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## The Military Position of the Wuhan Government.

By Tang Shin She.

After the treachery of Chiang Kai-Shek, the Wuhan and the Feng Yu Hsiang troops in Honan endeavoured to unite in order to capture Peking as quickly as possible, and from there to drive Chang Tso-Lin out of Shainghaikwan and to march from the Lunghai railway on Shanghai and Nanking in order to liquidate Chiang Kai-Shek's troops. Tang Sheng-chi began to advance victoriously northwards from Wuchengkwan towards the Honkow-Peking line, while Feng Yu Hsiang advanced from Tongkwan eastward towards the Lunghai line. Within less than a month both of these generals had made great progress, although Wu Pei-fu and Chang Tso-Lin have concentrated their forces in these regions. The Tang Sheng-chi army drove a strong force of Wu Pei-fu's troops out of Changsha, in the neighbourhood of Chenchow, the railway junction of the Hankow-Peking-Lunghai line. Feng Yu Hsiang has captured the important strategic town of Loyang and also the big arsenal of Kungseung; he has driven the Wu Pei-fu troops from this front and is confronting the

Chang Tso-Lin bandits at Chengchow. According to the latest reports, the 11th and 17th Mukden armies have already been completely defeated, which means that Chengchow will shortly fall into the hands of Feng Yu-Hsiang.

In addition to their advance into Honan the Feng Yu-Hsiang armies are marching from South Chüüan on Kalgan and from Shansi on Chili. This plan of operations constitutes a serious menace to Peking. The British imperialists, who feel themselves to be threatened thereby, have again seized Wu Pei-fu, who had long since gone to sleep, under the arms and are pushing him to the front.

According to the latest reports of English papers. Wu Pei-fu is in Nanyang (South Honan, far removed from any railway line). Whilst Wu Pei-fu's army, already at the end of last year, had suffered a complete collapse owing to lack of finances, the "Manchester Guardian" now reports that he has sufficient financial means at his disposal. As he possesses neither a port nor a

trading centre and has not made any captures, one can easily guess from what source he has obtained the "sufficient financial means". The British know quite well that Chiang Kai-Shek is not their friend, but the friend of their enemies, the Japanese and the French, who are aiming at weakening considerably British influence in Shanghai. After the treachery of Chiang Kai-Shek to the Wuhan government, the English, in spite of the fact that their newspapers hailed this treachery with glee, did not permit any help to come to him, but on the contrary supported Chang Tsung-Chang and Sun Chuan Fang against him. The Chang Tsung-Chang fleet is undertaking a persistent and fierce attack on Shanghai. When Chiang Kai-Shek had recently recaptured Pukow (opposite Nanking) from Chang Tsung Chang and thereupon wished to advance further along the Pukow-Tientsin railway line, the British naval command refused to allow him the use of rolling stock, on the ground that the Tientsin-Pukow railway line was built with English capital and it could not permit the risk of it being damaged. The reconciliation with Sun Chuan Fang so eagerly desired by Chiang Kai-Shek did not come about, owing to it having been prevented by the English. The credit promised by the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce to Chiang Kai-Shek after his treachery was finally not granted to him, so that he was constrained to arrest the President of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, who is a tool of the English. Quite apart from Chiang Kai-Shek, the English do not place unbounded confidence in Chang Tso-lin because, at bottom, he and his clique are still friendly to Japan. For this reason the English are again more and more supporting their own old lackeys, Sun Chuang Fang and Wu Pei-fu, who are proceeding in North Kiangsu against Nanking and in South Honan against Hankow.

Wu Pei-fu, with his old title of Marshall and with sufficient new English money is now again organising his old nominal supporters (his actual supporters have partly been annihilated and partly gone over to the Kuomin and the Chang Tso-lin armies). The well-known vacillating Szechwan General, Yang Sen, supplied with English money by Wu Pei-fu, is marching from South Szechwan to Hupe. According to English reports, he has already captured Ichang and Saze in West Hupe and is now seriously threatening Hankow. According to further English reports, General Sia-Do Yin, a former nominal adherent of Wu Pei-fu, is attacking the town of Huangschou in the neighbourhood of Hankow. In addition to this the troops of Liu Tso-Lung, who at one time went over from Wu Pei-fu to the Kuomin armies, are reported to be concentrating on the race ground in the neighbourhood of Hankow against the Wuhan government. According to these reports, therefore, Wuhan stands in great danger; in fact according to a report from alleged American sources via London, Hankow had already fallen on the 20th of this month. On the other hand the English newspapers report that Communist troops from South Honan have advanced to Wuhan in order to protect the town, and that the garrison troops in Wuhan have been reinforced by the labour guards. Of all these reports the only one which has been confirmed is that General Yang Sen has again deserted Wuhan and is attacking the revolutionary government and that Hunan troops are proceeding from the West of the province to West Hupe in order to fight against Yang Sen. Sia Do-yin, it is true, has deserted the Wuhan government, but the government troops could render him harmless at any moment. It must be stated that Wuhan has always been occupied by reliable revolutionary troops and that the strong Wuhan labour guard is equipped with modern weapons.

"In Nanking and Peking everything is in splendid order, in Wuhan everything is bad", that is the present refrain of the imperialist press regarding the revolutionary movement. As a matter of fact, Peking, as we have already seen, is seriously threatened by the Chinese revolutionary troops. Nanking and Shanghai the main supports of Chiang Kai-Shek, are equally threatened by Chang Tsung Chang and Sun Chuang Fang. Although the imperialist press are compelled to publish reports of these facts, they try to represent the matter as being of no consequence. When however Yang Sen is still several hundred kilometres distant from Wuhan, the imperialists report that Wuhan is already surrounded. Even in the German press, especially in the "Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung", which is closely connected with the English "Times", the alleged Chinese experts have nothing more interesting to serve up to their readers than constant indications of the breakdown of Wuhan. Even if we assume that Hankow is actually occupied by hostile troops, this does not mean in the least that we must give up the political town of Wuhan and the

arsenal of Hanyang. We only need to remember that in the revolution of 1911 the Tuan She-Sui troops recaptured Hankow from the revolutionaries, but after two months obstinate siege they were unable to enter Wuchang and Hanyang and even had to give up Hankow again.

The imperialists have not issued any report whatever regarding the victories of the revolutionary troops in North China. The Wuhan government has still firmly in its hands: Hunan, Hupe, Kiangsi, Knasu, Shensi, Shansi, and the greater part of Honan. It is just these seven provinces that constitute the core of China, and extend from South to North up to Mongolia, over the broad Yangtze and Hoangho rivers. These are the most fertile and the most densely populated provinces. The best and most important railway systems are on this territory. In addition to this, there is the fact that in the provinces of Hunan, Kiangsi, Hupe and Honan the peasant movement is tremendously strong. They alone will protect their red Wuhan government.

## POLITICS

### The Protest Note of the Soviet Government on the Arcos Raid.

In the introduction the Note resolutely confirms and upholds the protest of the Russian trade representative in London, Rosenholz, against the violation of the trade agreement of 1921 which has been committed by the raid of the English police on the premises of the Soviet trade delegation in London as well as by the searching and removal of documents of the delegation — including cyphers and codes — from the premises, and against the violent behaviour of the police agents during the raid. The Note considers it necessary to call the attention of the government of Great Britain to the following:

When the Soviet government, immediately after the ending of intervention and raising of the blockade against the Soviet Union, was proceeding to establish economic relations with Great Britain and other Western States, it considered that if great importance is attached to the preservation of commercial secrets among private trading firms, the government organs connected with the State foreign trade monopoly must seek to secure in the most express form the complete preservation of the immunity of the State documents, instructions, circulars etc. sent by them abroad, as they concentrate in their hands the entire import and export activity of the whole State and carry out these operations in accordance with the previously laid down State plans and preconditions. For this reason the Soviet government, in its negotiations for the conclusion of commercial treaties, put forward with special emphasis the demand that its commercial agencies abroad shall be assured complete immunity and inviolability, and at the same time took into consideration that hostile atmosphere in which the commercial agents of the first Soviet State will have to work in capitalist countries and that extraordinary attention which can be accorded them on the part of the reactionary police circles of these countries.

The principle of the immunity of the trade delegations and representatives of the Soviet Union has now been recognized by nearly all the countries with which the Soviet Government has treaty relations. No objections were raised against this principle by the British Government, in the person of Sir Robert Horne, then President of the Board of Trade, who, in 1921, carried on negotiations with the late Krassin. This principle was embodied in the fifth article of the Soviet-British Trade Agreement of 1921, which has now been violated by the British authorities in the grossest and most insulting manner.

A police raid on an English trading company, with good references in British circles, with an annual turnover of tens of millions sterling, which has accurately fulfilled its obligations, is altogether unprecedented in the history of the City of London. The raid could only be actuated by the motive of causing detriment to the Soviet interests connected with the activities of Arcos by compromising the latter and creating around it

an atmosphere of want of confidence and hostility. From this point of view the Soviet Government feels that it has a right to protest against the raid on Arcos.

