russian autocracy was finally buried. The whole huge pyramid of counts, illustrious princes, barons, and countesses, this entire title-decked bureaucracy who squeezed the peasants dry, all these representatives of the landlord class, constituted nothing but an enormous parasite on the body of the nation. And if at present P. N. Milyoukov magnanimously invents a "special" theory, according to which the population of Russia lives "at the expense of the State", this is but an example of the stupidity which occupies the thoughts of people who have been wholly and completely "shelved" by the real population of Russia on account of their utter incapability.

(To be concluded.)

# Mussolini Aiming at War.

By Aquila.

On the 18th of March there appeared under big headlines on the first page of the "Giornale d'Italia", published in Rome, a long report dated from Belgrade regarding the feverish military preparations of Yugoslavia. Without in any way casting doubt on the military preparations of Yugoslavia, we must objectively state that the sensational "report" of the "Giornale d'Italia" contains not a single concrete fact regarding such preparations on the part of Yugoslavia. From beginning to end it is nothing else but mere gossip aimed at creating the desired mood.

On the same day the Italian government submitted to the signatory Powers to the treaty under which the international position of Albania was determined, a "Note of Complaint" the contents of which were at the same time, or shortly afterwards, also made known to the German government. The text of the Note has not yet been published and is not yet even known. All that is known is that which the official Italian "Stefani Agency" has reported concerning it, e. i., the Italian government have received information, according to which preparations for a raid into Albania are being made on Yugoslavian territory for the purpose of overthrowing Achmed Zogu, and as the Italian government concluded the treaty with Achmed Zogu, Italy cannot permit such an attempt at an overthrow.

This bellicose threat of Mussolini — for it says, if anything happens in Albania the Italian government will immediately occupy the country with military forces — has stirred up so-called public opinion in the entire world and even made it "nervous". There is reason for this nervousness, for as a matter of fact this Note vividly shows how laden with powder the whole international situation is.

The action of the Italian government must therefore be considered from two points of view. First, from the point of view of Italy and Yugoslavia, behind which there is the Anglo-French antagonism.

Viewed from this standpoint it is here a question of the struggle between Italy and Yugoslavia for the control of the Adriatic and its Eastern coast, which, notwithstanding its independent role, implies the struggle between England and France for the hegemony in the Balkans (and in the Danube Basin). In this last respect there is to be seen the relatively independent role of Italy as a place holder, but at the same time as a business partner of England.

In its Note the Italian government accuses Yugoslavia of making preparations for revolt. The truth, however, is that a revolt in Albania is in accordance with the line of policy of Italy as well as Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia wishes by means of a revolt to overthrow the regime of Achmed Zogu in order thereby to liquidate the Italo-Albanian Treaty of Tirana. On the other hand the revolt would provide Italy with the desired pretext for the military occupation of Albania. And there is not the least doubt that both countries are uninterruptedly carrying on their intrigues. Italy is making its preparations in Albania itself; Yugoslavia in Macedonia and in the districts bordering on Albania.

The only question is, in whose interest at the present moment lies the sharpening of the situation? And to this question there is the definite answer: At the present moment the sharpening of the situation lies entirely in the interest of Italy, while Yugoslavia has every reason to avoid it by all possible means. First, because in the event of a "revolt" Mussolini would, on the strength of the treaty of Tirana, have the right or at least the "legal" pretext for a military occupation of the whole of Albania; secondly, because Yugoslavia could not at present venture to offer military resistance to a military occupation of Albania by Italy — at present when the international situation of France is so indefinite.

On the other hand these facts render it very enticing for Mussolini to conjure up the conflict — or to threaten with it —

whilst there is still a third factor which is calculated to expedite the actions of Mussolini i. e. the inner situation of Italy, the economic and political crisis in which the fascist regime is involved.

There is no doubt that the Note of Mussolini of the 18th of March, as far as its contents are concerned, is a piece of base hypocrisy. This hypocrisy could only be surpassed by the stupidity in assuming that the Note could deceive anybody regarding the actual state of affairs.

It is not without special interest in this connection to note the attitude of the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", whose relations to the German Foreign Office are well known. In its issue of 21st March the "D. A. Z." commences its leading article with the following words:

"When the first spring storms sweep over the plateaux of the Balkans, then it become also politically insecure there. A natural phenomenon... There the blood is stirred more easily and the national passions flame up unchecked and unbridled".

How poetical! The matter is represented here as if the "political unrest" at the present moment proceeds from the Balkans and not from Mussolini! Oh no. The article of the "D. A. Z." expressly states:

"It is certain in any event that Mussolini would not have decided to undertake this very serious step of approaching the Powers if he had not very extensive and incriminating evidence at his disposal."

This throws a light on the affair in connection with the second point of view from which it must also be regarded, that is the question that is becoming more and more open and more and more acute — the question of the antagonisms between the Soviet Union of the workers and the rest of the capitalist world in general and of England in particular.

The action of Mussolini not only represents the "price" of his ratification of the Bessarabian Treaty, but also a pressure on the part of England by means of Italy (and jointly with it) upon Yugoslavia (and of course on France as well as immediately on Czechoslovakia) in order to force them to join the anti-Soviet front set up by England.

It should be noted that the action of Mussolini took place two days before the commencement of the negotiations between France and the Soviet Union in Paris, and that the recognition of the Soviet Union by Yugoslavia is on the agenda. It should also not be forgotten what "surprise" the cool reception by the Yugoslavian press of the ratification of the Bessarabian Treaty called forth in Italy.

The leading article of the "D. A. Z." already quoted also states:

"The more definitely acute the world political antagonism between Russia and England becomes, the more unavoidable becomes the choice for the small States (Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia)."

That is the clear formulation which leaves nothing more to be desired.

Viewed from this double standpoint the action of Mussolini means a sharpening of the imperialist antagonisms, but at the same time, however, an intensification of the danger of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

In view of this increased two-fold danger of war, the working class must not remain idle for a minute. Only the organised, energetic and persistent action of the entire proletariat can effectively counter the danger of war.

# CHINA

## The Recent Development of the Chinese Revolution.

By Tang Shin She.

The following article, although written before the actual occupation of Shanghai by the Canton troops, nevertheless gives an interesting survey of the present military situation in China. Ed.

An exceedingly favourable moment has arrived for the military undertakings of the Chinese revolution. Shanghai, this huge industrial city with a population of many millions, will soon fall into the hands of the revolutionary army. As a result Chang Tso Lin, who is at the moment the most powerful ruler and imperialist servant, will suffer a tremendous defeat.

Since the capture of Kiukiang by the Canton troops at the beginning of November last year, the power of Sun Chuan Fang has been liquidated. The counter-revolutionary forces remaining since then in the province of Chekiang and near Shanghai are no longer Sun Chuan Fang's troops, but belong to Chang Tso Lin's troops standing under the direct command of Chang Tsun Chang. The Chang Tsun Chang army is, as is known, the strongest group within the Chang Tso Lin clique. For a year it has been competing with Chang Tso Lin for the hegemony in Peking. As soon as Chang Tsun Chang suffers a defeat at Nanking and Shanghai there will exist for him not only the danger that they will not be able to retreat to his main territory (his retreat to the Pukow-Tientsin-line has already been cut off by the capture of Pengpu), but it will then come to a powerful revolt of the various bands of lancers, the armed peasant organisations, in his main territory itself, in the province of Shantung. The basis of Chang Tso Lin in Central China — here only the provinces of Shantung and Chili are concerned — will thereby be shattered.

Whilst near Shanghai Chang Tsun Chang is desperately endeavouring to hold on to Nanking, Chang Tso Lin is fighting his "Anti-Red-League Comrade-in-arms" Wu Pei Fu in the province of Honan, and has recently taken from him Chengchow, a junction on the Peking-Hankow and Lunghai railway line. The fame of Wu Pei Fu has been buried by his friend Chang Tso Lin; the whole army of Wu Pei Fu will certainly partly go over to the people's army and partly to the Canton troops. By the occupation of Chengchow North Honan is in the hands of the counter-revolutionaries; but South and West Honan will soon be a completely revolutionary district.

The decision of the question whether Chang Tso Lin will be able or not to hold on in Central China, depends upon the Lunghai railway line. The Canton armies and the people's armies will here proceed unitedly against Chang Tso Lin. Feng Yu Hsiang has been in Sianfu, since the end of January. A reorganisation is at present taking place of his whole army, with the I., II., III. and V. army corps, which will be converted into ten army corps. His main troops are in West Honan and have occupied a part of the Lunghai railway line. The Canton army is in South Honan and North Anhwei and will, after the occupation of Nanking and Shanghai, push forward to North Kiangsu. The province of Shensi, lying to the North West of the Lunghai railway line — the province of the model governor — has already declared for the people's and Kuomin armies. Thus Chang Tso Lin would be half surrounded on the outbreak of the struggle for the Lunghai line. To the impudent cry of Chang Tso Lin: "I continue my march on Hankow" the revolutionary armies will soon be able to reply: "We continue our march on Peking!"

Just now, immediately before the victory over Nanking and Shanghai, the imperialists are spreading the joyful news that tendencies to split are to be noticed within the Kuomintang. It is all too obvious that here the wish is the father to the thought. The result of the Meeting of the Executive of the Kuomintang at Hankow on the 10th of March has shown that the united front within the Party has been maintained. In a revolutionary sense the Executive has only adopted even more advanced decisions. The leadership has become even more democratised than hitherto. In place of the President of the Executive Committee there was set up a Committee of nine persons. The Political Bureau and the Military Council, whose activities had become somewhat lax

since March of last year, have been reorganised with 15 persons to each. The members of the Kuoming government, totalling 28 persons, were also reelected. The eight departments subordinate to the Executive Committee were reorganised. Within the eight departments only two are headed by outspoken Right elements.

The power of the Party has been greatly increased by this democratisation. The policy of the Party is no longer determined by individual persons but by the Party as a whole. Wang Ching Wei, a man held in esteem by the whole Party, will certainly enter office again after this democratisation. The Kuomintang, as we see, has only knitted itself more closely and has not split, as the imperialists try to assert.

## The "Pravda" on the Development of the Chinese Revolution and the Position of the Kuomintang.

Moscow, 16th March 1927.

A leading article in the "Pravda" analyses the development of the Chinese revolution and the situation of the Kuomintang. The article declares that the revolution in China is now experiencing its most critical stage which is characterised by a general intensification of the situation. The struggle between the revolution and the counter-revolution, between the state systems of the north and south is taking on an acute character. A struggle is commencing for the possession of the proletarian centre — Shanghai. Especially now, the military question is the most important political question for the Chinese revolution. The situation is made more complicated by the fact that the revolution must force its way through an intervention which has practically begun, where the military alliance between Chinese reaction and foreign imperialism ceases to be secret and becomes open.

It would be a great error to believe that differences in the camp of the revolutionaries are entirely avoidable. The revolutionary movement in China embraces various elements which have both common and antagonistic interests. This confusion of interests expresses itself also in the revolutionary organisations, in the government and in the Kuomintang. On the Right wing there are openly bourgeois elements who are prepared to alter the course of the revolution and drag it back. These elements have been intimidated by the intervention of foreign imperialism and by the awakening of the proletarian masses. They are in favour of fighting the northern militarists, but they are opposed to the class war. They are in favour of coming to an understanding with imperialism, they are inclined to flirt with John Bull.

On the other hand there is the strong Left wing which represents the interests of the masses and which is under the influence of the Chinese Communist Party. The latter is growing rapidly, is already very influential and is playing, as its adversaries on the Right wing of the Kuomintang admit, the role of the "locomotive of the Chinese revolution".

For obvious reasons the imperialist press exaggerates the significance of the Right wing of the Kuomintang and prophesies the dissolution and disruption of the Kuomintang itself. Then is to follow according to the imperialists, the "regeneration" of the Chinese revolution.

Certain "experts" upon the Chinese theory who are prepared to prophesy death and destruction at the least opportunity, lean towards this imperialist theory of "regeneration". They believe that the Chinese communists must now concentrate upon themselves and abandon "great works" and plans and they propose that the Communist Party should leave the Kuomintang, and in this way they assist the Right wing of the Kuomintang. They do not grasp the fact that the leading role of the proletariat in the Chinese revolution is impossible without the co-operation of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. These liquidators have not noticed that to preach that the Communist Party should leave the Kuomintang is equivalent to preaching the liquidation of the Chinese revolution. They only see the Right wing of the Kuomintang and fail to see its kernel, the masses, they see the situation from the standpoint derided by Lenin — "in the ranks of the bourgeoisie everything is alright, in our ranks everything is bad".

But only recently the revolutionary mass movement has made tremendous progress! Apart from the heroism of the Chinese workers who are devoting their lives to the cause of the revolution, from the Chinese working women who have just celebrated international women's day with unparalleled enthusiasm, we must stress the great success of the recent peasant conferences which were held under left-wing slogans. This is a significant symptom for the perspectives of the workers and peasants bloc in China.

The Right wing and the circles sympathising with it in the Kuomintang, in the government and in the army have been compelled to submit to the pressure of the revolutionary masses. The revolutionary pressure from below is so strong that Chiang Kai-Shek is compelled, as can be seen from his declarations, to manoeuvre, to swear allegiance to the principles of revolutionary loyalty and to submit himself to the leadership of the mass party of the Kuomintang. The plan to separate the military leaders from the Kuomintang and make them independent, upon which the imperialists reckoned, has come to nought. Even the American press is now compelled to admit that the efforts of the Right wing have failed. The revolutionary strength of the Chinese proletariat is tremendous and unshakeable, the perspectives of the great emancipation movement are enormous. The Chinese revolution will continue to advance and scatter all hindrances, crushing those who wish to crush it.

## The Capture of Shanghai.

Shanghai, 21th March 1927.

The national troops are at the gates of Shanghai. The town has been evacuated by the Shangtung troops.

An insurrection has begun in the town itself. In the Chinese quarters of Shanghai the workers have seized power and are fighting against the last remnants of the Shangtung troops.

Shanghai, 21st March 1927.

The general strike began this morning at 12 o'clock midday. Tramway and omnibus traffic came to a standstill.

The insurrectionary workers occupied the administrative buildings of the authorities, including the main post office which is on the territory of the international settlement. The flag of the Kuomintang was hoisted over the occupied buildings.

The international settlement is like a military camp.

The borders of the settlement are guarded by foreign troops, mostly British and all the entrances to the Chinese town are barricaded. Armoured cars are traversing the streets.

The fighting between the insurrectionary workers and the remnants of the Shangtung troops is being continued in the neighbourhood of the railway station. Fighting is also going on in the neighbourhood of the Police stations and at one or two other points.

Shanghai, 21st March 1927.

Work has been ceased in almost all Shanghai shops and factories. Towards the evening the number of strikers had grown to 200,000.

The strike on the territory of the international settlement is only partial. The municipal council of the international settlement has proclaimed martial law and prohibited meetings and demonstrations within the boundaries of the settlement.

The fighting at the railway station where an armoured train manned by 300 Russian white guardists held up the advance of the workers has ceased. The white guardists fled.

The police stations are occupied by the workers. Detachments of Shangtung troops fleeing from the front are being halted and disarmed.

The streets of the international settlement are being guarded by strengthened patrols of foreigners. Barbed wire entanglements are being constructed everywhere. Incidents or collisions with foreign troops have not been reported.

According to the latest reports the whole of Shanghai is in the hands of the revolutionary workers.

The first session of the peoples delegate conference which is to elect the new local authorities, has been convened for the 22nd March. The arrival of regular detachments of the national army is expected to day.

## Declaration of Chiang Kai-Shek.

Shanghai, 20th March 1927.

Shanghai newspapers have published a declaration of Chiang Kai-shek in which he submits himself completely to the decisions of the conference of the executive committee of the Kuomintang in Hankow. He declares himself particularly in favour of the decisions regarding the abolition of various offices, an individual chairman, for instance and the setting up of collective administrations. He further stresses the necessity of a complete subordination of the national troops to the leadership of the party and declares that any individual deviation from the line of the party by individual members is impermissible. Chiang Kai-shek also expresses his approval of the collective settlement of differences and declares that it is absolutely necessary for all party members to subordinate themselves to the resolutions adopted.

## The "Pravda" on the World-Historical Importance of the Victory of Shanghai.

Moscow, 21st March 1927.

The "Pravda" points out in a leading article that Shanghai has been taken by the insurgent workers despite the frightful terror of the northern militarists and despite the presence of foreign battleships in considerable strength, particularly those of Great Britain.

The proletariat concentrated in Shanghai which totals some 500,000 workers is, declares the article, the revolutionary troop of the Chinese proletariat and it will play the same role in the development of the Chinese revolution as the workers of Petrograd played and are still playing.

The keys of Shanghai have been handed over to the Canton army by the victorious workers. This act expresses clearly the great heroism of the Shanghai proletariat and its revolutionary courage and initiative.

The victory of the workers in Shanghai is at the same time a victory for the advancing world revolution. The taking of Shanghai opens new perspectives for the revolutionary struggle in China. The international importance of this struggle is beginning to be recognised even by the most feeble sighted. The taking of Shanghai is without doubt a factor driving the Chinese revolution towards the left, strengthening the role of the Chinese proletariat and increasing its hopes of attaining the hegemony of the revolutionary movement.

The Shanghai workers will inspire the masses by their revolutionary enthusiasm and will to win. The taking of Shanghai shows once again how powerful is the revolutionary energy of the Chinese people. The imperialist press declared too soon that modern China is an extinct revolutionary crater. The taking of Shanghai by the workers shows that the great volcano in the East is still in full activity.

The difficulties are still great and the situation is still complicated. In particular the danger from the side of the imperialists is threatening. They have established martial law and are seeking to provoke a collision. However, no matter what happens, Shanghai is already in the hands of the national revolutionary troops. This news must fill the hearts of the revolutionary workers in the whole world with joy. Thousands of miles away the workers of the Soviet Union send their warmest fraternal greetings to the workers in Shanghai!

## Joyful Reception of the News of the Victory of Shanghai in the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 21st March 1927.

The news of the seizure of Shanghai by the insurrectionary workers spread this morning in Moscow and was received with the greatest enthusiasm by the population.

After the close of work meetings took place in the factories where speakers explained the significance of this new victory of the national revolutionary troops.

At 4 p. m. a mass-meeting of many thousands of workers took place in the square before the Comintern building. The

students of the Sun Yat-sen University marched at the head of the demonstration. Comrades Murphy, Kolarov and Duncan and a representative of the Communist Party of China spoke to the masses. The demonstrations lasted until late in the evening, workers streaming to them from the factories on the farthest outskirts of the town.

Big meetings and demonstrations were also held in Lenin-grad, Kharkov, Odessa, Kiev and a number of other towns to celebrate the taking of Shanghai. Resolutions of greeting to the Kuomintang and the proletariat in Shanghai were adopted.

## POLITICS

### Mussolini's Extraordinary Tribunal at Work.

By Aquila.

Mussolini's "Extraordinary Tribunal" passed its first verdict against Communists in the night of March 14th. It is not yet a question of the imposing "Courier trial", which was to have been opened on March 7th, but was postponed at the last moment and will presumably not take place until the end of March or beginning of April; it is "only" a "small" trial, the "trial of the Tuscan Communists", as the Fascist Press describes it, in order to distinguish it from all the others, the "Couriers trial", the "trial of the Communists of Catania", the "trial of the Communists of Bari", the "trial of the Communists of Taranto" etc.

Comrade Tarozzi, a functionary of the C. P. of Italy, was arrested in Florence about a year ago — i. e. long before the establishment of the "Extraordinary Tribunal" and at a time when the Communist Party had actually been forced into illegality, but had not yet been forbidden "by law"! The domiciliary visit yielded a few documents which, in themselves, provided no material for legal proceedings, but through which the fact of Comrade Tarozzi's membership of the Party and active work for the Party could be proved. This was of course enough with which to start legal proceedings against him and 38 other comrades from Florence and its environment who were, in the course of time, also arrested and involved in the trial on account of "conspiracy against the State".

The public, of course, could not learn anything about the course of the trial, which consisted altogether of three short sessions. The "verdict" was communicated to the public by the official Stefani agency. The communication of the Stefani agency runs as follows:

"The Extraordinary Tribunal for the Defence of the State has found all the accused guilty of the crime of conspiracy, of instigating to class hatred and instigating to the overthrow of the power of the State, as accomplices or accessories to the fact, and — in consideration of the youth of some of the accused and of the pregnancy of the accused Zaira Cianchi — has pronounced the following sentences:

Tarozzi to 14 years and 9 months imprisonment and a fine of 4500 lire; Manozzi to 12 years and 9 months and 3000 lire; Lampredi, Frizzi and Grilingi to 10 years and 6 months and 2000 lire each; Baggiani to 9 years and 3 months and 1000 lire; Biaggiotti, Baracchi and Pancini to 7 years and 3 months and 1000 lire each; Bechelli, Sommi and Palanchi to 6 years and 6 months and 1000 lire each; Niccoli to 5 years and 6 months and 1000 lire; Froconi to 4 years and 3 months and 1000 lire; Berti to 3 years and 3 months and 500 lire; Giani Fausto, Giani Adolfo, Mugnai, Ugolini, Castelli, Pestelli Angelo, Pestelli Bruno, Granchi, Sezzatini, Francalanci, Boni, Stampi, Cadenti, Mocali, Francolini, Torrini, Messeri and Pagliuzzi to 2 years and 3 months and 300 lire each; and Simoni, Boncompagni and Sarchielli to 1 year, 10 months and 15 days and 200 lire each. Two of the accused, Bertaccini and Capuggi have been acquitted for want of evidence."

This amounts altogether to 168 years and 7 months imprisonment and 28,500 lire in fines. — The punishment of the pregnant woman, Zaira Cianchi is shamefacedly passed over in silence in the official communication.

Further trials of our Italian comrades, such as those of the Communists of Bari, of Taranto, of Catania etc. are in course of preparation. All these trials were to have been

brought before the Extraordinary Tribunal. Now however, affairs have taken a different turn. The idea has occurred to Mussolini that "the political importance of the Extraordinary Tribunal" will be "worn out" by the many trials. He therefore had the Cabinet resolve that in future only "trials of extreme political importance" should be held before the Extraordinary Tribunal, those which are calculated to rouse the breathless interest of public opinion throughout the country, whereas the "smaller" trials should be dealt with by the ordinary courts. The judges, who were for a long time recalcitrant, have already been made sufficiently pliant.

This resolution of the Cabinet concerns among others, the staging of the great "Courier trial" in which almost all the leading functionaries of the Communist Party are involved. All the accused in this trial have been brought to Milan from Bologna, Rome, Trieste, Padua and Verona, as well as from the concentration camps; from Milan they will shortly be transferred to Rome again. This dragging of the comrades round from one prison to another is intended to break their physical strength. In Italy, there is hardly anything which is more of a torture than being transported from one prison to another. Shut up in special transport waggons, in cells the size of a coffin, in iron fetters and chained to the wall of the cell, fed as scantily as possible, a journey of this kind from Milan to Rome, lasts two or three, sometimes even more weeks, as innumerable "halts" are made on the way.

After repeated postponement, the "Courier trial" is now to begin at the end of March or beginning of April. Mussolini intends to make of this trial a magnificent anti-Bolshevik campaign, with the object of masking and justifying his complete lining up in the British anti-Soviet front.

Thus the trial is not only a blow aimed at the C. P. of Italy and at the whole Italian proletariat, but also part of the systematic, ideological preparation for the war of the international bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union. The Italian workers have already recognised it as such; it is absolutely necessary that the foreign workers should also recognise it as such, and, by their attitude in the factories, by telegrams to the "Tribunale Speciale per la Difesa dello Stato" in Rome, by delegations to the diplomatic and consular representatives of the Italian State abroad, to put it briefly, everywhere and by every possible means, to bring it home to the Fascist rulers and make them conscious of the fact that the whole international proletariat is paying due attention to the happenings in Italy!

### The Collapse of Pilsudski's Campaign of Provocation.

By J. Sochacki (Warsaw).

The Marshall Court of the Seim which was summoned in order to investigate the so-called Voievodzki affair, passed the verdict that the accusation made by the Pilsudski organ "Glos Pravdy" against deputy Voievodzki was entirely without foundation. In order better to understand the methods of Fascism, it is worth while to go closely into the whole matter.

Who is Voievodzki? Voievodzki, at present a deputy to the Seim and leader of the Independent Peasant Party was, for a number of years, one of the most prominent politicians and leaders of Pilsudski's camp. During the war, he was one of the organisers of the Polish legions; after the formation of the Polish State, he carried through Pilsudski's policy in a number of responsible positions, especially as an eminent member of the second division of the General Staff.

In the course of time however, Voievodzki became convinced that Pilsudski's slogans, with the help of which he tried to win over the working masses of Poland, the slogans of a fight for a free Poland for the working people, were only manoeuvres, phrases, with which he masked his aims which were hostile to the people. Voievodzki thereupon broke off all connection with the enemies of the working people, joined the ranks of the revolutionary movement and became one of the founders of the Independent Peasant party.

It should be borne in mind that this process of the revolutionising of a former adherent of Pilsudski is no isolated case. The ideological crisis through which many of Pilsudski's people passed in consequence of the great disillusionment they ex-

perienced in capitalist Poland, led some of them still further, into the Communist camp, in that they became convinced that nothing but the social revolution could ensure bread and freedom to the Polish people. That is the path which was taken by the heroic Red officers Baginski and Vieczorkiewicz, who were shot by the Fascist assassins.

The plan of Pilsudski's camp was that Voievodzki should die a moral death.

The Pilsudski clique hatched a diabolical plan: in the columns of the Pilsudski organ "Glos Pravda", an article was published which asserted that Voievodzki had, until 1923, been a police agent and had denounced his colleagues in the Seim who belonged to the clubs of the national minorities. Absolutely no "evidence" was produced to this effect. Nevertheless the Deputy Minister Bartels had the effrontery to maintain in the Seim that the reports in the "Glos Pravdy" were "by way of being the truth".

Pilsudski's campaign against Voievodzki was taken up by the whole bourgeois and Social Democratic Press. Once again the P. P. S. was ready to lend a hand to the Fascist regime. Although they were convinced of the integrity of the character of Voievodzki, who had for a time been a member of their party, they let loose a wild campaign against him, printed his photograph with the inscription "provocative agent" etc. All this against a man who had taken up the fight against a world of enemies out of altruistic motives, and had distributed his own land among the peasants as a proof that he had joined the revolutionary fight of the peasants.

The masses of the workers and peasants and their organisations immediately grasped the true nature of this campaign of calumny. The very day that the libellous article was published in the "Glos Pravdy", communiqués of the Seim fraction of the Communist Party of Poland, of the Independent Peasant party and of the White Russian Worker and Peasant party appeared which, in the strongest terms, branded these methods as those of bandits. Other radical peasant and worker organisations took the same attitude, as did also the International Committee for the fight for an amnesty of the political prisoners. From all parts of the country, came protests of the peasants and workers.