However, if in regard to Arcos the British authorities, ignoring the most elementary demands of correctness, commercial usages, and even reasonableness, can refer to their formal right, there cannot exist the least doubt that the violent irruption of the police into the premises of the Trade Delegation and the acts they committed there also are a flagrant violation of the Agreement of 1921. If, according to the fifth article of this Agreement, the official agent of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is granted the right to use cipher correspondence, then it follows without the least doubt that this correspondence and the ciphers themselves can in no event be examined by agents of another State nor by any foreigners without the sanction of the head of the Soviet Delegation. If, according to the same article, the official agent of the Soviet Union is granted the right, on the ground of his diplomatic immunity, to receive sealed packets by special couriers, then the immunity of the contents of these packets is obvious to everybody.

Nevertheless, police agents, having forced their way into the premises of the Trade Delegation and the personal bureau of Khinchuk, an official agent enjoying diplomatic immunity, allowed themselves to examine and take away without discrimination all papers found there, including ciphered correspondence, codes, and papers received by the diplomatic mail, etc. At the same time, officials of the cipher department of the Trade Delegation, Miller and Hudiskoff, who were fulfilling their duty, protested against the illegal demands of the police, and were subjected to acts of violence and even beaten, while the wife of the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the Union of Soviet and Socialist Republics, who was on the premises and has a diplomatic passport, was detained with violence and searched.

No less significant is the political aspect of the above described measures of the British Government. The absolutely uncalled-for police raid on a Government institution of another State, apart from the question of treaty rights belonging to it, is itself a most serious hostile act, without doubt jeopardizing the further preservation of relations between the interested States, with all the ensuing consequences. The fact that the Trade Delegation by its activity gave no justification for such a raid can be proved by the circumstance that on the part of the British Government there was not a single instance of representations or complaint about this activity. The police authorities themselves who undertook the raid apparently did not expect to find on the premises of the Trade Delegation any documents throwing the least shadow on the Delegation's activity, or capable of serving as a basis for accusing it of illegal actions. Otherwise they would have taken good care to make the search in such conditions as would be a guarantee against the abuses possible in such cases, and a guarantee of faith in the results of the search. By refusing the representatives of the Trade Delegation the right to be present during the search and to certify the authenticity of the documents taken away by drawing up a proper list and protocol, the police authority deprived the search of any formal significance.

The British Government certainly has cognizance of the Soviet Government's Note referring to the police raid recently made in the same manner and in analogous circumstances in China. To provide the search with even the most elementary legal guarantees was in the circumstances most necessary, in view of the ominous rôle already once played in the relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain by a forged document.

It is impossible not to recall to-day the Note of February 23, in which Sir Austen Chamberlain, referring to the tension in the relations between the Soviet Union and Great Britain sought reasons for this tension in the conduct of the Soviet Press and of certain Soviet statesmen and public leaders. Actually the police raid on the premises of the Soviet Trade Delegation and the motives underlying this action clearly show in which direction should be sought the true reasons for the unsatisfactory Soviet-British relations. Against the unfounded, absolutely unconfirmed by any proofs, although often repeated accusations against the Soviet Government of the non-observance of obligations undertaken and the violation of the rules of international relations, the Soviet Government can produce

absolutely unquestionable proof of violation by the British Government of the Soviet-British Agreement of 1921, and of the most offensive handling of persons enjoying the right of diplomatic immunity, while the requirements of international law and recognized international usages were totally ignored.

The actions of the government of Great Britain prove that not only is the British government not disturbed by the tension in Anglo-Soviet relations which it complains of in its Note of 23rd February, but that it is apparently striving to bring this tension as soon as possible to the culminating point. These actions are in obvious contradiction with the frequent declarations of the government of Great Britain as to its efforts to maintain peace and to improve the economic relations of Europe. These actions, which synchronise with the world economic Conference, which was called by the League of Nations, of which Great Britain is the leading member, in order to promote and strengthen international economic relations and to remove all unnecessary hindrances and obstacles from the path of economic co-operation of the peoples, show to the whole world where the really destructive forces which are working to increase the economic chaos and anarchy of Europe are to be found.

Putting above all the interests of peace, and desiring to ensure peaceful conditions for internal construction within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Soviet Government has patiently suffered for a long time a series of gross attacks and provocatory acts from individual members of the British Government and the Government itself. The Soviet Government has repeatedly declared its willingness to do everything in its power, within the limits of normal relations and negotiations on equal terms, for the adjustment of all misunderstandings on pending questions between both Governments. With this object it did not discontinue trade relations with Great Britain, trying to enlarge them as British business circles went half-way to meet the Soviet Government, and inasmuch as the British Government did not prevent such action. It noted with satisfaction the growing interest noticeable lately in the Soviet market on the part of the City of London and the growing confidence in Soviet economic organizations shown by London banks, as testified by the agreement regarding a credit of £ 10,000,000 recently concluded with one of these banks just before the raid.

However, the absolutely unprecedented and unrestrained hostile campaign of hate which culminated in the raid on the premises of the Trade Delegation and which also lately was meeting with growing encouragement by members of the British Government, compels the Soviet Government with all earnestness and frankness demanded by the alarming situation created, to put the question to the British Government whether it desires the further preservation and development of Anglo-Soviet trade relations or whether it intends in the future to hamper them.

For its part the Soviet Government categorically declares that the conduct of trade relations is possible only on conditions of the strict observance by the British Government of the Trade Agreement and of the guaranteeing to the economic organs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the possibility of uninterrupted, quiet, and normal work.

The Soviet Government equally resolutely declares that while realizing its self-appointed tasks of internal development according to a definite economic plan, and while co-ordinating with this plan its operations in foreign trade, it cannot countenance that the conduct of these operations shall be made dependent upon casual party combinations in England, electioneering manoeuvres, or the fantastical ideas of this or that Minister.

The Soviet Government feels it has the right to demand from the British Government a clear and unequivocal reply from which it may be possible to draw due conclusions. At the same time it reserves the right to present demands for satisfaction for the violation by the British Government of its treaty obligations, for insults suffered, and for material losses caused by the action of the police.

Requesting you, Sir, to bring the above to the cognizance of the British Government, I beg you to accept the assurance, etc.

(Signed) Litvinoff.

# CHINA

## The International Workers Delegation at Work.

(From Canton to Hankow.)

The International Workers Delegation, consisting of Tom Mann (England), Jaques Doriot (France) and Earl Browder (U. S. A.), left Canton on March 6th after weeks of intensive work and studies there.

Huge masses of workers and peasants saw the Delegation off at the Canton Railway station. The departure of the train was held up for hours by the spontaneous mass meeting which had to be organised on and about the railway station. The special delegation train stopped at every station on the entire line between Canton and Shiuchow. At every station enthusiastic masses and trade union and peasants' representatives greeted the Delegation and meetings were held.

At Shiuchow the International Workers Delegation addressed meetings of the Railwaymen's and Seamen's Unions. On March seventh a mass meeting was held on an open field, where many thousands of workers, peasants, soldiers, students, merchants, women and young pioneers gathered to greet the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the West. A banner was presented to the Delegation, with the following characteristic inscription: "let us fight together against our common enemy" . . . A special meeting was held at the political school of the revolutionary army at Shiuchow. On March eighth, Women's Day, the international delegates addressed a special meeting of several hundred women.

From Shiuchow the International Workers Delegation continued their voyage to Nanchang by river boats and partly on foot. They stopped and held meetings at Kiukow, Nanshung (Namyung), Nanang, Nankan, Konchow, Liangkow, Kianfu and Changchu. At every one of these places the Delegation came into direct contact with the masses of workers and peasants, in mass meetings and at special meetings of the various trade and peasants unions, the nationalist revolutionary army, the women's and students' organisations etc. The Delegation was thus enabled to gather valuable first hand information on the political, economic and social status of the workers and peasants.

The International Workers Delegation were deeply impressed by the actuality of the peasant question in China. From everywhere they received crying reports of untold misery and exploitation of the peasantry by the landowners and the gentry. In no case reported to the Delegation was the rent paid by the peasants to the landlords less than fifty per cent of the harvest. From everywhere came complaints against the unparalleled usurious rates of interest squeezed out of the peasantry by the moneylenders from whom the impoverished peasants are compelled to make loans.

However, the relieving feature of the present situation is the fact that the peasant masses are everywhere organising in strong peasant unions. This they are doing with the active aid and support of the Kuomintang and the nationalist revolutionary forces.

The International Workers Delegation were everywhere received most enthusiastically by the masses of peasants and workers and by the various organisations and authorities. The following fact may serve as an illustration of the attitude of these masses and their organisations towards the delegation: In several places the delegation received petitions from trade union and peasant organisations asking for advice on internal organisational problems and difficulties. The formula most often employed by the trade union and peasants' representatives to characterise the International Workers Delegation at mass meetings and various gatherings was: "The leaders of the vanguard of the world proletariat". The Delegation was regarded as the living symbol of the militant alliance of the revolutionary proletariat in the imperialist and capitalist countries with the Chinese people. The very presence of the Delegation broke the feeling of isolation from the outside world.