Rotai, the Seim Marshall, handed over the "affair" to the so-called Marshall Court; the judges were appointed without Voievodzki being asked, and all belonged to the Pilsudski camp. Even this court, however, at once turned into a court against Pilsudski. A number of the witnesses called, proved that the accusation was entirely without foundation and unmasked the shamefully corrupt system of the Pilsudski camp. In view of this evidence, the court was compelled to admit that the charges of the "Glos Pravdy" had no foundation and were pure inventions.

In the last few years, a worker and peasant bloc has been formed in Poland, consisting of the Communist Party, the White Russian Hromada, the Ukrainian Worker and Peasant organisation and the Left P. P. S. (which came into being through a split in the P. P. S.). This Bloc is a dangerous enemy to Fascism. In connection especially with the approaching strikes and the intensification of the class antagonisms in the country — the Pilsudski camp has reason to fear the growth of the influence of the Worker and Peasant Bloc. They know that with the White Terror alone, it is impossible to arrest the revolutionising of the masses caused by the growing misery, starvation wages and unemployment (almost half the industrial proletariat is unemployed, wages are the lowest in Europe, the peasant masses who have been cheated of agrarian reform, are hungering for land). For this reason, the Pilsudski pack resolved to undermine and demoralise the worker and peasant movement from within with still more Fascist methods.

The campaign against Voievodzki is intimately connected with Pilsudski's preparations for war against the Soviet Union. Pilsudski wishes to clear the path for his plans, by destroying all mass organisations which organise the resistance of the masses to Fascism and his imperialist greed.

Pilsudski's campaign against the leaders of the revolutionary peasant movement has pitifully collapsed. Pilsudski is obliged to admit his defeat. This is a good sign for the development of the fight of the Polish working masses who, in continuing this fight, will crush underfoot the Fascist dictatorship in Poland.

## The Bankruptcy of Zionism.

By J. B. (Jerusalem.)

The present state of things in Palestine is characterised by the disastrous situation of many thousands of Jewish immigrants. These people came to Palestine from various countries of Eastern Europe (Poland, Roumania, etc.) between 1920 and 1926, trusting in the assurances of the agents of the Zionist World Organisation, established everywhere, in regard to the national home for the Jewish people that was to be created in Palestine under British protection. This immigration reached its height in 1925, when as many as 4000 Jewish immigrants in a month came to the "promised land".

But neither the British mandatory Government nor the Zionist organisation troubled about the fate of the immigrants, who could not be absorbed by the economy of the backward and poor little country, hampered as it was in its development by British imperialism. Instead of establishing the immigrants on agricultural settlements or employing them in the towns on productive work, they used them for constructional and other seasonal work, which was soon at an end. Since last year, unemployment has set in among the immigrants and is assuming increasing dimensions. Only quite a small fraction of the immigrants received land allotments or found permanent employment in the towns. The remainder are without means of subsistence, in a foreign country, helpless and unprotected (no manner of support having been granted them by the Government or the municipalities), and, in short, exposed to the greatest misery. Of 22,000 members registered in the Jewish trade union organisation, no fewer than 8000 are officially returned as unemployed. In reality the number of the unemployed is far larger.

While up to the present the unemployed have borne their fate and their hunger with quiet submission, being urged by the leaders of the reformist organisation to place no obstacles in the way of the "Zionist work of construction", but rather, in case of extreme need, to board a ship and return whence they came (in which connection the Zionist writer R. Weltsch even suggests that the Zionist organisation help the "pioneers" to buy their return tickets), the patience of very many of them has now come to an end.

In all parts of the country, there is a recurrence of elementary outbreaks on the part of the starving unemployed; at Tel-Aviv, a town described by the Zionist propaganda as the crowning masterpiece of the Zionist action, but which has been most severely affected by the crisis, a meeting of many thousands of unemployed was followed by a great demonstration in the streets under Communist leadership. How far these demonstrations are merely a reflection of insupportable chronic misery, may be recognised by the fact that many formerly Zionist workers took part in it, as did also some members of the treacherous chauvinist party "Poale Zion", which knew no other remedy for the sufferers than to cry insistently for more and more immigrants. It was only after a prolonged fight, in the course of which there were several injuries, that the Tel-Aviv police succeeded in dispersing the demonstrators.

The rage of the Zionist leaders and the reprisals of the Government against the organisers of the demonstration can naturally not alter the fact that the bankruptcy of Zionism is now quite obvious in Palestine, the country in which it was to have been realised. The breakdown of the Zionist planes, moreover, reacts on those countries in which the Zionists were wont to see their special strongholds. Thus, in Poland, e. g., the Jewish masses are becoming more and more emancipated from Zionist demagoguery, the emigration to Palestine having in the month of January last figured at only 160 persons, out of a total of 440 that left the country. Under such circumstances, the Zionist object of forming a Jewish majority in Palestine, appears very far indeed from its fulfilment.

The British Government, which hitherto supported the Zionists only in so far as was necessary in connection with the suppression of the Arab national movement, and hardly thought seriously of keeping the promises made by Balfour, now feels menaced by the misery of the Jewish immigrants, seeing that their defaction from Zionism and their fraternisation with the emancipatory movement among the Arabs might seriously impair the British position, and would in the first place undermine

that foundation of the British rule in Palestine, the national antagonism between the Jews and the Arabs. The British imperialists are therefore beginning to take some interest in the internal conditions of the Zionist enterprise. Delegates of the imperialist wing of the Labour Party, (Wedgwood, Kenworthy) have combined amicably with Liberal and Conservative imperialists to form a pro-Zionist committee and are helping the Zionist organisation in their collection of funds in Poland, the United States, and Germany, where members of the Social-Democratic Party, the Democrats, and the "Volkspartei" have likewise formed a committee on behalf of Zionism.

The credit granted by the British Parliament for the construction of a naval harbour at Haifa at a cost of 4.5 million pounds, a credit which it will take the population of Palestine years to repay, is in part to serve to provide occupation for the Jewish unemployed in Palestine.

For this reason, the Zionists all the world over must give proof of their loyalty to Great Britain by being more vehement than ever in their attacks on the Soviet Union. In Palestine they have also to fight energetically against the "Communist danger".

All this, however, fails to furnish the Zionist Organisation with the means of providing for the tens of thousands of hungry immigrants in Palestine, to say nothing of encouraging further immigration. Therefore Weizmann, Chairman of the Zionist Organisation, has got into touch with the rich American philanthropists of the Marshall group. So far no agreement could be reached with this group, since they will on no account recognise the Zionist ideology as the one and only solution of the Jewish question. Unable to carry on the bankrupt business on their own account, the Zionists have now abandoned their ideology. Marshall will subscribe to the relief action in Palestine in just the same way as he and his philanthropic friends support poor Jews in other countries. A special investigatory commission is to examine into the possibilities of relief work in Palestine.

The Zionist Organisation thus loses the halo of a political renaissance movement and sinks politically to the level of a pronounced tool of British imperialism and economically to a branch of the philanthropic Jewish societies in the United States.

If we add that the agrarianisation activity of the Soviet Government in Russia has done much more in two years for the solution of the Jewish question on that territory than Zionism has effected in fifty years, and that the healthy development of the Jewish colonies in the Soviet Union affords such an attraction for many of the disappointed Jewish emigrants to Palestine, that they are anxious to return to the Soviet Union by the hundred, it may serve as an indication as to where the Jewish masses, who have hitherto been dazzled by Zionism, must turn to find the escape from national and social oppression. It is not to Palestine they must turn, where they will merely serve to satisfy British colonial aims; but they must rather unite in a consistent class struggle with the proletarians of other countries, so that by means of the social revolution they may find their way to a real renaissance and recovery.

## REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE COLONIES

### The Terror in Indonesia.

By Alim.

The rising in Java in November last and that in Sumatra in January this year were both bloodily suppressed. The Dutch imperialists, with their up-to-date arms, carried off the victory over the rebels, who were not so well armed.

The terror now prevailing in the Dutch colonies is merely a continuation of the many acts of terror practised of late years by the Dutch imperialists. Since the time of the railway strike in Java in May 1923, terrorism has been carried on yet more relentlessly and unscrupulously against the revolutionary movement among the natives. Immediately after the outbreak of the strike, any form of assembly was prohibited throughout the Dutch East Indies. A strike law was promulgated, according to which not only the strike leaders, but all who in any way aided or abetted the strike, were liable to arrest. Subsequently, numerous comrades were condemned to months' of imprisonment for infringement of this law.

In the same year, bombs were thrown at the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, who was starting on a tour of inspection through Java. This man made himself odious to the population not only by the prohibition of meetings and the strike law he decreed, but also by the wholesale dismissal of civil servants and employees, and by an extraordinary increase of taxes, which reduced many small native holders to beggary.

At the time of the celebration of the Queen of Holland's silver jubilee, bombs were thrown in various places in protest against the persecution of the popular movement. The police arrested many leaders of the Communist Party and of the Sarekat Rayat (People's Union), although there was not the least evidence against them.

After about six months' imprisonment, our comrades had necessarily to be released again by the police, in view of the absence of any incriminating evidence.

It is since the end of 1923, that the revolutionary tendency has gained the upper hand in the popular movement. The Communist Party gained more influence and came to occupy a leading position in the popular movement of the Dutch East Indies. Since then, too, the reaction has been directed mainly against our Party and the organisations led by it.

The Dutch press followed the aggravation of the growing differences with serious misgivings. The Liberal papers demanded the return to the system of freedom of assembly, so that the popular movement might be more easily controlled. The reactionary part of the press, meanwhile, urged yet severer measures against that movement. The most prominent Dutch newspaper in the East Indies called for the formation of a "white front".

Early in September 1926, Dr. Fock, the reactionary and thoroughly unpopular Governor General, retired. His successor spoke with such honeyed words when assuming office, that many might have believed that the new Governor General would really bring about an improvement in the economic position of the people. The native inhabitants, however, were not to be deceived by such blandishments. In spite of these assurances, no change was made in the existing circumstances.

Then followed the rising in Java. The Javanese, the meekest and most patient race on earth, as the famous Dutch writer Multatuli once called them, took up arms to rid themselves of their persecutors. In Western Java, the broad masses of the population took part in the struggle, facing with primitive weapons the rifles and bayonets of the Dutch exploiters. They were shot down by scores. Thousands were arrested. The Dutch newspapers raised a hue and cry and demanded that the rebels should not be taken prisoners but be cut down or strung up at once. How many arrests were made, it is difficult to say for certain, for at present, four months after the rebellion, arrests are still taking place. At a moderate estimate, some 6000 persons at least must have been arrested in Java.

Nine individuals have already been condemned to death and further death sentences are to be expected. The remainder are condemned to penal servitude for life, or else to periods of twenty, fifteen, or at least seven, years. The accused are accorded no legal protection before the tribunals and are thus completely at the mercy of the judges. At their trial many of the accused asserted that an admission of guilt had been wrung from them by maltreatment on the part of the police. The judge, however, refused to believe them.

The trials in Java were not yet at an end, when the rebellion in Sumatra commenced early in the current year. Here again, hundreds were killed and thousands arrested. The number of the latter may be put at quite 2000, for here, too, arrests are still being effected.

The terrorism of the Dutch imperialists is raging furiously. Those who took an active part in the rebellion, will be condemned by the tribunals, while other revolutionaries against whom the Government has no excuse to proceed but who might yet become a danger to the capitalist order, will, as is usual in such cases, be interned, being sent to New Guinea and carried far into the interior of that island, whence escape is impossible. They will be transported to Assike, a place situated 280 miles from the coast. This is an altogether pathless region, and the prisoners are carried thither by a small steamer, the journey lasting several weeks. The inhabitants of those parts are cannibals, practising cannibalism down to the present day; they have no settled abode.

In these remote regions the comrades will be forced to engage in agricultural pursuits as a means of raising foodstuffs,

since there is no trade in those parts. At first they will be supplied by the Government with certain small subsidies, with which they can buy foodstuffs of the soldiers guarding them.

Early in February, the first exiles left for Java, being removed from the prisons and put on board the steamer at night, so as to obviate demonstrations among the population.

The trials are not nearly at an end. The Dutch imperialists feel unsafe. The army and the police are to be considerably re-inforced. The army will be used for police duty to a greater extent than hitherto. The soldiers, who are mainly concentrated in three towns in Java, will now be distributed all over the Dutch territory, so as to be able to intervene at short notice in case of a disturbance. The white employees on the plantations will be furnished by the Government with rifles and ammunition. Militia and sharpshooter battalions are being founded on all hands, although the Government professes not to agree to such formations. The anxiety of the imperialists is reflected in the columns of the Dutch press.

The death sentences have not yet been carried out. The world proletariat must leave no stone unturned to prevent their execution.

## THE BALKANS

### The Situation in Bulgaria.

By Chr. Kabaktschiev.

#### II. Liapcheff Continues Zankoff's Work.

A large part of the bourgeois Press of Europe, in the first place the Government Press in Italy and Great Britain, but also the French "Temps" and others, have taken the Liapcheff Government under their protection and speak of the "freedom" and "peace" which are said to prevail in Bulgaria since Zankoff was replaced by Liapcheff. This is an attempt to mislead deliberately undertaken by the imperialist Governments of Europe and their Press, in order artificially to prolong the regime of the 9th of June, because they need this regime — they need it for the economic conquest of Bulgaria and for carrying out their plans of conquest in the Balkans and in the Near East.

In his first declaration to Parliament, Liapcheff stated that he would continue Zankoff's policy, and, as a matter of fact, he has remained true to his declaration. The replacement of Zankoff by Liapcheff relieved the tension of the heavy-laden and almost unbearable atmosphere in the country which had been produced by the atrocious wholesale slaughter. The ruling bourgeois Coalition however, ironically called "Democratic Harmony", in which the military also took part, remained at the helm. The whole machinery of police and administration, led by the most faithful members of the Military League and supported by its organised bands of hired murderers, was untouched. Liapcheff did not change a single district prefect, he could not even change a simple gendarme without the consent of the "Military Convention". The so-called "irresponsible factors", which are actually the hired murderers supported by the Government, continue their activities in the country with impunity.