As the voyage of the International Workers Delegation progressed the feeling and finally the conviction of the Delegation became stronger and deeper that there is a definite differentiation of the motive forces going on in the national revolutionary front. The two really steady and unvacillating social forces of the Chinese Revolution are the workers and peasants. It is the

profoundest conviction of the International Workers Delegation, that the Nationalist Government and the Kuomintang Party are determined to crush feudalism and reaction and that they are pursuing a definite prolabor and propeasant policy. This is also the best guarantee for the final success of the Chinese Revolution.

On March 25th the Delegation reached Nanchang where it learned of the capture of Nanking and Shanghai by the Nationalist troops. Two days later a splendid meeting was held with the soldiers and commanding staff of the Seventh Division of the Third Army. The speeches of the Delegation were received with acclamation. The Delegation were deeply impressed by the fact that the Seventh Division which garrisons Nanchang was wholeheartedly and to the last man supporting the labour and peasants' movements. On March 27th a joint mass meeting was organised by the Trade Unions, Peasant Union and the Seventh Division of the Third Army. Despite the circumstance that the city was at the time under martial law ten thousand workers, peasants, soldiers, women and students gathered on an open field to greet and to be greeted by the Delegation. A special meeting was held later at the headquarters of the Nanchang General Trade Union. It can be said with certainty that the masses are solidly behind the Nationalist Government and the Central Kuomintang.

Kiukiang was the next city en route. The Delegation arrived there on March 28th and visited the former British Concession which was transferred to Chinese administration but two weeks previously.

It was at Kiukiang that the International Workers Delegation was first struck by the sight of dozens of British, Japanese and American gunboats flanking the riverside of the city and lending to the Yangtsekiang a morose and sinister look. The delegation's stay at Kiukiang being very short they were able to address but one meeting, namely that of the Railwaymen's Union.

From Kiukiang the Delegation proceeded by steamer directly to Hankow where they arrived on March 30th, and were met by representatives of the All-China Labour Federation and of the various organisations.

### Highest Political Body of Revolutionary China Receives and hears International Workers Delegation.

On April 2nd, the International Workers Delegation was received by the Enlarged Political Council of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee, at its session.

The session was opened by Mr. Hsu Chien, Minister of Justice in the Nationalist Government. Mr. Hsu Chien in his opening address recalled how Dr. Sun Yat Sen had clearly seen and understood the necessity for a revolutionary alliance with the revolutionary proletariat of the West. Dr. Sun had also clearly understood that the Chinese Revolution was an integral part of the World Revolution. Greeting the Delegation in warm and expressive words, the speaker concluded by saying that at this critical period and in spite of all difficulties and obstacles revolutionary China will continue its struggle for liberation to the end.

Just before the international delegates were given the floor, the Council was addressed by Mrs. Ho Shang-nee, the widow of the great revolutionary disciple of Dr. Sun, — Liao Chung Kai. She sketched briefly the early activities of Dr. Sun Yat Sen in the beginning of this century. She greeted the International Workers Delegation whose presence recalled to her mind those years when the revolutionary party was in its formation under the able guidance of the great revolutionary leader Sun.

Comrade Jaques Doriot then addressed the Political Council, greeting it in the name of the revolutionary proletariat of France and expressing the complete and unreserved solidarity of the millions of workers he represents with the Chinese Revolution.

Earl Browder, delegate from America, spoke next. After greeting the gathering as the highest organ of the Chinese revolution, and explaining why the workers of the West have such deep confidence in the complete success of the revolution, he dealt at length with the situation of American Imperialism and its role.

After the speech of the American delegate, Comrade Jaques Doriot the French representative announced that the International Workers Delegation, having taken cognizance of the most recent provocations of the imperialist powers in different parts of China, particularly at Nanking where more than six hundred Chinese were killed in the unjustifiable bombardment perpetrated

by British and American warships, have decided to address a telegram to labour and peasant organisations of the world.

The International Workers Delegation have also issued an Appeal to the foreign soldiers and sailors in China (this appeal appears below. Ed.), calling upon them to refuse to be used by the imperialists as tools of oppression against the Chinese people.

Before the Delegation left the Session of the Political Council, Mr. Sun Fo, the son of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, moved a resolution which was adopted unanimously, greeting the International Workers Delegation and declaring that henceforth the closest contact will be maintained with the international proletariat in the great struggle of the Chinese Revolution which is but a part of the World Revolution.

#### Fifty Thousand People Greet International Workers Delegation.

Over fifty thousand people filled the Hankow race course on Sunday, April 3rd, to greet the International Workers Delegation.

From early morning till noon the streets of the city were thronged with eager masses marching towards the race course where four platforms flanked the extensive field. It was a stirring spectacle to see this ocean of humanity with countless banners and flags bearing inscriptions that reflected the mood of the masses of workers and peasants at this critical moment which revolutionary China is living through, and manifested the attitude of the Chinese people towards the International Workers Delegation.

Long after the opening of the mass meeting thousands of people were still pouring into the field. Special trains packed with people could be seen drawing into the adjacent railway station, and discharging fresh thousands of workers and peasants.

The mass meeting was opened by Li Li San from the All China Labour Federation. The assembled masses were addressed simultaneously from the four platforms by Tom Mann, Earl Browder, Jaques Doriot and by Comrade Stoler — the Secretary of the International Workers Delegation.

The great demonstration at Hankow was a further proof of the feeling of solidarity of the masses of China with the workers of the West, to whom they look for aid in their heroic struggle to throw off the yoke of foreign imperialist oppression.

## Appeal of the International Worker's Delegation to the Troops of the Imperialist Powers in China.

Hankow, April 2nd, 1927.

To the Soldiers and Sailors of Great Britain, France and America.

The ruling class of your country has sent you to China. It wants to use you as a servile instrument in its policy of oppression against the Chinese people. It wants to use you to maintain the shameful privileges which it enjoys in this country.

It is the very same ruling class which exploits you, and your brothers and sisters, in your own country. It is the same class which draws scandalous profits and enriches itself from your toil and misery. It is the same class which fights mercilessly against you, soldiers and sailors, who but yesterday were workers and farmers yourselves, and who tomorrow will be workers and farmers again.

Like you the Chinese people suffer from this exploitation. Like you, they aspire to liberation. Like you, they struggle to improve their miserable condition.

For two months, our Delegation, consisting of representatives of revolutionary labour organisations of England, America, and France, has visited numerous organisations of the Chinese people. It has studied the situation of the workers, of the peasants, of the merchants, of the students, in town and village. It has found untold misery caused by the oppression of imperialism and its ally in China, local militarism. The Inter-

national Workers Delegation are profoundly convinced that the cause for which the Chinese people are fighting is a just cause.

The ruling classes which sent you, sailors and soldiers; here, accuses the Chinese people of hatred against foreigners. You are told that the hatred of the Chinese people is directed particularly against you. Even if this were really the case it would indeed be comprehensible. For, besides the untold misery which the imperialists impose upon the Chinese people, they have periodically, during the past two years, instituted massacres and bloodbaths such as the Shamen, Shanghai (several massacres), Hankow, and Wanhien massacres in which hundreds of Chinese were massacred in cold blood. Only the other day, in order to avenge the six Europeans who were killed by the paid agents provocateurs of the Northern militarists, the British and American imperialists bombarded the city of Nanking, killing over six hundred defenceless Chinese.

However, our Delegation consisting of representatives of the British, French and American workers, have traversed Southern China, and have everywhere been received with open arms and with the greatest enthusiasm by the Chinese people. Everywhere the workers, peasants, students, soldiers, merchants and artisans have manifested the complete unity of the oppressed peoples of the East with the exploited classes of the West. You, who are of the flesh and blood of the workers and peasants of your respective countries, are being deceived by those who have sent you here as to the true nature of the spirit and attitude of the Chinese people, in order that you may be used as instruments in the perpetration of criminal acts which are unworthy of your class and of yourselves.

We, the representatives of millions of workers of England, France and America, consider it our imperative duty to appeal to your conscience as workers and to reveal to you the horror of the crimes which the imperialists want you to commit against a people which is fighting for its freedom.

It is your duty and in your own interests that you who are yourselves being exploited should not fight against the Chinese people, but on the contrary, you must aid it in its struggle for liberation. It is your duty and in your own interests not to aid those who exploit you; on the contrary you should fight against them.

In the name of the revolutionary workers of your countries, and fully conscious of the importance of such an act, we appeal to you not to lend yourselves to the criminal action for which you are being used.

You are told to shoot and kill the Chinese.

We tell you to fraternise with the Chinese people.

The International Workers Delegation

Tom Mann (England).

Browder (America).

Doriot (France).

## Historical Sketch of the Chinese Labour Movement.

By Earl Browder.

Hankow, April 10, 1927.

The following sketch of the history of the Chinese Labour Movement is the result of notes made in an interview with the Chairman of the All-China Labour Federation, Sou Cheu-tsen, who is also the new Minister of Labour in the Nationalist Government, and with the secretary of the All-China Labour Federation, Li Li-san.

The Chinese trade union movement dates from 1919. It arose during the great anti-Japanese movement, protesting against the "21 points", known as the "Fourth of May Movement". This began as a students' movement. Some embryonic organisations of workers had existed previously among the railway workers on the Peking-Mukden line, and the Peking-Hankow line, but had not yet become properly a trade union movement. These embryonic groups were transformed into trade unions during 1919.

At the same time in Shanghai there broke out the strikes of textile workers and dockers, who were in Japanese employ, 20,000 in all; while in Hongkong occurred a large metal workers strike. These were successful, and imparted a great impetus

to the Labour Movement elsewhere. During this time the trade unions in Kwantung Province made especial progress, in Canton alone their number increasing from 20 to 100 during 1919. This year may therefore be called the real beginning of the Chinese Labour Movement.

Among the most important influences affecting the course of development of the Labour Movement, were the following:

1. The Russian revolution, which was made known to the Chinese masses through several weekly propaganda papers.

2. The rising Chinese nationalist movement, which began to absorb masses into its ranks. A seamen's union was organised at that time by the Kuomintang; there existed the Social-Republican party, and also many anarchist groups. The political movement was especially strong in Canton.

3. The workers had lived through several insurrections which had failed; from these, the lesson of the necessity of strong, centralized organisation had penetrated large masses.

4. Organisation of the Chinese Communist Party, which furnished a central direction for the movement; this was done through a special organ, called the "Secretariat of the Chinese Labour Movement", with branches in Shanghai, Canton, and Hankow.

After 1919, the trade unions grew steadily. But it was not until 1922, when another national wave of struggles broke out, that the First All-China Congress was held. First among the battles of 1922, was the great Hongkong Seamen's strike, which was declared on January 12th, and lasted 56 days. Before it ended in the granting of the workers' demands, all Hongkong labour had been drawn into the struggle, in a General Strike which included the railwaymen. The successful outcome of this struggle stimulated the workers of the entire country.

The centre of the 1922 movement was the Railwaymen's organisation particularly that of the Peking-Hankow line, which had 16 branches with 18,000 members. A successful strike on this line was quickly followed by railway strikes throughout Central and Northern China; Peking-Mukden line, Shanchou-Haichow line, etc. Through this movement 50,000 railwaymen were organised in the Union.

In the Province of Hupeh, a General Trade Union (Provincial Federation) was established with 23 trade unions, and 35,000 members.

In Hunan Province, after a long strike of 13,000 miners of An-yuen, the movement was established, with 25 trade unions in which were 40,000 members.

The Shanghai movement was very active, with strikes of seamen, silk filature workers, postmen, and others. All these strikes, except that of the seamen, were however, unsuccessful, and the movement there received a setback, only 20,000 members being organised as a result of the 1922 movement.

On May 1, 1922, the First All-China Labour Congress was held in Canton, on the initiative of the "Secretariat of the Chinese Labour Movement". A membership of 230,000 was represented. The most important resolution at this Congress was that providing for the industrial form of organisation.

It had been decided at the First Congress to convene the Second Congress at Hankow on May 1st, 1923. But on February 7th, occurred the massacre in Hankow of the railway union leaders and others by Wu Pei-fu, and white terror reigned throughout China. This massacre and repression was planned and ordered by British imperialists, who were financing Wu Pei-fu. The immediate occasion for it was the creation of the General Union of Railwaymen on the Peking-Hankow line; Wu Pei-fu dissolved the union, whereupon a general strike broke out, which was joined by all Hankow workers. An All-China strike was imminent. But the movement was crushed by the Army of Wu Pei-fu, who executed 43 leaders, imprisoned unknown hundreds, and dissolved all trade unions. Even sympathising schools were closed, and active unionists were driven from the factories and railroads, when not imprisoned and shot. During this reign of terror the entire movement was crushed, except at Canton, where the trade unions remained intact.

Until September, 1924, there was a period of reaction. Then the movement began to revive again. On January 18, 1925, occurred the beginning of a series of strikes in Shanghai, Tsintao, and other cities. These were all successful, and regained some of the losses of hours, wages, and conditions which had been lost in the year and a half of reaction.

The period of inaction after the defeat of 1923, had been made use of by the workers to assimilate the lessons of the past experiences. There also occurred during this period a great change among the leaders of the Kuomintang, who finally

had come to realize the vastly important role of the working class in the Chinese National revolution. The masses themselves had achieved political consciousness, and learned the necessity of strong trade unions. International relations had been established during the struggle, when the Russian and Japanese trade unions sent telegrams of solidarity, and the Chinese trade unions had addressed themselves to the trade union movement of the world.

On May 1, 1925, the Second All-China Labour Congress was held at Canton, in an atmosphere of a rising movement. More than 600,000 members were represented. At this Congress, the All-China Labour Federation was definitely formed; theory, tactics, and organisational methods firmly established, and a recognised central leadership set up.

Quickly thereafter followed the massacre of 30th May at Shanghai, and the Shankee massacre at Canton, on June 23. These occurrences were the signal for a national upheaval, Strikes broke out everywhere. The most notable of these was the glorious strike of the Hongkong and Canton workers against the British, and the blockade of Hongkong for more than a year. In Shanghai, more than 300,000 workers came into the trade unions. Great movements sprang up at Dairen, Tientsin, Tsintao, Nanking, Kiukiang, Hankow. Living and working conditions were everywhere improved. In Shanghai a general wage increase of 15% was secured. Not only the industrial workers, but also the artisans throughout China, flocked into the movement.

The Third All-China Labour Congress was held on May 1, 1926, in Canton. Already there were 1,200,000 members. Concrete resolutions were adopted on all problems of the movement. The movement after May 30th had raised the level of the entire working class. Previously, the political side of the trade unions had not been firm; now the trade unions were deep in the political struggle and leading it. Active and permanent contact had been established with the International Labour Movement. The movement had become mature.

Militarist agents of imperialism still tried to crush the rising trade union movement, especially at Tientsin, Tsintao, Shanghai, and Mukden. But steady and rapid progress continued and continues up to today. The masses of all China had been won to the trade unions and for the Revolution.

The Northern Expedition of the Revolutionary Armies was prepared by the great national strike movement following May 30. This was the basis of the military victories, which resulted in the occupation of the Yangtse Valley, the capture of Nanking and Shanghai, and the present drive toward Peking. When the Revolutionary Army entered Shanghai, for example, they found the city already policed by the Workers' Guards, and an administration jointly established by the trade unions, commercial associations, and students unions, already functioning.

This is a general and very brief review of the history of the Chinese Labour Movement. Results which in Europe or America would have taken decades to accomplish, have been accomplished in China in a few years. The demands of the trade unions have gone through the whole scale, from the most elementary economic demands up to participation in Government and management of industry. And these highest demands are now being realised, with Comrade Sou Cheu-tsen in charge of the Labour Ministry, and the trade unions already participating in the administration of the railways.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

### The World Economic Conference at Geneva.

By W. Milyutin (Moscow).

The Economic Conference in Geneva cannot, in itself, yield any practical economic results. This was clear already before its commencement. But it has acquired interest and importance by the juxtaposition of views which are expressed by the two systems of the present historical period: The system of the capitalist order of society and the system of socialism.

The representatives of the Soviet Union have attracted general attention as the representatives of that system which is proceeding to supersede capitalism.

The growing contradictions of the capitalist order of society were keenly realised and admitted by all. The period of that relative stabilisation which we saw in the years following the war has led to fresh complications in the development of capitalist economy. It is characteristic that these contradictions have made their appearance before all in the sphere of world economy, on the world market, in a manner most perceptible to the capitalists; we see falling prices on the world market and export difficulties for the most important capitalist countries.

As a consequence we see the energetic attempts of the capitalist world to find a way out of the situation.

The world economic Conference was to have led to a clarification of the position of world economy and to the perspectives of its development. The declarations of the representatives of the capitalist world, led by the most important French employer, Loucheur, who is at present a member of the French government, have shown that they cannot see any way out, and that those proposals of a "practical" nature which have been made are dictated by the desire of the strongest capitalist countries to take advantage of the weaker and smaller countries, and at the same time by their mutual competition.

Loucheur declared in his speech that he would not make a comparison or an estimate of the advantages of the capitalist system and of the socialist system. Naturally, there is hidden behind such an attitude to the question the recognition, that the representatives of capitalism cannot speak, and do not even wish to speak, of the possibility of the passing over of capitalist economy on to the basis of a systematic world economy, on to the basis of a socialist economic organisation. But at the same time they are endeavouring to conceal that "traditional" way out which capitalism usually finds when it is in a difficult position on the world market. This way out is the violent and forcible seizure of fresh colonies; the enslavement of weaker peoples for the purpose of their economic exploitation and the gaining of profits which they cannot gain in their own country owing to the contradictions, the disorganisation and the anarchy which are peculiar to the capitalist order of society, and owing to the mutual competition.

The result of the world war was the dividing out of colonies. That which was taken away from Germany was divided between Great Britain and France. Great Britain, which in the year 1914 had in its possession 33.5 million square kilometres of colonial possessions, appropriated after the war a further 6.4 million square kilometres with a population of nearly 30 million. France likewise appropriated nearly 4.5 million square kilometres. But in spite of the acquisition of new colonies and the possibility of exploiting fresh millions of peoples, the capitalist powers which vanquished their rivals have not only not solved the chief contradictions which create a chronic crisis for capitalist economy, but find themselves faced by new, and even greater contradictions.