After Liapcheff had taken over the Government, he granted an "amnesty", the real object of which was to increase the credit of the new Government inside and outside the country. The consequence was that the prisons were to some extent relieved of their inmates in order to make room for fresh thousands of political prisoners. Through this "amnesty", the Government achieved another aim, which, from its point of view, was much more important. After the June and September massacres in 1923, the Zankoff Government, by means of a limited political amnesty, released all those who were morally or physically guilty of the wholesale murders. By this new amnesty, the Liapcheff Government exonerated the authors of the new wholesale massacres in April 1925 from any responsibility. By this amnesty of the executioners of the people, Liapcheff left their hands free and cleared the way for new murders.

The Liapcheff Government has been at the helm for a year, and we can now make up its accounts. Hardly had the amnesty been proclaimed, i. e. before it had been applied to the political prisoners, when proceedings began in Sofia in a new shameful trial against the "foreign representatives" of the Peasant League and the Communist Party. Without any evidence and merely on

the basis of the statements of agents and inspectors of the secret police, 28 of the best-known personalities in the Communist Party and the Peasant League were condemned to death, including all the Ministers of the Peasant League who were still alive and were living abroad; several dozens of other political emigrants were sentenced to long periods of imprisonment. The pretext for his unexampled trial was the activity of the well-known "Tchetas" (freebooters) in Bulgaria since June 9th. These "Tchetas" are described by the Government as being the work of political emigrants, whereas they are really the consequence of their own policy of terror, by which the Government drives hundreds of peasants and workers who have been ill-treated in the prisons and whose lives have been threatened, to take refuge in the mountains.

This trial was followed by a number of other political trials — the trial of the "emigrant channels", of those who had joined "robber bands", of the C. C. of the Young Communist League etc. The Bulgarian judges, who are entirely at the disposal of the blood-stained reaction, are constantly pronouncing new death sentences. The barbarous emergency law, called workers of any possibility of a political fight and punishes with death not only any Communist activity but also a father, a mother or a wife, who does not hand over to the authorities his or her own son or husband, who happens to be a Communist and accused of "illegal activity" — this unexampled law is still in full force under the Liapcheff regime.

The political murders of Communists and members of the Peasant League continue. During the first months after the replacement of Zankoff by Liapcheff, there were individual murders, many upright sons of the people being the victims (Vassil Christoff, Kostodinoff, Toduroff, Dudoff and others murdered in Sofia; Pirdopsky, murdered in the Vratza prison; Moldovarsky, Totea, Samokovliev and many others murdered in others towns and villages). In the summer of 1926, however, the Liapcheff Government organised a new wholesale slaughter in the districts of Trojan and Lovetch (district Plevna).

In this district, an illegal "Tcheta" was discovered in June 1926, consisting of about 10 men, mainly teachers and students, who had succeeded in escaping and were scattered in the mountains after they had been brutally tortured in prison and threatened with murder. The Government described them as "robbers" and sent large detachments of soldiers and police in pursuit. The Government did not succeed in capturing these "robbers" but, in order to punish the population of the district, who were known for their loyalty to the Communists and the members of the Peasant League, and who sympathised with the persecuted Youth, it organised the extermination of about 200 of the most enlightened and intelligent peasants, including many village magistrates, teachers of both sexes etc. The arrested peasants from the villages of Borina and Goleva-Shelema and others, having been cruelly ill-treated and tortured in the prisons, were murdered by the police divisions escorting them on their way to the provincial towns. The Government of Sofia sent Colonel Detsheff, the Chief of the first infantry regiment, to organise and carry out this wholesale slaughter which was accompanied by the burning down of many peasant farms and the violation of large numbers of women.

All these facts were published long ago in the Opposition Press of Bulgaria and were admitted in an official communique of the Bulgarian "League for the Defence of Human-Rights".

These fresh hecatombs of hundreds of human victims are stirring evidence of the fact that the regime of the White Terror and of wholesale murders still continues in Bulgaria, and that the Liapcheff Government, following Zankoff's example, lets the murderers go unpunished. The Government cannot punish itself, its own policy.

In order to "justify" this terrible crime, the Government had to invent a new "Bolshevist danger". For the past four years, the Fascist regime in Bulgaria has always been supported in the name of the "Bolshevist danger". In order to lull "public opinion" in Europe, and to divert the new wave of indignation caused by the wholesale massacres in the Trojan and Lovetch districts, Liapcheff, following in Zankoff's steps, undertook new mass persecutions and had 400 workers, most of them juveniles, arrested, on the pretext that they belonged to a newly discovered "conspirative organisation". Shortly afterwards the Government organs themselves were compelled to admit that it had been a case of an attempt on the part of the young Communists to

celebrate **International Youth Day** at the beginning of September, by meetings and pamphlets. The prisons were again overcrowded, new "complete disappearances" and "suicides" of persons under arrest, new political trials are the order of the day. The new wave of terror is still flooding the country, and the number of victims is steadily increasing.

One more gruesome fact: In the historical town of Plevna, a new ghastly crime has been committed. In the night from the 4th to 5th of December 1926, the Fascists, who had already arrested, murdered or banished all the known Communists of the town, set fire to the house of Dr Beshev, the only Communist still living in the town. All the members of this unfortunate family met their death in the flames. Dr Beshev, his wife, his three children and the maid were burnt alive.

The whole country was seized with the deepest indignation; more than 10,000 workers, women and citizens took part in the funeral demonstration in Plevna. The Government felt compelled to nominate an investigation commission consisting of engineers and technicians, which stated that Dr Beshev's flat (he lived in the third storey of a high house) had been set on fire with benzine, and that so cleverly that no one could be saved.

The flames of Plevna illuminated the dark night which has sunk over our unhappy country and exposed to the whole world the true nature of the blood-thirsty and shameful régime of June 9th.

Attacked by the whole Opposition because of the massacre in the districts of Lovech and Trojan, and of the burning of Dr. Beshev's family, the Liapcheff Government is seeking support from the imperialist Governments of Western Europe. These Governments, especially those of Great Britain and Italy, but that of France no less, are endeavouring to make Bulgaria a barrier and a point of support for the future counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, which they are preparing. For this reason, they support the action in the Balkans and especially in Bulgaria, which they regard as being infected with Bolshevism.

In order to gain this support, the imperialist Governments are making the Balkan States entirely dependent on themselves, are conquering them economically and using them in the service of their plans of conquest. Thus for instance there are many signs to indicate that Italy has succeeded in binding Bulgaria to herself by means of secret treaties, which action is closely connected with the war Italy is preparing against Turkey. Mussolini, with Chamberlain's support, is once more laying the fuse under the Balkan powder barrel, which in 1914, led to the European imperialist war. The Fascist regime in Bulgaria is not only a national danger for the Bulgarian people, it is also a danger for international peace and for the future of the European proletariat, because it is turning our country into a blind tool of distant imperialist States.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Strike of the Polish Textile Workers.

By J. R. (Warsaw).

On March 8th a strike broke out among the textile workers in Poland, which may be counted among the greatest class struggles of the Polish proletariat. On the evening of March 9th, the Warsaw press reckoned the number of the strikers at 130,000. This figure comprises practically all the workers in this branch of industry including the 30,000 unemployed textile workers. It is worthy of remark, moreover, that at Lodz the strike also extends to foremen and to the clerks in the textile factories.

The textile industry is the most important industry in Poland. When normally occupied, it employs, in factories of more than 20 hands each, some 160,000 workers, that is to say about one third of the total number of Polish industrial workers, which may be put down at roughly half a million. Its most important centre is Lodz, the Polish Manchester, together with a number of industrial plants in the vicinity. Among the smaller centres are Bielitz, Zyrardow, Warsaw, and Bialystock.

The wages paid in the cotton industry are exceedingly low. The daily wages at Lodz, e. g., figure as follows:

	Zloty	Computed in Gold Francs
Cotton Weavers . . . . .	6.73	3.90
Spinners, male . . . . .	7.26	4.21
Spinners, female . . . . .	4.33	2.51
Outside Workers . . . . .	3.44	2.—
Untrained Women Workers . . . . .	2.94	1.70

Since the close of 1925, the nominal wage rate at Lodz has increased by 17 per cent., while the cost of living has risen by 40 per cent.

The situation of the workers in the textile industry is all the worse, seeing that in general they are not employed throughout the week but only for five days a week or less. We reproduce some figures for the end of December 1926, relating to 65 large factories:

#### a) Cotton Industry.

26 factories, employing 42,794 workers, 5 days a week
10 factories, employing 13,826 workers, 4 days a week
3 factories, employing 929 workers, 3 days a week

#### b) Wool Industry.

21 factories, employing 15,167 workers, 5 days a week
4 factories, employing 1,662 workers, 4 days a week
1 factory, employing 192 workers, 3 days a week

Working conditions in the Lodz factories on the eve of the strike are described by the reactionary "Gazeta Poranna" of March 15th in a report, from which we quote as follows:

"There are many points of dispute between the workers and the manufacturers. The time of trade-union and factory council rule in the factories is long past. As a consequence of reaction, we have the severe rule of the manufacturer, who often changes the working conditions by illegal means. The main reason of the discontent among the workers is the reorganisation of production.

In almost all factories there are constant alterations of the technicalities of production. This is undoubtedly a praiseworthy sign of progress on the part of the industrialists; such changes are, however, not always carried out in keeping with existing circumstances, a fact which is in itself also not surprising. The financial and technical difficulties, the unsatisfactory execution of the reforms, and the fact that the workers are unaccustomed to these innovations, cause friction and even strikes, as was recently the case in the Schwejkert works, where the reorganisation of production went so far that the workers, as they themselves state, were unable to earn in a whole week more than the bare minimum daily wage.

"As a matter of fact, the workers work between 10 and 18 hours daily. In some cases, even, Sunday labour has been introduced."

The importance of the textile workers' strike consists mainly in the fact that, barely a twelvemonth after its introduction, the Fascist Government's method of settling all labour conflicts by means of Government arbitration, has failed.

The arbitration system found the support of all the reformist elements in the Labour movement, i. e. the Christian-Democratic Party, the National Labour Party, the Polish Socialist Party, and all the trade unions conforming to the principles of these parties. On the other hand, the system was primarily attacked by the Communists and by those elements of the labour movement which are not far removed from Communism.

If, to-day, under the pressure of the masses, all trade unions proceeded to act, the initiative is yet owing to the Communists. This is a victory of Communist tactics over the tactics of the reformists, who endeavoured till the last minute to prevent the strike.

Increasing importance attaches to the textile strike, inasmuch as it forms the initiative to a new movement of the entire working class. Besides the textile workers, the glass workers are on strike, while wage discussions are in progress with the railwaymen, miners, and metal workers.

In this manner, almost the entire Polish proletariat is taking up the struggle against the Fascist rationalisation, which is based on starvation wages, violation of the labour protection laws, and the treacherous arbitration system.

## The Role of the Labour Movement in the Chinese Revolution.

By Chen Kuen.

Representative of the Chinese Trade Union Federation and of the Strike Committee of Canton and Hong-Kong.

The Labour movement is, in an increasing measure, taking the lead in the national revolutionary movement of China. The Kuomintang party could only boast of decisive success from the moment when large masses of workers joined it. When, in October 1924, the Canton Government was threatened by the attempted insurrection of the Fascist "paper tigers" it was the workers who saved it. When, in June 1925, General Liu Chin Wang made a counter-revolutionary attack on the Canton Government, it was the workers again who, by means of strikes and by hindering transport, made the victory of the Canton Government possible.

After the defeat of General Liu Chin Wang, the Kuo Min Government was founded on July 1st 1925, with the help of the workers. At the same time, the workers entered on a general strike against the British imperialists in Hong-Kong. This strike was of great significance in foreign policy.

In order to consolidate the Government, the counter-revolutionary divisions of troops within the Kuo Min army were dissolved and the army was reorganised. At the same time, the workers were given the right of assembly and coalition and the freedom of the Press in the widest measure, and were allowed to carry arms in Canton and the rest of the province of Kwantung. The trade union movement experienced a great boom.

In order to suppress the strike in Hong-Kong, which threatened them with great danger, the imperialists tried to overthrow the Kuo Min Government. With this object in view, they organised attacks on Canton, from the East of Kwantung under General Chen Chun Min, and from the South of Kwantung under General Pen Pin Jing. The workers immediately organised themselves to support the defence of Canton. The Kuo Min army had issued the slogans: No fear of death, no looting, no forcing military service on the civil population. The first and second slogans were observed by the soldiers, but it was very difficult to keep the third, as transport was in such a bad state that it was necessary to call upon the civil population for help. For this reason the workers themselves organised the transport for the support of the Canton army. Apart from this, they organised a propaganda division which roused interest in the army among the peasants. Thanks to the active co-operation of the workers, the counter-revolutionary Generals were defeated in less than two months, and the whole province of Kwantung came under the rule of the Kuo Min Government.

The continued general strike in Hong-Kong hit the foreign imperialists very hard. Before that time, 130 ships had entered Hong-Kong daily, but in consequence of the strike, this number fell to 20 ships. The losses due to the strike which had lasted since June 1925 were estimated at three million Mexican dollars per day. The port of Canton on the contrary, developed enormously and the number of ships entering it daily increased from 15 to 40.

The workers, having firmly established themselves in the province of Kwantung, gave considerable support to the expedition of the Canton army into the North. They not only organised the transport and propaganda divisions, but also created divisions of their own with the object of destroying and reconstructing lines of communication.