During the war the relations of forces on the world market underwent a thorough change. Great Britain and France were forced into the background and the United States of America came to the front. At the same time a whole number of countries, as Australia, India etc., in the course of the war developed their industry and thereby obtained a great measure of independence from the industries of the old capitalist countries. As a result, when the so-called "period of reconstruction" of the capitalist countries had brought production approximately up to the pre-war level, the situation on the world market, owing to the above-mentioned changes in the relations of forces between the capitalist countries, was found to be extremely complicated. Capitalism is now seeking for a way out by means of a fresh division of the colonies and in the grabbing of semi-colonial countries, above all China.

The capitalist world may close its eyes to the advantages of the socialist order of society! One advantage which however, the socialist order of society has over the capitalist world requires to be specially emphasised, and that is: the socialist order of society requires for its development neither violent seizure of possession nor war, while capitalism with inevitable necessity leads to war.

The present policy of imperialism in China, in Central and South America, in the Balkans and in a number of other countries shows already the greatest exertion of forces and the antagonisms which can at any moment call forth a new world slaughter.

The working masses of the capitalist countries must realise that there are two ways: the way of capitalism, of war, of the destruction of millions of human lives and fresh devasta-

tions, and the way of the struggle for socialism, of the improvement of the position of the working masses, of construction based on systematic, rational and purposeful foundations.

At the Geneva Conference the representatives of these two tendencies of the development of humanity encountered one another. It is interesting to note, however the role of the representatives of the Second International. At first these representatives, as was to be expected, tried to dodge every question. But the latest reports already show that they have again resumed their role of eager lackeys of the bourgeoisie, and the bourgeois press notes with satisfaction their utterances against the Soviet representatives.

The representatives of the bourgeoisie and the representatives of the Second International have interpreted the declaration of our delegation regarding business relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries as if there was to be seen here the recognition of revisionist and reformist possibilities for capitalism. These gentlemen do not realise that the decline of capitalism and its substitution by the socialist order of society are inevitable, before all not on account of any outward conditions, but as a result of those forces, which are inherent in the capitalist social order itself. In this respect our economic relations with the capitalist countries naturally do not in any way mean an alteration of the laws of historical development for the capitalist countries. Those difficulties which are leading to the decline of production of the capitalist countries, to the growth of unemployment, to intensification of competition and to general disorganisation of economy, can be overcome only by the overthrow of the capitalist system itself and its substitution by socialism.

## Declaration of the Soviet Delegation at the World Economic Conference on the Rationalisation Question.

The delegation of the Soviet Union opposed to the capitalist reformist decision on rationalisation, which was submitted by the editorial committee of the Industrial Commission, the following declaration:

The Soviet Delegation declares itself to be against the resolution, as, in its opinion, the carrying out of rationalisation in those countries the economic system of which is based on the principle of private property in the means of production, must inevitably be directed against the working class.

Rationalisation as a more exact and rational organisation of labour in the interests of the whole society and not in the interests of the employers, can only be realised where, as in the Soviet Union, the means of production are the property of society, that is of the nation itself.

The measures proposed by the Industrial Commission of the Conference cannot secure the workers any protection of their interests in the carrying out of rationalisation.

In order that rationalisation shall not be carried out exclusively at the cost of the workers and shall not lead to an increase of the moral and the material exploitation of the working class, it is indispensably necessary to adopt measures which prevent the attempts to attack the workers organisations. For this complete trade union freedom, the right to strike, strict observance of the eight hour day and the gradual shortening of work time as well as the raising of wages to the extent in which the application of rational methods of work increases the intensity of labour are absolutely necessary.

The workers who have been rendered unemployed as a result of rationalisation must likewise be protected by a permanent and increased special unemployment benefit as well as by a number of other privileges.

These measures cannot, of course, counteract all the injurious effects of rationalisation by the employers in this disorganised post-war economy. But in order to achieve merely an amelioration of the injurious effects, an increase of wages as well a reduction of the non-productive expenditure, such as the military expenditure etc., further, the cancellation of war debts and reparations as well as the establishment of economic relations with the Soviet Union, and other measures, as set forth in the speech of Chintchuk, are necessary.

# THE WHITE TERROR

## The Trial of Pavlov and Comrades.

Concluding Speech of Comrade Pavlov before the Court in Sofia.

We publish below the full report of the concluding speech of Comrade Pavlov, who has been condemned to 12½ years imprisonment, Ed.

Your Lordships. I believe that according to law the court must give the accused full opportunity of defending himself. At the examination you did not allow me to say that which I think and have done as a member of the C. P. of Bulgaria, and to give a full characterisation of the C. P. of Bulgaria. I protest against this attitude of the Court and beg to be heard.

Your Lordships. As the proletarian class is a necessary product of the social-historical development, and as it is a universal truth that the capitalist class distributes and consumes the commodities on a national and international scale solely for its own use and benefit without having produced them itself, while the proletariat, on the contrary, although it produces all the wealth, possesses nothing except its labour power, — it is clear that the irreconcilable class struggle between capitalism and the proletariat and its trade union, youth, co-operative and party political organisations is historically inevitable and historically necessary.

The various economic partial struggles between the proletariat and the capitalists are extending as a result of this fundamental antagonism, are becoming more profound and turning into political struggles between the two classes on a national and international scale. These struggles are now led by the most disciplined and active section of the proletarian class, namely by the Communist world Party, and that is the Communist International and its sections, with us the C. P. of Bulgaria. The Communists make no secret of the fact that the intensifying and deepening class struggles are inevitably leading to the social revolution and to the proletarian dictatorship. The irreconcilable class struggle, the social revolution, and the proletarian dictatorship as the last stage on the way to the classless Communist society — these are the fundamental principles of all the various Communist parties, including the C. P. of Bulgaria as a section of the Comintern.

But the C. P. of Bulgaria, having such a programme as well as conducting propaganda and working in the sense of such a programme, was up to 1923 a legal Party. In the majority of the other countries the Communist Parties, whose principles are the same, are quite legal. This is due to many circumstances of which I have not the possibility of speaking here. The fact is, however, that while the bourgeoisie in this or that country, as a result of the economic crisis and national catastrophes, is more and more losing in influence and credit, the Communist Party, on the other hand, is gaining in influence and credit, and this not only among the working masses, but also among all the toiling and economically and nationally suppressed masses. The more this becomes apparent the more ready is the bourgeoisie to throw aside the cloak of bourgeois democracy and to resort to a white-guardist, fascist dictatorship.

Our bourgeoisie, which after the disastrous wars was completely compromised in the eyes of the mass of the people and which feared the tremendous growth of the credit and the power of the C. P. of Bulgaria and of the peasants' League, which was going more and more to the Left under the pressure of the masses — our bourgeoisie, which was incapable of opposing on legal basis the united front of the workers and peasants which was being built from below, resorted to the typical means of minorities, to nocturnal, ultra-conspirative military coup.

While the C. P. of Bulgaria openly preached the revolt of the people and the social revolution, but had not directed its course to an early and imminent armed revolt, the bourgeoisie, even before June 9th, 1923, created in alliance with the monarchy a purely militarist conspiratory organisation ("Kubrat"), carried out the coup, consolidated and extended its conspiratory organisations and methods of work, passed the law for the defence of the realm and placed the C. P. of Bulgaria and the Young Communist League under exceptional laws. It bloodily suppressed the people's revolt of September 1923,

undertook mass persecutions and exercised a monstrous terror which was answered spontaneously from below with the partisan movement and the counter-terror, which however was not the work of the C. P. of Bulgaria, but of individual persons, communists and non-communists, until the events of April 16th, 1925. From the documents which have been produced at the trial — declarations (including those of the C. C. of the C. P. of Bulgaria) — from all that was ascertained at the legal examination, even from the statements of M. Mitev (the chief of the Political Police), it is obvious that the outrage is not and cannot be the work of the C. P. B. nor of its C. C., but is the work of the insane provocative policy of the "Democratic Union", which policy is also being continued today.

While the C. P. B. before and especially after April 1925 openly declared that, in view of the present exceptional conditions its policy is not directed towards the armed revolt, and while it adopted a clear, categorical repudiation of individual terror and of the partisan movement, the "Democratic Union" still keeps the C. P. B. outside of the law and practises a monstrous terror against it and against the whole people.

The Public Prosecutor stated in his speech that this abandonment of the policy of armed revolt is only a tactical manoeuvre and is not a final abandonment of the armed revolt on principle. The C. P. B. does not deny that it has not renounced and does not think of renouncing the proletarian dictatorship, but it declared and proved that under the present special conditions it does not follow the course of armed revolt.

It is a fact that the conditions which revolutionise the masses and lead them to armed revolt are not created by the C. P. B., but by the economic and political development of modern bourgeois imperialist society and by the home, foreign and economic policy of the ruling class. With a relative economic prosperity, with a State policy which does not lead the country to new military adventures and catastrophes and with a democratic, even if bourgeois, inner political regime, the C. P. B., even if it had wished, could not in any case have pursued the policy of armed revolt.