The workers are helping the revolutionary movement, not only in Canton and in Hong-Kong, but, in an increasing measure, throughout China. In Hankow and Wuchang the railwaymen, and in Hanjang the arsenal workers struck against Wu Pei Fu. This facilitated the conquest of these three important neighbouring towns and their fusion into Wuhan, the new capital of the national revolutionary movement.

The general strike in Shanghai against Sun Chuan Fang, the counter-revolutionary leader, was, it is true, suppressed with sanguinary reprisals, but it helped considerably to undermine the power of Sun Chuan Fang. The fate of his successor, Chang Tsun Chang, against whom a general strike is also being prepared, will be no better than that of Sun Chuang Fang.

Not only are the Chinese workers taking part in the

revolutionary movement in an increased measure, but they are constantly gaining a more predominating influence. In this movement, the workers are joining in a united front with students, petty bourgeois and especially with the peasants. The peasants, helped by the workers, are fighting against the landowners, who are vainly trying to defend themselves with the aid of armed militia. As the workers are fighting not only in their own interests, but also against heavy taxation, against corruption and for the development of traffic etc., they are gaining more and more sympathy from the interested strata of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants.

An example of the united front is offered, among other places, by Shanghai, where a civic league consisting of all strata, has been formed under the leadership of the workers against the imperialists and militarists. The petty bourgeoisie willingly joins in this united front, although it knows that the workers are directly under the lead, of the Communist Party, a fact which is repeatedly pointed out by the imperialists. Not only the workers, but also the whole petty bourgeoisie joined in a general strike in Canton on March 2nd by way of a great demonstration of protest against the deeds of violence in Shanghai.

## The Reconstruction of the Italian Trade Union Confederation.

By Guido Saraceno (Milan).

On February 20th 1927, more than 30 delegates of the most important organisations which were affiliated to the Italian Trade Union Confederation (Confederazione Generale del Lavoro — C. G. D. L.) met in a factory in Milan. Trade Union Federations and Trade Union Cartels were represented. The Conference, having declared the invalidity of the dissolution of the C. G. D. L. by its former Reformist leaders, who went over into the camp of Fascism, proceeded to restore the leading organs provisionally. The new executive committee, elected by the Conference, was commissioned to call a national conference of all organised persons as soon as possible, in order to determine final forms and solutions for all the fundamental questions of organisation in the trade union movement in Italy as required by the present situation.

As long ago as in 1925, the Communists organised in trade unions foresaw a situation in which the C. G. D. L. would either be dissolved by an order of the Government or put into such a position by the Fascist laws that any movement would be made impossible for them. In order to avoid getting into either of these possible situations, the Communist trade union members made a number of suggestions, which however were answered by the Reformist leaders Buozzi, Azimonti, Maglione, d'Aragona and others by the exclusion of the three Communist organisers Juraga (Trade Union Cartel Trieste), Ghidetti (Trade Union Cartel Treviso) and Nicola (Union of Hotel and Restaurant Employees) and with threats to exclude all workers who are in solidarity with them.

Later, a kind of national conference of all the functionaries of the C. G. D. L. was summoned, which amended the old trade union statutes. Every principle of democracy within the trade unions was suppressed. The executive committees elected by the members were replaced by commissaries of the C. G. D. L. nominated from above. All right of criticism and control of the leaders of the C. G. D. L. was abolished. A special, permanent system of exclusion was created against the Communist Opposition.

On January 4th 1927, a communication was finally sent to the Unions affiliated to the C. G. D. L. in the name of the executive committee, signed by Maglione, the secretary who had been given authority by Buozzi (who had fled abroad), announcing the dissolution of the C. G. D. L. The resolution to dissolve, however, took no effect, for the workers organised in the C. G. D. L. remained at their posts.

The leaders of the free trade union leagues, whose leading organs were almost entirely in the hands of the Communists, i. e. the F. I. L. A. M. (Union of Hotel and Restaurant Employees), the F. I. L. I. L. (Union of Wood Workers) and the F. I. D. A. P. (Union of Private Employees) summoned the National Conference mentioned above at Milan to discuss the following questions:

1. Nullification of the resolution of Jan. 4th 1927 passed by the leaders of the C. G. D. L. in contravention of the statutes

(re dissolution of the C. G. D. L.) and appeal to the I. F. T. U. in Amsterdam, to which the C. G. D. L. is affiliated.

2. Investigation of the position of the Trade Union Federations.

3. Programme of work and standards of organisation.

4. Reorganisation of a provisional central body of the C. G. D. L.

The result of the Conference was satisfactory. Apart from the three Trade Union Federations mentioned, the following unions were represented: F. I. O. M. (Metal Workers), F. I. O. T. (Textile Workers), the Transport Workers, F. O. P. I. (Workers in the Graphic Trade), F. I. O. C. (Workers in the Chemical Trade), F. I. O. E. (Workers in the Building Trade), Workers in the Food Trade; besides these, the following Trade Union Cartels were represented: Milan, Turin, Trieste, Vicenza, Bologna, Genoa, Rome, Naples, Bergamo. Various local groups of trade unions as well as the juvenile workers had also sent representatives. Furthermore, Reformist organisers of the Union of Workers in the Building Trade and of the Agricultural Workers' Union had sent letters of greeting and, in addition to other Reformists, one of the vice secretaries of the C. G. D. L. took part in the Conference; the latter, who, in the meantime, has returned to work in his factory in a long explanation, definitely recanted the tactics he had pursued up to that time. A worker who was a member of the former executive committee of the Trade Union Cartel and of the local group of metal workers in Milan was present as representative of the Maximalists; he, too, made a strong declaration.

The conference unanimously resolved that the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro should continue to exist with a central body of its own in Italy, that Amsterdam should recognise this central body as the only legitimate one, that the trade unions should transform themselves into industrial unions and be organised according to factories and, finally, that the subscriptions to the C. G. D. L. should be adapted to the economic circumstances of the workers which are by no means brilliant. A new executive committee, consisting of Reformists, Maximalists and Communists, the last being in the majority, was commissioned to carry out the resolutions passed at the Conference. This executive committee has, as its first sign of life, addressed a manifesto to the Italian workers and has already made organisational arrangements for 1927. It has provided that the International Federation of Trade Unions which has already been informed of the first results of the Conference in Milan should receive detailed reports on the work done in Italy and on the actual situation of the Italian workers.

As regards the relations between the C. G. D. L. and the International Federation of Trade Unions, the new secretaries have made the following announcement: The majority of the members of the C. G. D. L. is in favour of the principles of the Red Trade Union International. By remaining in the International Federation of Trade Unions, the C. G. D. L. intends, above all, to work for international trade union unity and to support the movement which centres round the Anglo-Russian Committee within the I. F. T. U. Until recently, the C. G. D. L. was represented in the executive committee of the I. F. T. U. by a delegate who voted against the motion to summon a conference for international trade union unity. This delegate by no means represented the will of the Italian trade unionists, for, at the same time, the old executive committee of the C. G. D. L. resolved to dissolve the C. G. D. L. and immediately afterwards went over to Fascism. The representative of the C. G. D. L. in the executive committee of the I. F. T. U. can only be a delegate recognised by the Conference of the C. G. D. L. in Milan, since it alone is the legitimate representative of the organised workers of Italy.

## THE WHITE TERROR

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

Berlin, 15th March 1927.

At a general membership meeting of the German Metal Workers Union (Berlin District) on the 14th March, the opposition proposed the sending of a telegram of protest to the Hungarian government against the frightful acts of terror against the revolutionary working class movement in Hungary. A reso-

lution moved by Ziska was then adopted expressing the unanimous protest of the Berlin metal workers against the terror of the Hungarian government. A copy of the resolution will also be sent to the national executive of the Metal Workers Union with the request to publish the same in the official organ of the union and in the official organ of the International Metal Workers Federation.

The resolution of protest reads as follows:

"The metal workers of Berlin organised in the Metal Workers Union represented by their general membership meeting express their deepest sympathy with the Hungarian working class persecuted by the bloody Horthy government.

Filled with the greatest disgust at the almost unbelievable hypocrisy of the Bethlen clique the Berlin metal workers express their wholehearted support of the Hungarian working class. Despite the temporary powerlessness of the Hungarian working class, the Berlin metal workers are convinced that in the near future the Hungarian workers will win their political, organisational and personal freedom.

The Berlin metal workers expect the fullest support of the Amsterdam Trade-Union International and hope that the workers of all countries affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions will create the necessary instruments for the successful struggle of the I. F. T. U. to free the international proletariat by building up and strengthening their own organisations."

Berlin, 15th March 1927.

A public meeting of protest which took place on the 14th March in Moabit Berlin, against the German class justice, also adopted the following resolution against the persecution of the revolutionary working class in Hungary:

"The working men and women assembled in Moabit on the 14th March express their indignation at the new mass arrests of workers perpetrated in Hungary by the Horthy-Bethlen government.

The meeting considers it a flagrant violation of all cultural and human rights that in the heart of Europe innocent workers are tortured with all the instruments of the middle ages, and placed before an extraordinary court on account of their convictions to be handed over to the hangmen of the white terror.

The participants in this meeting request the convenors to send a telegram of energetic protest to the Hungarian Prime Minister on behalf of the working men and women of Moabit who express their deepest indignation at the inhuman treatment accorded to the prisoners and at the expressed intention of the Hungarian authorities to place them before an extraordinary court."

Berlin, 15th March 1927.

The "League of Social Democratic Students", the "Socialist Students League" and the "German Pacifist Students League" have sent the following joint telegram of protest to the Hungarian Prime Minister Count Bethlen:

"Indignant at the latest news from Hungary we raise our protest energetically against the inhuman treatment accorded to socialist intellectuals and workers in the Hungarian police prisons and at the expressed intention of the authorities to place the arrested men before an extraordinary court. We demand in the name of culture and civilisation that these persecutions of the workers cease. The persecutions prove that the white terror in Hungary exists undiminished."

Signed: Lorenz Schreiner, Ernst Bulova, Helmut Rose.

Berlin, 15th March 1927.

The "League of Socialist Doctors" has sent the following telegrams of protest to the Hungarian government:

"The 'League of Socialist Doctors' protests in the name of humanity against the inhuman maltreatment of political prisoners by the Hungarian police and expects the speedy release of the imprisoned workers Szanto, Vagi and their comrades."

Berlin, 15th March 1927.

The following motion was laid before the Prussian Diet by the Communist fraction and accepted by the Diet for debate:

"The Hungarian Bethlen government is carrying on an unceasing brutal and bloody struggle for the destruction of the

Hungarian working class movement. The Bethlen government is using and has used mass arrests, tortures, the maltreatment of defenceless prisoners, years of hard labour, and drum-head executions in order to intimidate the Hungarian working class and to prevent it carrying on any struggle for the improvement of its economic situation or the acquisition of political rights.

In the last few days it has become known that the Hungarian government has once again made numerous arrests amongst the workers simply because the arrested belong to the perfectly legal left-wing Socialist Workers Party or attempted to form an organisation of left-wing workers side by side with this legal party. The sum total of the accusations brought against them is that they have held educational courses.

The Budapest police authorities have announced that of the 76 arrested left-wing socialist and communist workers, 53 will be placed before an extraordinary court which according to Hungarian law can only pass one sentence — the sentence of death. The arrested workers have been horribly maltreated, their features beaten beyond recognition, beard and hair dragged out by the roots and their bodies beaten bloody in order to extract confessions from them. These facts are not in any way denied by the Hungarian police.

These terrible acts of the Hungarian government represent a recrudescence of the worst times of mediaeval barbarism. These acts are the results of a fanatical persecuting passion against the organised Hungarian working class whose economic situation is the worst of any country in Europe. All connection with this government leads to a co-responsibility for these acts of terror.

Therefore the Prussian Diet decides to instruct the Prussian Cabinet: 1. To abolish the agreement made between the Prussian State and the Bethlen government through its educational minister Count Klebelsberg for a German-Hungarian Educational Co-operation and to abolish the Hungarian Chair established in the Berlin University as a consequence of this agreement. 2. To inform the Hungarian government that these measures are an expression of the protest of the Prussian Diet and the Prussian Cabinet at the acts of terror practised upon the Hungarian working class."

Budapest, 17th March 1927.

The news of the motion introduced into the Prussian Diet by the communist fraction protesting against the persecution of workers in Hungary and demanding the cancelling of the agreement arrived at between the Prussian Cabinet and the Hungarian Bethlen government through its Minister for Education, Count Klebelsberg establishing educational and cultural co-operation between the two countries, has caused great excitement in the Hungarian parliament. According to a parliamentary press correspondent, one of the members of the Hungarian government has declared that the motion would be regarded as an interference in the internal affairs of Hungary.

Paris, 17th March 1927.

The French Section of the International Red Aid has sent the following telegram to the Hungarian prime minister Count Bethlen:

"We protest against the police persecutions of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and of the communists. We protest against the avowed intention of placing the arrested men before an extraordinary court and demand their immediate release."

Berlin, 17th March 1927.

The factory council of the Berlin Elevated and Underground railways has sent the following telegram to the Hungarian Prime Minister Bethlen:

"We protest in the name of the 6,000 workers on the Berlin Elevated and Underground Railways against the persecution of the Hungarian working class. We demand that this persecution cease and also the brutal maltreatment of the prisoners. We protest against the expressed intention to declare martial law and we demand the release of all working class political prisoners."

Berlin, 17th March 1927.

A full membership meeting of the tramwaymen of Berlin which took place on the 16th March sent the following telegram of protest to the Hungarian government:

"We protest against the suppression of the socialist working class movement and demand freedom for all working class organisations and the release of all imprisoned socialists and communists."