The causes for the possible adoption of such a course, therefore, do not rest with the C. P. B. but with the bourgeoisie, in the present bankers' rule of the "Democratic Union", which, by its whole policy and particularly by its foreign policy aiming at an alliance with fascist Italy and imperialist Great Britain, is preparing insane adventures and fresh national disasters. If this should actually come to pass and if the masses should then rise from below to the armed revolt, the C. P. B. — I declare it openly — will not remain inactive and not betray the revolt, but will place itself courageously and unreservedly at its head.

But what it demands today, and what all Communists are working for, is the following:

The prevention of the new threatening Balkan and world war.

Inner normalisation of the political life by dissolving the fascist organisations.

Transference of the taxes and other economic burdens on to the shoulders of the bourgeoisie, fight against reparations and peace treaties, raising of the consuming and economic power of the working class, all round protection of labour.

Breaking away of Bulgaria from fascist Italy and imperialist Great Britain.

Peace and Federation of the Balkan peoples.

Restoration of peaceable diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union.

Support of the national freedom movements of the peoples; united front between the workers and the national revolutionary organisations.

Complete and unconditional amnesty.

Abolition of the law for the defence of the realm.

Measures for combating unemployment, high prices and profiteering.

Indemnification of the victims of the white terror and their families and children.

The realisation of this programme, which is the programme of the working masses and the only one the application of which can preserve the country from fresh home and foreign political disasters, presupposes above all the abolition of the regime of the "Democratic Union" by the calling of free general elections and the taking over of power by a democratic government of the workers, whose political parties must therefore



make every effort and sacrifice in order to establish the united front of labour.

But instead of listening to these demands of the workers, the "Democratic Union" keeps the law for the defence of the realm in force, refuses to grant an amnesty, terrorises the people, and is preparing to rule for yet another four years by means of terror and exceptional laws.

In such circumstances there remains nothing else for the C. P. B. except, either to liquidate itself or to continue its existence and to work illegally. The result of its four years of unexampled resistance and its illegal activity has proved that, in spite of all sacrifices, the judgement of history will be pronounced not against the C. P. B. but against the "Democratic Union" and against the law for the defence of the realm.

I know that as a member and an active soldier of the C. P. of Bulgaria I shall be condemned under the law for the defence of the realm. The C. P. of Bulgaria is not a new Party, but the same old, famous C. P. of Bulgaria which was dissolved by the Supreme Court under the law for the defence of the realm; it is the Party of the Bulgarian working class, which never thinks of abandoning its historical aims, tasks and practice, still less its membership of the Communist International.

Your verdict will, however, be the best proof that your justice is not a justice standing above the classes, and I personally shall be proud of this verdict. For if you condemn me under the law for the defence of the realm, you should know that this law has long been condemned by the whole of the Bulgarian people with the exception of the "Democratic Union" and of the fascist organisations and elements. Nearly all parties have long since pronounced against this law; and an amnesty for the victims of this law, i. e. an amnesty for the members of the C. P. of Bulgaria has long been the demand of the people and of the world democracy. And that proves that the people demand the legalisation of the C. P. of Bulgaria and of the Young Communist League as well as the restoration of the co-operative "Osvoboshdenie" (Freedom).

This judgment is much more categorical, is clearer and heavier than yours, and shows that it is nonsense to demand the liquidation of the C. P. of Bulgaria. The workers and the people do not want it, nor will they permit it; and anybody who demands it will be ruthlessly expelled from the ranks of the movement, which for a Communist means political suicide. When I say that, your Lordships, perhaps you think of my letter known as the "Testament to my comrades". I request you to allow me to make the matter clear.

At no time, either before or after this letter, have I demanded the liquidation of the C. P. of Bulgaria. This letter does not express my true thoughts, feelings and my will; it is the momentary result of special psychological and other circumstances which I do not wish to speak of here. For a moment I was seized by the idea, not to liquidate the C. P. of Bulgaria itself, but to cease for the time being its illegal activity. Even when I was in the police headquarters I wished to destroy this letter, a fact to which the police inspector, Mitev himself will bear witness.

The attempts of the newspapers "Democrat Sgovor", "Mir" and others to make use of the letter against the C. P. of Bulgaria and against the amnesty as well as for the continuation of the defence of the realm and for the terror against the C. P. of Bulgaria, and also the reception with which the letter met among my nearest friends and excellent Communists and in the C. P. of Bulgaria, convinced me that — apart from all other circumstances — this opinion of mine is not and cannot be the opinion of the C. P. of Bulgaria and my true communist fellow-comrades. And it is ridiculous and absurd to maintain that the C. P. of Bulgaria can liquidate, even provisionally, its illegal activity. So I must openly confess and declare that this opinion is ridiculous and absurd. The individual persons and

\*) A few months ago Comrade Pavlov, after fearful torture in the Sofia prison and before a second unsuccessful attempt at suicide, wrote a letter in which he expressed the opinion that, owing to the overwhelming power of the enemy who is proceeding ruthlessly and wishes brutally to suppress every sign of life of the C. P. of Bulgaria with blood and iron, the Party must, for the time being, cease its illegal activity. The government press made use of this letter for its own purposes by interpreting the opinion of Pavlov as a demand for the liquidation of the C. P. of Bulgaria, which of course is wrong.

leaders can make mistakes, but the movement cannot make mistakes. History directs it along the right path.

Therefore, your Lordships, judge and condemn me under the law for the defence of the realm. Your judgment will clearly prove that in Bulgaria, "conspiratory" discoveries are made by the police in a manner, the miserable character of which has been clearly demonstrated, that various functionaries of the labour movement and whole labour organisations are condemned on the word of a single witness, and solely on the basis of statements which have been extorted by shameful tortures and inquisitions.

Your judgement will finally prove that one can be sentenced in Bulgaria not only on account of acts, but also for holding ideas and convictions. The individuals who actively work for the victory of the working class, can fall in the fight; they may be overcome by despair and for a time lose their true faith; they can also often make obvious mistakes in the belief that they are thereby serving the working class and the C. P. of Bulgaria, their true leader for 30 years. But there is no power existing, either in the whole world or with us which is capable of checking the advance of the working class; there is not a single personal or collective will which can divert the C. P. of Bulgaria, the Party of the fighting, revolutionary Third International, from the path which had been prescribed for it by history.

I served this rising class and its Party, the C. P. of Bulgaria and its International, with all my physical and mental powers. I will also serve them in the future.

Long live the C. P. of Bulgaria!

Long live the Communist International!

Long live the fight of the advancing revolutionary working class with us and in the whole world!

## The Trial of the Communist Journalists before the Exceptional Court in Rome.

A few days ago a trial took place in Rome before the Exceptional Court of a group of communist journalists, one-time editors of the "Unita" ("Unity") and the "Stato Operaio" ("The Workers State"), for conspiracy and incitement to class hatred through the press.

The trial dealt with the activity of the accused up to September 1926 when they were arrested and handed over to the civil authorities. The occasion of the arrests was the distribution of a leaflet in the streets of Rome dealing with the appointment of the Italian Crown Prince as a Senator. The police accused the members of the editorial staff of the "Unita" in Rome of having prepared the leaflet in question and of having formed an insurrectionary association. The evidence of the trial produced no proof whatever for the guilt of the accused who were performing a perfectly legal activity, i. e. the correspondence service of a newspaper which is published in accordance with all the legal requirements.

After having raided the offices of the "Unita" in Rome under orders from higher authorities, the police charged ten communists, despite the fact that there was no material against them whatever. The ten are: Ottavio Pastore, the parliamentary editor of the "Unita"; Giuseppe di Vittorio, one-time member of parliament and editor of the "Unita"; Romano Cocchi, editor of the "Unita"; Felice Platone, editor of the "Unita"; and of the "Stato Operaio"; Edmondo Peluso, correspondent of the "Pravda" and editor of the "Unita"; Vincenzo Baccala, manager of the "Unita" offices in Rome; Bruno Ricci, employee of the publishing house S. E. U. M.; Filippo D'Agostino, manager of the same publishing house and of the "Stato Operaio"; Giovanni Fornari, technical student, and Salvatore Celona, employee of a private firm.

The ten accused were arrested on the 20th September. The legal authorities in Rome who were being urged by the political authorities and who had no material against the accused, passed them on to the Milan courts by declaring that the case was in connection with a process taking place in Milan against Terracini, Bibolotti and others. The legal authorities in Milan did not know what to do with the ten accused, so they washed their hands of the whole matter and sent the accused back to

the prison in Rome, declaring themselves not competent in the affair. Finally the Court of Appeal in Rome was compelled to give a verdict in the matter, which it did, acquitting the accused on the charge of conspiracy, but handing them over to the court for delinquencies in connection with the press laws. After eight months of imprisonment while awaiting trial the accused were released.

But after the attempt of November 1926 the trial was handed over to the exceptional court which declared the previous verdict of the Court of Appeal to be null and void and found the prisoners guilty of conspiracy and sentenced them as follows: D'Agostino received 4 years hard labour and 3 years under special surveillance; Ricci received 5 years hard labour and 3 years special surveillance; Fornari received 7 years and 9 months hard labour and a fine of 1500 Lire; Pastore, Di Vittorio, Platone, Cocci, Peluso and Baccala each received 12 years hard labour.

Once again communists have been sentenced to over a hundred years hard labour. In the trial of the communists of Toscana the court passed sentences amounting to over 200 years hard labour.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Opening of the Session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow, 19th May 1927.

The opening session of the ordinary session of the plenum of the E. C. C. I. took place on the 18th May in Moscow.

The agenda is the following:

1. The danger of war and the fight against it.
2. The problems of the Chinese revolution.
3. The convening of the Sixth World Congress of the Comintern.
4. Other questions.

The session of the Plenum will last a few days.

### The "Pravda" on the Session of the E. C. C. I.

Moscow, 19th May 1927.

Referring to the opening of the plenum of the E. C. C. I., the "Pravda" writes:

"The Plenum is opened in an extremely important and dangerous historical moment.

Capitalism has openly raised the banner of fascism and reaction. The offensive against the working class in Europe, against revolutionary China and against the Soviet Union are the three links in the chain of the main struggle of imperialism against the revolution.

The danger of war has grown very considerably recently. Existing contradictions have been intensified on an international scale. The strengthened reaction is hurrying to drown the revolution in blood. But the Union of Red Republics is strengthening and the Chinese revolution is growing.

The solidarity of international bolshevism is more than ever necessary now. The Comintern will give the answer to the questions placed by history. It will show the proletarian parties the correct way."

### Declaration of Comrade Krupskaya regarding the Opposition.

Moscow, 20th May 1927.

The "Pravda" has published the following letter addressed to the Editorial Board from comrade Krupskaya, the widow of comrade Lenin:

"Those comrades who are closely acquainted with me know that as early as last Autumn I withdrew from the opposition. I am convinced that the opposition in the C. P. of the U. S. S. R., including myself, have gone too far with their criticism, that the quantity of the criticism was in excess of the quality and

that comradely criticisms has become fractional criticism. The broad masses of the workers and peasants have regarded the attacks of the opposition as attacks upon the basic principles of the Communist Party and of the soviet power. Naturally, this was not the case, but nevertheless, the very fact that the attitude of the opposition was so understood shows that more reservation and more comradely forms of criticism are necessary. I consider that criticism within the Party is of paramount importance, but this criticism should not lead to mutual accusations of all the deadly sins. An objective and sober discussion of the questions is necessary. Only such a discussion can offer any guarantee for a speedy and correct solution of the questions at issue.

"The present moment places the Party before a number of very complicated questions which demand to be discussed. The moment demands speedy decision, but it also demands the greatest possible unity of action and the greatest possible efforts to solve the questions upon the lines decided. Under these circumstances, a fractional attitude towards the decision of definite questions can only be damaging to our cause."

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### Imperialist War and Social Democracy.

By A. Kurella.

A child knows what the social democracy did in the last war. Just now, when the Social Democratic Parties and the so-called "Labour and Socialist International" consider it necessary to come forward in every possible form "against war", it is advisable to go through the archives once again and see what these same people who in August 1914 in all countries, urged the workers into the war for "Justice and Right and the Freedom of Small Nationalities", promised before the war to do "against war".

This is all the more important in view of the fact that to-day the social democrats declare that that which they did in 1914 was nothing but the carrying out of the decisions which they had previously adopted. One of the war-patriots of the Labour and Socialist International, the Austrian social democrat, Julius Deutsch, writes in a pamphlet which has just been published in German, "Wehrmacht und Sozialdemokratie" (The Social Democracy and the Army):

"When in the August days of 1914 the socialist parties of France and Germany supported their respective governments, they were only carrying out that which they had previously announced in their programmes".

What had they actually announced in their programmes? It is well-known that prior to the war two international congresses of the Second International dealt expressly with the question of the war danger and the fight against it, i. e., the Stuttgart congress in 1907 and the extraordinary congress in Basle in 1912. The concluding paragraphs of the resolution on the subject adopted in Stuttgart declare:

"In case of a threatened outbreak of war, then the workers and their parliamentary representatives in the countries in question must do everything in their power to prevent the outbreak of war by adopting the necessary measures. These measures will vary and differ in intensity according to the intensification of the class struggle and to the general political situation.

"Should war nevertheless break out, then it is the duty of the social democracy to work for its speedy termination and to use all its forces to utilise the economic and political crisis brought about by the war to stir up the people and thus to bring nearer the moment of the abolition of capitalist class domination."

The congress in Basle expressly confirmed this decision and added to it:

"Recent events have more than ever made it the duty of the proletariat to devote the greatest strength and energy to its systematic and joint actions...

"The congress places it on record that the whole socialist international is united concerning the fundamental principles of foreign policy. It appeals to the workers of all countries

to oppose capitalism and imperialism with the power of the international solidarity of the proletariat... It categorically demands peace. Let the governments remember that in the present state of Europe and having regard to the spirit of the working class, they cannot declare war without danger to themselves. Let the governments remember that the Franco-German war was followed by the revolutionary outbreak of the Paris Commune, that the Russo-Japanese war set the revolutionary forces of the people of the Russian Empire into movement and that the military and naval armament competition has greatly intensified the class-conflicts in Great Britain and on the Continent and has led to tremendous mass strikes..."

"The proletariat is conscious that at this moment it is the bearer of the future for all humanity. In order to prevent the destruction of the flower of all peoples who are threatened with all the horrors of mass-murder, famine and pestilence, the proletariat will use all its energy."

These were the most important sections of the resolutions of these two congresses. After they were read at the congress the representatives of the great Social Democratic Parties came forward one after the other and solemnly announced the readiness of their parties to carry out these decisions. Haase promised in the name of the German Social Democratic Party:

"We will therefore use the methods offered by our conditions and our political and trade union organisations, to set the maximum of our strength into action with a view to maintaining that which we all wish to maintain, the peace of the world."

In the name of the French socialists, Vaillant promised:

"Neither insurrection nor a general strike against war is excluded. The latter is certainly the best method to check the dangerous ambitions of the ruling classes... The value of the Manifesto lies in the fact that it appeals for the mobilisation of all forces, for the application of all means, without fear, in order to fend off the greatest possible misfortune for humanity. This will be done if every section in the mass action does its duty."

This was the language and these the decisions of the leaders of the Second International before the war. Whoever reads these lines will think to have simple words with a clear meaning before him. And nevertheless, it is the above decisions and declarations, which Deutsch declares, determined the attitude of the social democracy at the beginning of the war. And in a certain sense, Deutsch is right, for at the same time as these social-patriotic leaders voted for these resolutions, they made their own interpretation of them in accordance with their whole polity of an alliance with the imperialist bourgeoisie of their various countries. The phrases which were intended to deceive the working masses into the belief that the social democracy really opposed war, were never meant seriously by the leaders. Deutsch lets us into this secret in the pamphlet from which we have already quoted. He writes:

"This attitude (The attitude of the social democracy in August 1914. A. K.) was not in contradiction with the programme of the Party, although it was in opposition to the pacifist feelings of many Party comrades who were previously not conscious of the contradiction existing between their opinions and the opinions of the Party leaders."

To-day as before there is a great objection amongst the working masses to imperialist war. In almost all countries the social democracy is in the opposition. In order to re-enter the government it is exploiting the anti-war spirit of the masses by presenting itself once again as the only defender of world peace and the only fighter against war. Recently the socialist press in all countries has raised a great outcry against war once again. Great promises are being made again.

But to-day, just as before the last great war, the same contradiction exists between the opinions of the workers and "the opinions of the Party leaders." The workers take the phrases against war seriously, but the Party leaders are prepared now, just as they were in 1914, to betray the masses and to support their own governments.

Whoever should doubt this, then let him read the following remarks of the same Deutsch in the pamphlet already mentioned which has been published in the Publishing House of the German social democracy. He writes:

"Should a war nevertheless break out, then it will be still more difficult for the working class parties to answer

it with a clear and definite no! than was the case in 1914, because they have become important and potent factors in the state.

"Wars are a historic phenomenon. We hope that the time will come when that is no more true and humanity is free from this terrible scourge, but as long as that is not the case, the Social Democratic Parties will have to accept war as a horrible but, unfortunately under certain circumstances, unavoidable misfortune."

Before the last great war, the social democracy promised to fight against war with all means. In actual fact it betrayed the working class. The social democracy of to-day promises once again to fight war. It will betray the workers, now and in the future, just as in 1914.

## The Future War and the Working Class.

By D. Marezky (Moscow).

### II.

Experience during the war of 1914 to 1918 showed that this was not only a fight between the armies on the battle-fields, in the trenches, on the sea and under the sea and in the air, but also a grandiose competitive war of the belligerent industries. The economy of the belligerent States was transformed into war economy suitably organised by the imperialist dictatorship. The economic management of the war (the organising of provisioning, of transport, the militarisation of the whole of economy) was a matter of supreme importance. The conducting of the war was secured by the iron contact of the front and the base, whereby the previous conception of the relationship between the "front" and "the interior" was greatly modified by the experience of the world-war.

It is clear that the big imperialist war of the future must be a war of still more pronouncedly industrial type. The future war is a war of machines<sup>1)</sup> in the double sense of the word. It is probable that in the future, warfare will be still more mechanical than it was in the last war. The motor will play a prominent role in this war<sup>2)</sup>. It will also be a war of machines in the sense that even the possibility of carrying on the war will be determined by the increasing production of mechanical means of destruction, as also by the increasing output of means of production (building of machines and benches, etc.), destined for the manufacture of means of destruction. The industrial centres are the chief forges of the imperialist war; they are the industrial slaughter-benches. The magnitude and the capacity of the industrial centres are the best guarantee for military success.