Berlin, 17th March 1927.

A mass meeting of the workers of the Siemens Schuckert works (Werner Werk) took place in Siemens town yesterday evening. The meeting expressed its solidarity with the Chinese revolution and decided to send a telegram of protest to the Hungarian government against the brutal maltreatment of arrested workers in Hungary and against their trial before an extraordinary court. The telegram further demands the release of all the arrested workers. The meeting also decided to appeal to the workers of the Siemens-Schuckert works in Budapest to take action in the same spirit to obtain the release of the arrested socialists and communists.

Berlin, 18th March 1927.

A protest meeting of workers of the Osram Works which took place on the 17th March unanimously adopted the following resolution against the persecution of workers in Hungary:

"We protest energetically against the mediaeval tortures applied to arrested workers in Hungary and express our full sympathy with the arrested men. We condemn the brutality of the Bethlen government which has robbed hundreds of thousands of workers of the most elementary human rights and which attempts to suppress every movement of the working class with a brutal terror. We see in the action of the Hungarian government a provocation of the working class in all countries at the behest of British imperialism and we protest energetically against it."

The meeting further decided to send the following telegram to the Hungarian prime minister Count Bethlen:

"This meeting of the workers of the Osram Works demands the immediate release of all the arrested workers and declares itself in complete sympathy with them. It condemns with horror the brutalities of the Hungarian Horthy police."

Similar meetings of protest have been held in the last few days by the workers of the Lorenz works, of the "Adrema", of the municipal employees of Berlin-Schoeneberg, of the Union Deutscher Verlagsgesellschaften, of the great warehouse stores "Wertheim" and "Israel", of the Municipal Markets, of the railway depot in the Revalerstrasse and by the members of the League of communist authors.

## THE XI. PARTY CONFERENCE OF THE C. P. OF GERMANY

### The 11th Party Conference of the C. P. of Germany in Essen.

By A. Ewert.

After years of the most difficult struggles within the Party, after a period of fractional cleavage of the Party, the Essen Party Conference brought about a high measure of internal agreement in all important questions. In essentials, the fractions and the fractional ideology were overcome, the consolidation of the Party made a great step forwards. Two factors have facilitated this development of the Communist Party in Germany. The Open Letter of the Executive Committee of the Communist International introduced the change of ideology and organisation in the Party which alone rendered it capable of entering on a struggle for the leadership over the working class in Germany. On the other hand, a development has taken place in the objective situation in Germany which has made it possible for the Party to arrive at a correct estimate of the situation, a clear perspective and sharp delineation of its immediate tasks in most of the questions which up to that time had not been sufficiently clear.

Compared with its position a year ago, German capitalism is in a period of internal consolidation, of external — though very conditional — expansion of power. The Party Conference, whilst acknowledging this fact, at the same time sharply defined the limits of this relative stabilisation of German capitalism

within the scope of world economics and world events as a whole. Whilst repudiating the ultra-Left way of putting the question — capitalist stabilisation or proletarian revolution — as nonsense, the Party Conference at the same time clearly emphasised that the possibility of a further consolidation of German capitalism can and will be prevented above all by the fight of the working class, in which the Communist Party must get the lead.

In its struggle to be recognised again as a power, German capitalism is inevitably driven to join the imperialist Powers, above all England, which are arming against the Soviet Union. The bourgeoisie, in its fighting leagues, such as "Jungdo" and "Stahlhelm", are systematically beginning to rouse a mediaeval military ideology for war against the Soviet Union. The 11th Party Conference of the C. P. of Germany, recognised the seriousness and difficulty of its task in the inevitable conflict in the near future. It pointed out to the Party that it is its duty to fight against imperialism and the danger of war. The Party must, with all energy, meet this danger and especially the anti-Soviet policy of the Social Democratic party which serves the interest of English imperialism, by intensified activity among the workers of the most important branches of industry and among those engaged in traffic and transport, not only in its ideology, but in its organisation.

The most important tasks which are now in the foreground, which dominated the whole Party Conference and found expression in all the speeches and discussions, were our attitude towards the Social Democratic workers, the concentration of the Party on trade union work and the lead of the wages' movements and economic fights. The Party Conference relentlessly showed up, with sharp, positive self-criticism, which raised the self-confidence of the Party, the defects and mistakes, the weaknesses and lack of clearness in the Party. The anti-trade union ideology is almost eliminated from the Party, but the results are still far from coming up to what might be achieved. How great these possibilities are, is proved by the fact that in almost all the important trade unions in Berlin, the Communists were everywhere not far behind the Reformists as regards the number of votes recorded at the last elections. Against this progress of the Communists, the trade union bureaucracy is already using its methods of exclusion, of not confirming the appointment of functionaries and other organisatory measures. In connection with the work in the trade unions, the Party Conference put in the foreground the question of leadership in the struggle for increased wages and shorter hours of work. In the first half of 1927, three to four million industrial workers are engaged in the wages' movement. Whilst taking into consideration the special circumstances in each industrial district and in every trade union, it will be the task of the Communists to work towards the unification of these numerous movements and thus to increase the possibility of success in the struggles of the workers against the offensive of rationalisation initiated by the employers.

On the basis of its experiences in the last few years and of the development within the Social Democratic party, the 11th Party Conference has worked out in sharper outlines than ever the special tasks involved in winning over the masses of Social Democratic workers. In addition to the fight against the bourgeois policy of the party leaders, special emphasis was laid on the necessity of fighting against the "Left" leaders, as the chief-enemy within the S. P. of Germany. It is these leaders who, by their ideology and sham radical phrases cover and conceal the openly bourgeois policy of the party executive and thus retard the advance of the millions of Social Democratic workers towards Communism. The Party Conference showed, that, in the Communist Party, no illusions exist as to the possibility of development of these leaders. Both in the reports and in the speeches of many comrades from the provinces, it became obvious that everywhere there are beginnings of an Opposition in the ranks of the Social Democratic workers, which is directed not only against the policy of the party executive but also against the demagoguery of the "Left" leaders. At this Party Conference the Party undertook to promote this tendency among the workers, to develop it further and to support it with all their power. The existence of oppositional tendencies of this kind were emphasised both by the fact that Social Democratic workers appeared as speakers at the Party Conference — they were delegated from their factories — and also by a letter sent to the Party Conference by seventy Social Democratic and non-party workers from the Ruhr district. The application of the tactics of the united front has taken firm root in the C. P. of Germany. The

Party Conference further decided to carry on more intensified propaganda work among the christian workers.

The firm unity of the Party could not be shaken either by the 10 ultra-Left delegates (out of 186) who again were subdivided into three groups, nor by certain departures of an opportunist character. The provocation of the two delegates of the Maslov group who tried to spread the anti-Bolshevist newspaper of those, who had been excluded, at the Party Conference and who further declared that no resolution of the Party Conference would deter them from continuing to maintain their connection with the excluded members, was answered by the Party Conference by depriving them of their function for a year and by calling upon the three deputies Bartels, Grylevitz and Schlect to resign their seats in Parliament.

Unanimously and of one accord, with quite slight differences in the number of votes given to the individuals, the Party Conference, by secret ballot, in a meeting which was not open to the public, elected a Central Committee consisting of 35 members and 18 candidates. The leaders who had successfully carried on the fight against Maslov, Ruth Fischer and the other ultra-Left liquidators, united at the 11th Party Conference, with the forces which had been excluded from any responsible Party work under Maslov and Ruth Fischer and who, after the publication of the Open Letter, carried through the lines of the Communist International and of the Communist Party against all Left and Right deviations. The Party Central was further supplemented by a number of forces, who consolidate the connection between the leaders, the most important districts and a number of large factories.

The Party Conference has concluded the discussion with the ultra-Left groups. The Party will proceed to make a complete conquest of the position still held by the ultra-Lefts (Leipzig, the Palatinate, Wedding) and to overcome the fluctuations to Right and Left which still exist in the Party. The leaders and the whole Party are now confronted with the great task of multiplying their work, of organising it on better lines, of strengthening the confidence of the masses in the Party, thus making it the ever ready leader of the German proletariat in all its fights.

## THE CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT

### Appeal of the Third International Conference of the Leaders of the Communist Children's Organisations.

To Proletarian Parents and the Workers of All Countries.

Dear Comrades,

The position of workers' children of all countries under capitalist rule, is becoming worse from year to year and from day to day. Simultaneously with the capitalist offensive and the increased exploitation of the adult workers, the misery of the proletarian children is also increasing. Children are utilised as cheap labour-power, and nationalist and religious education is increasing in the schools as well as in the various bourgeois children's organisations.

Moreover, side by side with the increasing military activities of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the militarisation of the youth is increasing. Open propaganda is being carried on among the children and the youth against Chinese people who are fighting for their independence, and against the Soviet Union — the true support of all the oppressed and exploited of the world.

These aggressive actions of the ruling bourgeoisie are carried on in many countries through legislation and by strengthening the domination of the church and the reactionary organisations in the schools, by lowering the already miserable conditions of the children, reducing the children of the unemployed and poorly paid workers to a state of starvation and degeneration.

Not a single proletarian family, not a single proletarian can remain indifferent to these miserable conditions of their children.

The Communist Children's Leagues of Great Britain, Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, Austria, North and South America, Scandinavia and China, which is now carrying on a heroic struggle, as well as of the other Eastern countries, are already carrying on a determined struggle in the interests of the toilers'

children under the leadership of the Communist Parties and the Young Communist Leagues.

However, this struggle cannot be successful without the support of the organised proletariat and without the deep sympathy of the broad masses of proletarian parents.

The Third International Conference of the leaders of the Children's Leagues appeals to all toilers to take active part in the Seventh International Children's Week which will be held on May 15—22 of this year and which must become a week of struggle against the deterioration of the living conditions of proletarian children and against nationalist and militarist education.

Organise united committees of aid to the revolutionary children's movement!

Support the demands of the exploited children!

Fight for the withdrawal of old reactionary school laws and resist the institution of new ones!

Demand State aid of the children of unemployed workers!

Fight against reactionary military training!

Point out the example shown by the Soviet Union, — the only country where the health, education and training of the workers' children is really looked after!

Establish a united front in the struggle for a better life of the young generation!

Third International Conference of the Leaders of the Communist Children's Organisations.

## TEN YEARS AGO

### The Foreign Policy of the New Russian Government.

(Communication from the Petrograd telegraph agency.)

Petrograd, March 17th, 1917.

The Russian Government has just addressed the following telegram to its representatives in foreign countries:

The news communicated by the Petrograd telegraph agency already informed you of the events of the last few days and of the fall of the old political regime in Russia, which collapsed pitifully owing to the indignation of the people, roused by its negligence, its abuses and its criminal want of foresight. The unanimity of the resentment roused among all the healthy elements of the nation by the order of things which is to-day in a state of collapse, facilitated and considerably shortened the crisis. Thanks to the fact that all these elements grouped themselves with admirable enthusiasm round the flag of the revolution and received rapid and effective support from the army, the national movement achieved a decisive victory in the course of barely eight days. The rapidity with which it was carried through, fortunately made it possible to restrict the number of victims to a proportion such as has never been heard of in the annals of revolutions of a similar kind and equal seriousness.

By a declaration written in Psov and dated March 15th, Tsar Nicholas II. resigned the throne for himself and for the heir apparent, the Grand-Duke Alexej Nikolajevitch, in favour of the Grand-Duke Michael Alexandrovitch. On receiving information as to this document, the Grand-Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, on his part, by a document dated Petrograd March 16th, declined to take over the supreme power until such time as a Constituent Assembly, formed on the basis of the general franchise, should have determined the form of the Government and the new fundamental laws of Russia. In the same document, the Grand-Duke Michael Alexandrovitch called upon all Russian citizens to submit to the authority of the Provisional Government which had been formed on the initiative of the National Duma and possessed absolute power, until such time as the national will had been finally proclaimed.

The composition of the provisional Government and its political programme have been made known and have been communicated to foreign countries. The Government, which has taken over the power at a moment of the most serious external and internal crises which Russia has passed through in the course of its history, is fully aware of the enormous responsibility which has fallen to its share.

It will try, first of all, to do away with the failings which lie heavily on the country, a legacy of the past, in order to ensure order and peace in the country and finally to prepare

the conditions necessary to enable the sovereign nation to express its will as to its future fate.

#### In the Domain of Foreign Policy,

the Cabinet, in which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been entrusted to me, will respect its international obligations taken over from the regime which has fallen, and honour the word given by Russia. We shall carefully cultivate the relations which connect us with the other friendly and allied nations, and we trust that these relations will become more friendly and more permanent under the new regime in Russia, which is determined to be guided by the Democratic principles of the respect which is owing to small and large nations, to the freedom of their development and to a good understanding among the nations.

(Signed) Miljukov.

### The Provisional Government to the Russian People.

The War Shall Be Carried on to a "Victorious End".

(Communication from the Petrograd telegraph agency.)

Petrograd, March 19th, 1917.

The Provisional Government issued the following manifesto this morning:

Fellow citizens! The great work has been completed with a mighty impetus. The Russian people has overthrown the old form of government. A renewed Russia has been born from this coup d'état, which long years of struggle could not achieve.

Under the pressure of the awakened forces, the decree of October 17th 1906 had promised Russia constitutional liberties which, however, were not put into effect. The first Duma, the representative of the demands of the nation, was dissolved, the second suffered the same fate and the Government, incapable of stifling the will of the people, resolved, by the decree of June 3rd 1907, to withdraw from the people some of the legislative rights which had been promised to it.

During the ten years which have followed, the Government gradually took back all the rights which the people had won for itself. The country was once again hurled into the abyss of an unrestricted, arbitrary and purely administrative method of Government.

All attempts to get the Government to listen to reason were in vain, and the great world war, into which our country was drawn, found it faced by the moral decay of a Government which was out of harmony with the people, indifferent to the future of the country and involved in infamy and crime. The heroic efforts of the army which succumbed to the pressure of ghastly internal disorder, and the voice of the body representing the people, which was summoned in view of the danger threatening the nation, failed to bring the ex-Tsar and his Government on to the path of co-operation with the people.

Thus, when Russia saw the imminence of being overtaken by the greatest misfortune, owing to the unlawful and disastrous action of its rulers, the people succeeded in taking the power into its own hands. The revolutionary impetus of a people conscious of the great seriousness of the moment, and the firm will of the National Duma created a Provisional Government, which regards it as its sacred duty to fulfil the wishes of the people and to lead the country on to shining path of free civic organisation.

The Government is convinced that the spirit of high-hearted patriotism, which the people has displayed in the struggle against the old form of Government, will inspire our brave soldiers on the battlefield. The Government on its part, will do everything in its power to ensure to the army all it needs in order to

carry on the war to a victorious end.

The Government, having taken the absolutely essential which we are linked with other Powers.

The Government, having taken the absolutely essential measures for the defence of the country against the foreign enemy, has regarded it as its duty to make it easy in every way for the people to express its will with regard to the political form of Government and will, as soon as possible, summon a Constituent Assembly on the basis of the general franchise, making sure that the brave defenders of the country have their share in the Parliamentary election. The Constituent

Assembly will also publish the fundamental law guaranteeing to the country the inviolable rights of equality and freedom.

Under the impression of the whole burden of the political oppression which weighed on the country and prevented the people exercising its free creative powers during the tormenting years of the trials through which the nation has passed, the Provisional Government considers it necessary, even before summoning the Constituent Assembly,

to give the country at once firm, fundamental regulations, which will ensure political freedom and equality, so that it will be made easy for all citizens to express their mental powers in creative work for the benefit of the country.

The Government will also make it its duty to work out guiding lines which shall ensure to all citizens a participation in the municipal elections that will take place on the basis of the general franchise.

At the moment of the liberation of the people, the whole country remembers with reverent gratitude those who have fallen victims to the thirst for revenge of the old Government in the defence of their political and religious ideas, and the Provisional Government will rejoice to recall from banishment and from prison all those who have suffered for the good of the country.

The Provisional Government, in working towards the solution of these questions, believes that it is carrying out the will of the people and that the whole people will support it in its endeavours to ensure the well-being of Russia.

## Draft Theses on the February Revolution.

Written on the 17th March 1917.

By N. Lenin.

The news which we have today in Zürich (17th March 1917) about Russia is so meagre and events in our country are developing so quickly that one may only judge the situation with the greatest care.

Yesterday the telegrams declared that the Tsar had abdicated and that the new government of Octobrists and Cadets had already come to an understanding with other representatives of the Romanov dynasty. Today there is news from England that the Tsar has not yet abdicated and that no one knows where he is!

That is to say that the Tsar is attempting to offer resistance and to organise a party for himself, and perhaps an army for a restoration. It is possible that if the Tsar is able to flee from Russia or to win a section of the military forces over to his side, he will attempt to deceive the people with a manifesto concerning an immediate separate peace signed by him with Germany!

Under such circumstances the task of the proletariat is rather complicated. Without a doubt the proletariat must organise itself in the best possible manner, mobilise its forces, arm itself and consolidate and extend its alliance with all sections of the toiling masses in town and country in order to resist the Tsarist reaction ruthlessly and to destroy finally the Tsarist monarchy.

The new government which has seized power in Petrograd, or better, which snatched power from the hands of the proletariat which has been victorious in its heroic and bloody struggles, consists of Liberals, bourgeois and landowners. These are supported by Kerensky, the representative of the democratic peasantry and — perhaps — of that section of the workers which has gone the way of the bourgeoisie and forgotten internationalism. The new government consists of conscious supporters and defenders of the imperialist war, that is to say of war in alliance with the imperialist governments of Great Britain and France, of war for plunder and the conquest of foreign countries. Armenia, Galicia, Constantinople, etc.

The new government can give neither the peoples of Russia nor the peoples of those nations with whom the war has bound us, peace, bread and complete freedom, and for this reason the working class must utilise this new situation and enlighten the broadest masses of the people concerning it.

The new government cannot bring peace because first of all it represents the interests of the capitalists and the landowners and secondly because it is allied with the capitalists of France and Great Britain through agreements and financial undertakings. Remaining true to internationalism therefore, the social democracy of Russia must enlighten above all the masses of the

people who are longing for peace, it must point out to them that peace under the present government is impossible. In its declaration to the people (17th of March) this government said no word concerning the basic question of the present moment, concerning the question of peace. It concealed the existence of the robber treaties concluded by Tsarism with Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, etc. It wishes to hide its new war programme from the people. It wishes to conceal the fact that it is in favour of war and victory over Germany. It is not in a situation to do what the people wish it to do, that is, to propose immediately and openly to all the belligerent countries a general peace and then to conclude this peace upon the basis of the complete emancipation of the colonies and all dependent and oppressed peoples. In order to carry out this demand a workers' government is necessary in alliance first of all with the masses of the poor population in the country, and secondly in alliance with the revolutionary workers of all the belligerent countries.

The new government cannot give the people bread. However, the masses, who are hungry on account of the lack of supplies and because of the bad distribution of the existing supplies, but chiefly because the landowners and capitalists have control of these supplies, will not be satisfied with freedom alone. In order to give the people bread, revolutionary measures are necessary against the landowners and capitalists, but these measures can only be taken by a workers' government.

Finally, the new government is not in a situation to give the people complete freedom, although it speaks in its manifesto of the 17th of March 1917 exclusively of political freedom, saying nothing of the other no less important questions. The new government has already attempted to come to an understanding with the Romanov dynasty without paying any heed to the will of the people. It has declared itself ready to recognise the dynasty upon the basis of the abdication of Nicholas II and the appointment of a member of the Romanov family as a regent at the side of the son of Nicholas. In its manifesto the new government promises full freedom but does not even do its first and absolute duty of putting this freedom into action i. e. carrying out the elections of officers by the soldiers, carrying out the elections to the Duma in Petrograd, Moscow, etc., upon a basis of a general franchise not merely limited to men, handing over all state and public buildings for mass meetings of the people, etc. preparing elections in all district and provincial administrations upon the same basis of a general franchise, abolishing all limitations imposed upon the local administration from above with the object of controlling them, introducing not merely the freedom for expression of opinions but also freedom in religious matters, separating the school from the church, emancipating the school from the interference on the part of the officials, etc.

The whole manifesto of the new government of 17th of March arouses a complete mistrust, for it consists only of promises and makes no mention of any of the important measures which are now necessary and possible. In its programme the new government makes no mention of the eight hour day or any other economic improvement in the situation of the workers. It also says nothing about the peasants receiving the land, that the large estates of the landowners are to be handed over without compensation to the peasantry, etc. By remaining silent concerning these important questions, the manifesto reveals its capitalist and landowner origin.

Only a workers' government supporting itself first of all upon the majority of the peasant population, upon the land workers and poor peasants, and secondly upon the alliance of the revolutionary workers in all the belligerent countries, will be able to give the people peace, bread and complete freedom.

The revolutionary proletariat can therefore only regard the revolution from the 1st to the 14th of March as a first but by no means complete victory upon its great road. It must set itself the task of carrying on the struggle and fighting for a democratic republic and for socialism.

In order to fulfil this task the proletariat and the Social Democratic Party of Russia must first of all utilise the comparative and incomplete freedom introduced by the new government. The consolidation and extension of this freedom will only be possible through further persistent and obstinate revolutionary struggle.

It is necessary that the toiling masses in town and country and also the army learn the truth about the present government and its real attitude to the most important questions of the present time. It is necessary to organise the councils of workers

delegates and to arm the workers. It is necessary to introduce proletarian organisation into the army (which has also been promised political rights by the new government) and into the village. It is particularly necessary to create a class organisation of the agricultural wage-workers.

The complete victory in the next stage of the revolution and the seizure of power by a workers' government can only be ensured by enlightening and organising the broadest masses of the people.

In order to fulfil this task which in revolutionary times and on account of the terrible war experiences of the people can be fulfilled in a much shorter time than usual, an ideological and organisational independence of the party of the revolutionary proletariat is necessary. This party must remain true to its internationalism and must not be taken in by the deceptive phrases of the bourgeoisie concerning the "defence of the fatherland" in the present imperialist robber war.

Not only this government but even a democratic-bourgeois-republican government, if it consisted only of Kerensky and other friends of the people and "Marxist" social patriots, would not be able to free the people from imperialist war and to guarantee peace.

For this reason we can agree to no bloc, to no alliance and not even to an understanding, with the "defenders of the Fatherland" nor with the Gvosdev-Potresov-Tchenkeli-Kerensky group, nor with the people who, like Tcheidze, etc. adopt a vacillating and indeterminate attitude in these basic questions. To do so would be not merely to implant a lie into the consciousness of the masses and to make them dependent upon the imperialist bourgeoisie of Russia, but would also weaken the masses and undermine the leading role of the proletariat in the struggle for the salvation of the people from imperialist wars, and for the securing of a really permanent peace between the workers' governments of all countries.

## Letters from Afar.

By N. Lenin.

With this issue we commence the publication of the "Letters from Afar" which Comrade Lenin wrote immediately after the outbreak of the Revolution while he was still in Zürich. Ed.

### I.

#### The First Stage of the First Revolution.

Zürich, 20th March 1927.

The first revolution, the product of the imperialist war, has broken out. This first revolution will certainly not be the last.

According to the scanty news at the disposal of the writer of these lines in Switzerland, the first stage of the first revolution, that is the Russian revolution of the 1st March 1917, has been concluded. This first stage will certainly not be the last stage of our revolution.

How did the "miracle" come about that in eight short days — the briefness of this time is stressed by Miliukov in his boastful despatches to the representatives of Russia in all other countries — the monarchy which had persisted for centuries and held its position in face of the three years of class struggle from 1905 to 1907, suddenly went to pieces?

There are no miracles either in nature or in history, but every sudden turn of history and every revolution is so manifold and produces such unexpected and oftentimes peculiar combinations in the relation of forces of the combatants, that these things seem miracles to the ordinary limited intelligence of the man in the street.

Combinations of a whole series of circumstances of world historical importance were necessary in order to cause the Tsarist monarchy to collapse in a few days. Let us recall the most important of them.

Without the three years of the bitterest class struggle and the revolutionary energy of the Russian proletariat in the years from 1905 to 1907, such a quick second revolution, in the sense of the completion of its first stage in a few days, would have been impossible. The first revolution (1905) loosened the ground, tore up century-old prejudices, awoke millions of workers and millions of peasants to political life and political struggle and showed all classes (and all the important parties)

of Russian society to themselves and to the whole world in their true guise, in the true relation of their interests, their forces, their methods of work and their immediate and final aims. The first revolution and the counter-revolutionary epoch (1907 to 1914) which followed upon its heels, exposed the real nature of the Tsarist monarchy, forced it to extremes and exposed its whole rottenness and meanness, the absolute cynicism and degeneration of the Romanov family and its minions with the infamous Rasputin at their head — these heroes of the pogroms which drenched the soil of Russia with the blood of Jews, workers and revolutionaries — these "first amongst equals" amongst the landowners who owned millions of acres of land who were prepared to commit any brutal excesses, every crime and every form of plundering and strangling of any number of Russian citizens in order to retain for themselves and their class the "sacred privileges of private property".

Without the revolution of 1905 to 1907 and without the counter-revolution from 1907 to 1914, such an exact "self-determination" of all classes would have been impossible as also the mutual relations of these classes to each other and to the Tsarist monarchy as they showed themselves in the eight days of the February-March revolution 1917. This eight day revolution was, to speak figuratively, "performed" after a dozen full-dress rehearsals; the "actors" knew each other, knew their roles, their parts and their environment thoroughly from top to bottom, up to the last shade of political tendencies and political method.

But when the first great revolution of 1905 (which was condemned by Gutchkov and Miljukov and their friends as a "great putch") led after twelve years to the "splendid" "glorious revolution" of 1917 (which was called "glorious" by Gutchkov and Miljukov because it gave them for the moment power) this was because a great and all-powerful "stage manager" existed who was able on the one hand to accelerate the course of world history to a tremendous extent and on the other hand to produce a world crisis of tremendous power, economic, political, national and international crises. Apart from this unusual acceleration of world history, particularly sudden turns in the course of history were necessary in order that at one of these turns the blood-strained and mud-splashed carriage of the Romanov monarchy should overturn at one blow.

This all-powerful "stage-manager", this tremendous accelerator was the imperialist world war.

Now there is no longer any doubt that the war is a world war, for the United States and China are to day half involved and to-morrow they will be completely involved in the war.

It is already now beyond all doubt that the war is an imperialist war, on both sides. Only the capitalists and their lackeys, the social patriots and social chauvinists can deny or attempt to dispute this fact.

Both the German and the Anglo-French bourgeoisie are carrying on the war with a view to plundering foreign countries, throttling small nationalities, obtaining financial dominance of the world, dividing and redividing the colonies and saving the declining capitalist regime by fooling and dividing the workers of the various countries.

The imperialist war was bound, with objective inevitability to intensify the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and develop into the civil war between the hostile classes.

This transformation has already begun through the February-March revolution of 1917, the first stage of which has produced a joint blow against Tsarism delivered by two powers: all bourgeois and landowning Russia with all its unconscious supporters and all its conscious directing accomplices in the form of the Anglo-French ambassadors and capitalists, on the one hand and the Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies on the other hand.

These three political camps, the three political basic forces: 1. the Tsarist monarchy, the head of the feudal large landowners, the head of the old official and military apparatus; 2. the bourgeois landowning Octobrist Cadet Russia with the petty bourgeoisie bringing up the rear; 3. the Soviet of Workers' and soldiers' deputies which is seeking allies in the masses of the poorest population — these three political basic forces showed themselves with absolute clearness in the eight days of the "first stage", even for an observer far away from the actual events themselves, like the writer of these lines who is compelled to content himself with the short telegrams of foreign newspapers.

Before I deal with the matter in greater detail, I must return to that section of my letter which is devoted to a factor of first class importance, namely the imperialist war.

The war has bound the belligerent powers, the belligerent groups of capitalists, the "lords" of the capitalist regime, the slave-owners of this capitalist slavery to each other with chains of iron. One single bloody confusion — that is the social and political life of the historical moment in which we are now living.

The socialists who at the beginning of the war went over to the bourgeoisie, the Davids and Scheidemann in Germany, Plechanov, Potresov, Gvosdev and company in Russia, howl with the full force of their lungs against the "illusions" of the revolutionaries, against the "illusions" of the Basel Manifesto, against the "farce" of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. They praise in all keys the force allegedly evinced by capitalism, its vital capacity and its capacity to adapt itself — they who assisted the capitalists to "adapt", to tame, to fool and to divide the working classes of the various countries!

But "he who laughs last laughs the longest". The bourgeoisie did not succeed for long in postponing the revolutionary crisis produced by the war. The crisis is growing with irresistible force in all countries, beginning with Germany which, according to the expression of an observer who was there a little while ago, is experiencing an "ingeniously organised famine" and going on to Great Britain and France where hunger is also approaching and where the organisation is much less "ingenious".

It is natural that the revolutionary crisis broke out first of all in Tsarist Russia, where the disorganisation was the most intense and where the proletariat was the most revolutionary (not thanks to any special characteristics of its own, but in consequence of the living traditions of 1905). This crisis was accelerated by a number of severe defeats imposed upon Russia and its Allies. The defeats caused the whole mechanism of the old government and the old regime to totter, embittered all classes of the population against the old regime, stirred up the army, destroyed the old commanding staff with its bureaucratic, aristocratic rottenness to a tremendous extent and replaced it with young fresh elements mostly from the bourgeoisie, the middle class and the petty bourgeoisie.

The military defeats played the role of a negative factor speeding up the outbreak, but the connections between Anglo-French finance capitalism, Anglo-French imperialism and the Octobrist Cadet capitalism of Russia played the positive factor accelerating this crisis.

This extremely important side of the question is, for understandable reasons, concealed in the Anglo-French press and stressed in the German press with malicious joy. We Marxists must look the truth soberly in the face without permitting ourselves to be deceived by lies, by the official pleasant diplomatic lies of the diplomats and ministers of the first belligerent group of imperialists or by the whispers and hints of their financial and military rivals, the other belligerent group. The first course of events in the February-March revolution showed clearly that the British and French Embassies, with their agents and "connections" which have long made desperate efforts to counter the "separate" agreements and the separate peace made by Nicholas II. (let us hope and see to it that he is the last) with William II, were striving directly to force the abdication of Nicholas Romanov.

Let us have no illusions about the matter. The revolution was speedily victorious and outwardly and at the first superficial glance so "radically" victorious, simply because an extraordinarily peculiar historical situation brought absolutely different tendencies, absolutely different class interests and absolutely opposed political and social tendencies together and forged them into a peculiarly "harmonious" whole. On the one hand there was the conspiracy of the Anglo-French imperialists, to spur on Miljukov, Gutchkov and their friends to seize power in the interests of a prolongation of the war, to pursue the war still more obstinately and still more furiously than before, and to slaughter new millions of Russian workers and peasants in order that Gutchkov should obtain Constantinople, the French capitalists Syria and the British capitalists Mesopotamia. This on the one hand, and on the other a profound proletarian and people's mass movement (of the poorest population in town and country) of a revolutionary character for bread, peace and real freedom.

The revolutionary workers and soldiers have completely destroyed the vile Tsarist monarchy without any enthusiasm or

illusions about the fact that for a moment rare in history they were assisted by the struggle of Buchanan, Gutchkov, Miljukov and company to replace one monarch by another.

That was the real situation and no other. This is the only way for a politician to think who is not afraid of the truth, who soberly compares the relations of social forces in the revolution, who judges each given situation not only from the standpoint of its present given originality, but also from the standpoint of the deeper driving forces, the deeper relations of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie both in Russia and in the whole world.

The workers and soldiers in Petrograd and the workers and soldiers in the whole of Russia unselfishly fought the Tsarist monarchy to obtain peace, freedom, the land for the peasantry, and to oppose the imperialist slaughter. In order to prolong and increase this slaughter Anglo-French imperialist capitalism pursued court intrigues, instigated a conspiracy, incited and encouraged Gutchkov and Miljukov and prepared a new, cut and dried government which captured power after the first blows of the proletarian struggle against Tsarism.

This government is a fortuitous assemblage of persons. They are representatives of the new class which has risen to political power in Russia, the class of the capitalist landowners and the bourgeoisie which has ruled our land economically for a long time past and which organised itself politically extremely quickly both during the revolution of 1905—1907 and during the counter-revolution 1914—1917, and which has in its hands the local self-administration, people's education, congresses of various sorts, the Duma, the war industry committees, etc. Even before 1917 this new class was "almost completely" at the helm, and for this reason the first blows against Tsarism were sufficient to overthrow it and to make the way clear for the bourgeoisie. The imperialist war which demanded such a tremendous expenditure of energy, has so accelerated the development of backward Russia that "with one blow" (in reality, however, only apparently with one blow) we have overtaken Italy and Great Britain and almost overtaken France by obtaining a "coalition government", a "national" "parliamentary" government, that is to say a government prepared with a view to misleading the people and continuing the imperialist war.

Side by side with this government which from the standpoint of the present war is actually nothing but the servant of the powers that be in Great Britain and France, a new unofficial, still undeveloped and comparatively weak workers' government has grown up representing the interests of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the population in town and country. That is the Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies in Petrograd.

That is the real political situation which we must place on record with the greatest possible objective accuracy in order to build up a Marxist tactic upon the only firm basis, namely the basis of facts.

The Tsarist monarchy is defeated but not destroyed.

The Octobrist Cadet bourgeois government which wishes to pursue the imperialist war "to the bitter end", is in reality nothing but the servant of the financiers of Great Britain and France and is compelled to promise the people a maximum of freedom and aims so arranged to permit this government to maintain its dominance over the people and to retain the possibility of prolonging the war.

The Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies, the embryonic form of the workers' government, represents the interests of the poorest masses of the population, that is to say of nine tenths of the population which is striving for freedom, peace and bread.

The struggle of these three forces determines the situation which has now been produced and which represents a transition period from the first to the second stage of the revolution.

For a real struggle against the Tsarist monarchy, for a real guarantee of peace, not merely in words, not merely in the promises of the liberal phrasemongers, it is necessary, not that the workers support the new government but that the government "supports" the workers! For the only guarantee for freedom and the complete destruction of Tsarism is the arming of the proletariat and the consolidation and extension of the role, the significance and the power of the Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies.

Everything other than this is lies and deception, is the self-deception of the politicians in the liberal and radical camp.

Assist in the arming of the workers, or at least do not prevent it, and the freedom of Russia will be unconquerable, the monarchy irretrievably lost and the republic guaranteed.

Otherwise the people will be deceived. Promises cost nothing, promises are cheap. All bourgeois politicians in all bourgeois revolutions have fed and fooled the people with promises.

Our revolution is a bourgeois one, therefore the workers must support the bourgeoisie, say the worthless politicians from the camp of the liquidators.

Our revolution is a bourgeois one, say we Marxists also, therefore the workers must open the eyes of the people to the deception of the bourgeois politicians, must teach the people not to trust to promises, but to rely only upon their own forces, their own organisation and their own arms.

The government of the Octobrists and Cadets, of Gutchkov and Milyukov, cannot give peace, bread and freedom, even if it honestly wanted to.

It cannot give peace because it is a government of war, a government for the prolongation of the imperialist slaughter, a government of annexation which has not dissociated itself with a single word from the Tsarist policy of the annexation of Armenia, Galicia and Turkey, the conquest of Constantinople, the reconquest of Poland, Courland, Lithuania etc. This government is bound hand and foot by Anglo-French capitalism. Russian capitalism is only a branch of the world firm with a turn-over of hundreds of milliards of roubles bearing the name "Great Britain and France".

This government cannot give bread because it is a bourgeois government. In the best case it will give the people, as in Germany, an "ingeniously organised famine". But the people will not stand the famine. The people will learn, and probably very quickly, that there is bread to be had, but only through measures ignoring the sacredness of the private property of the large landowners.

The government cannot give freedom because it is a government of landowners and capitalists which fears the people.

We will speak of the tactical tasks of our immediate attitude towards this government in another article. In this next article we will show the peculiarity of the present moment, the period of transition from the first to the second stage of the revolution, why the slogan, "the task of the day" in this moment must be: **Workers, you have achieved wonders of proletarian and people's heroism in the civil war against Tsarism; you must now achieve wonders of proletarian and people's organisation in order to prepare for victory in the second stage of the revolution.**

We are limiting ourselves now to an analysis of the class struggle and the relation of class forces in this stage of the revolution and must raise the question once again: Who are the allies of the proletariat in this revolution?

It has two allies: First of all the broad millions and millions, the overwhelming majority of the population, the mass of the half-proletarian and poor peasant population of Russia. These masses need peace, bread, freedom and land. These masses will inevitably be influenced to a certain extent by the bourgeoisie, in particular the petty bourgeoisie to whose conditions of life they best fit. These masses will vacillate between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The hard lessons of the war which will be all the harder according to the energy with which Gutchkov, Lvov, Milyukov and their friends pursue the war, must inevitably drive these masses to the proletariat and force them to follow it. Utilising the freedom of the new regime and the Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies, we must do everything possible to enlighten and to organise these masses. Soviets of peasant deputies, Soviets of land workers, these are amongst our most urgent tasks. Our efforts must not only be directed to forming Soviets for the land workers, but we must see to it that the propertyless and poor peasants organise themselves apart from the well-to-do peasants. The latter which is to follow will deal with the special tasks and the special forms of the organisations which are now necessary.

Secondly, the ally of the Russian proletariat is the proletariat of all belligerent countries, and indeed all countries whatsoever. At the present moment the proletariat is held down to a great extent by the war, and social chauvinists in Europa, like Plechanov, Gvosdev and Potressov in Russia, who have gone over to the bourgeoisie, speak all too often in its name. But the libe-

ration of the proletariat from their influence is progressing with every month of the imperialist war. The Russian revolution will inevitably accelerate this process to a tremendous extent.

With these two allies the proletariat of Russia can and will, by utilising the peculiarities of the present transition period, go on first of all to the conquest of the democratic republic and the complete victory of the peasantry over the landowners, and then on to socialism which is alone able to bring the peoples, tortured by the war, peace, bread and freedom.

## Chronicle of Events.

March 15th.

Kornilov is nominated Commander in Chief of the Petrograd military command. At the same time, the Duma Committee issues an order in which it demands the restoration of peace and order.

With the consent of the Petrograd Conference of the S. R., Kerensky joins the Government of Prince Lvov as Minister of Justice. The Conference justifies this step by the necessity of exercising control over the activities of the Government in the interest of the masses of workers.

In Petrograd and the provinces numerous People's Assemblies take place. The chief interest of those taking part is directed towards the question of power and the fate of the dynasty.

An appeal of the Vyborg Urban District Committee of the Bolsheviks suggests to the People's Assemblies that they should pass resolutions to the following: 1. Until the Constituent Assembly is summoned, the whole power shall be in the hands of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils as being the only revolutionary Government. 2. The army and the population should carry through no regulations except those of the Soviets and should regard those of the Duma Committee as invalid. 3. The officials and officers of the old regime must be rendered innocuous and removed from the administration; the same applies to all organisations and persons who are not in solidarity with the Soviets. 4. The Soviets must see to it that the Constituent Assembly is summoned, which will solve the questions of the new order of State and the termination of the war. 5. The Workers' and Peasants' Council is commissioned to send a greeting to the German revolutionary proletariat which has taken up the fight against its Government.

At 3 p. m., Nicholas II. resigns the throne in favour of his son Alexander. Until his majority, the regency shall be in the hands of Grand-Duke Michael. Nicholas reconsiders the matter however; in the evening he withdraws his first resolution, as he "cannot separate from his son", and resigns the throne, not in favour of his son but of his brother.

In Moscow the people's militia has been formed.

Psokov, Orel, Jekaterinoslav, Pensa, Kasan and other towns join the revolution.

In Kiev, the Ukrainian National "Rada" is founded.

March 16th.

Gutchkov, the War Minister, informs the workers of the Petrograd railway workshops of Nicholas' abdication in favour of Michael and concluded the speech with the words: Long live Tsar Michael! He is immediately arrested by the workers who threaten to shoot him. It is only with great difficulty that a company of the military, camping in the neighbourhood is able to rescue him.

In view of the rebellious attitude of the workers, Michael also declines the throne.

The Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet resolves to take measures for the arrest of the family of the Tsar.

The Petrograd Committee of the Bolsheviks resolves not to offer any resistance to the Provisional Government as long as the actions serve the interests of the proletariat and of the broad, Democratic masses of the people, and to declare a relentless fight against any attempt at restoration on the part of the Provisional Government.