In this connection we can appreciate the strategic tendencies created by the theorists of the war of the future: to occupy the industrial centres of the enemy, if they are not too far distant from the front, but if they are well inside the country, to cripple them by gas-attacks from the air and to destroy the centres of the war-industry, the big metallurgical works, machine-factories, etc.

The decisive "productive" power of the future war of high "industrial tension" is the working class. The workers in factory and workshops are of just as much importance from the standpoint of high strategy as fighters in the battles of the future as the soldiers, or, in any case, of no less importance. The experiences from 1914 to 1918 compelled the army staffs of the belligerent countries to draw soldiers back home again

<sup>1)</sup> "The war in the future will, in a great measure, if not completely, be a war of machines." W. W. Frunze: "On new Roads". Moscow. "Military Messenger." 1925, p. 107.

<sup>2)</sup> The basis of the whole of war technics is the motor. The motor in the air, the motor on the ground. The motor in all its manifold application, beginning with the Pavesi six-wheel waggon and ending with the single-seater tank for infantry. Also the motor for automatic machines. The motor for heavy artillery. The motor for trains. The motor for the Aviachim. The motor — everywhere. "War and Revolution", Vol. III. 1927. p. 177 to 178. In this fashion B. Dolivo Dobrovolsky presents the conception of a future war as developed by Colonel Rowen Robinson.

from the front, many hundred thousand qualified workers being thus returned to the factories and works.

The toughness of the workers, the possibility of increasing the productivity of labour even under poorer living conditions among the workers, even under the regime of "war-famine" — all these are necessary premises of war.

While they are feverishly arming, energetically developing war technics, and transforming war industry into the leading branch of the whole of industry, the imperialists are at the same time eagerly piling up the "variable" capital of the future imperialistic war. The imperialists are fully conscious that a war without the participation of the millions, without will to war on the part of the immense masses of the worker and peasant population, without the "strictest discipline of the masses" at the "front" and "at home" is impossible.

This is the reason for the strenuous endeavour towards an appropriate mental mobilisation, which is at present being carried on by the imperialists; hence the general militarisation of the population, including women and the youth introduced by the imperialists. Hence the draconic war laws of the "newest" French type (Paul Boncour's law); hence simultaneously with the maintaining of a standing army the systematic preparation and training of many-million-strong reserves of men for the future war.<sup>3)</sup> Hence the nicely camouflaged organising of a preliminary ideal disarmament of the masses, the military drill, the hammering in of the idea of "defence of home and country" etc. The specific treatment of sport in the various imperialist States, the creation of sports organisations of a semi-military character under fascist leadership, etc.

The working class will be the decisive mass-power of the future war. Without the "will" of the working class the imperialists will not be in a position to carry on a big war.

The question, whether the second cycle of the imperialist wars will be brought about or not, whether or not the magnates of finance-capital will succeed in dragging humanity once more to the shambles and proceeding with the mass production of corpses — that depends most decidedly upon the attitude of the working class, which alone is in a position to avert war or, in case it should break out, to convert it into a civil war. The supreme historic responsibility, therefore, lies with the proletarian vanguards of the individual countries, as also with the "vanguard of the vanguards", with the whole Leninist Communist International.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

### Workers' Protection in the Soviet Union.

By S. Kaplan (Moscow).

The only land, in which workers' protection legislation actually corresponds to the demands of the working class and is strictly adhered to, is the Soviet Union.

The workers' protection legislation of the Soviet Union represents the minimum standard of working conditions in the private or State enterprises. Further improvement of working conditions beyond the scope of the respective legal regulations is achieved by the insertion of the relative points in the collective contracts concluded between the trade unions and the employers. If a trade union concluded an agreement whereby working conditions would be less favourable than those afforded by the workers' protection laws, or if a worker should agree, under pressure or voluntarily, to submit to such a contract, the contract would not be recognised as legally binding.

Workers' protection in the legislation in the Soviet Union is actually under the control of the workers themselves, because

<sup>3)</sup> The number of "military trained" reserves in the big imperialist States are distributed as follows: France 5,500,000; Great Britain 4,500,000; Italy 4,000,000; Japan 3,200,000; the United States 3,000,000 men. It will be seen that the imperialist Moloch is counting his millions well in advance!

These data are from the work: "The tendencies in the construction of the armed forces beyond our frontier" (1926—1927), under the general editorship of Shigur.

the People's Commissariat for Labour, which has control of the workers' protection legislation, works in closest touch with the trade-union organisations and under their constant supervision. The supervisors — factory inspectors — are elected by the workers themselves.

What is the position in regard to working hours in the Soviet Union?

In pre-revolutionary Russia an eleven and a half hour working day was prescribed by the law as maximum, but in practice the day was still longer. During the first period of the Russian revolution, under the Kerenski Government, the workers in many factories themselves introduced an eight hour day, but there was no legal regulation, because the Government in which the Social-Democrats (Gwosdev and Skobelev) participated as Ministers for Labour, declined to issue the respective law.

The Soviet power, however, published on the fourth day of its existence, November 11th, 1917, a decree introducing the eight-hour working day. In trades and professions especially injurious to health (dye factories, mining, Heating processes in the metal industry, tobacco manufacture, gas-works, chemical industry, several processes in the porcelain and glass industries, etc.) the working day was cut down to seven, six and even four hours. After four hours of work there must be a midday rest. In other branches of national economy which may claim shorter working hours. After four hours of work there must be a midday rest. For night work, which is harder and more injurious to health than day work, the maximum working hours are fixed at seven or still less, though wages are still calculated as for an eight-hour day. For all brain-workers a six-hour working day is prescribed, for, on account of the greater strain on their nerves, their work tends to exhaust the organism more quickly than does purely physical work.

Over-time is permitted only in the most exceptional cases, in cases specified exactly by law, with not more than 120 hours per year per worker and not more than four hours in two consecutive days, and even then only with the approval of the trade unions and the labour inspectors. The rate of pay for over-time is: first two hours; time and a half; subsequent hours; double time.

Every worker has the right to an uninterrupted weekly rest of forty-two hours; in view of this, work ceases in the factories two hours earlier than usual on the day preceding the rest-day. In case this is impossible on Sunday or any other rest-day prescribed by the law, every worker must be given the legal rest in the middle of the week. Work on Sundays and holidays counts at time and a half.

Finally, the workers' protection code prescribes a minimum holiday of two weeks for all persons who have worked on a wage-rate for 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> months without interruption, and it is immaterial whether the work is done in a private factory or a State enterprise and what the nature of the trade or profession is.

The actual condition of things in the Soviet Union is as follows: According to statistical investigation, the average working day, including over-time, is 7. 6. hours, i. e. less than the eight hours prescribed by the law. This is to be accounted for by the fact that, in accordance with legal regulation, there are a certain number of workers who put in less than eight hours, and also by the fact that hours are curtailed on the day preceding the legal days of rest. During the years 1923 to 1925, the average working day was 7. 8 hours, 1920 8. 6 hours, 1917 8. 9 hours, but in 1913 10 hours.

The prescribed yearly holidays, which could not be granted regularly under war-time Communism by reason of the state of war, are now strictly adhered to. This may be seen from the following figures: In the year 1920, the workers enjoyed per head 5. 8 days of actual vacation, in the year 1922 10. 3 days, in the year 1925 14 days, which really means more than two weeks, for there are only 12 working days to two weeks of work.

What are the legal regulations concerning the protection of female labour in the Soviet Union?

In this direction, legislation in the Soviet Union has realised the principal demands of the working class. According to our workers' protection code, women may not be employed in mines or on work of a heavy nature or such that is injurious to health, while night work is also forbidden for women. In individual cases, where it is absolutely unavoidable, the People's Commissar for Labour has the right to permit women to work at night, for instance, in the telephone and telegraph services

and in hospital work. But even in these cases, pregnant women and women who are suckling children may not be engaged in night work nor may they do over-time. In regard to unusually dangerous work there are special laws prohibiting the employment of female labour.

Sharp attention is naturally given to the protection of working mothers. One of the chief demands of workers' protection and also of the workers' organisations was adequate alleviation for women in relation to child-bearing. According to the old Russian law of 1912, expectant mothers got a fortnight's leave prior to confinement and four weeks after the birth, making altogether six weeks.

The legislation of the Soviet Union is very liberal to the mothers in this respect. Women who have to do manual work get eight weeks' leave before the birth and eight weeks after; female brain-workers, six weeks both before and after. So that the women workers may have the possibility of suckling their children after resuming work, legislation provides for an obligatory interval for this purpose (in addition to the regular dinner-time) of at least half an hour's duration and at least every three and a half hours. In this way, the working mother has at her disposal three short pauses, during which she can suckle her child, if there is a day-nursery in the factory; if, however, a mother lives far from the factory, these intervals may be lumped into a two-hour interval, which permits her to get home, even if she lives a considerable distance from the factory, and get back to work in time.

During the suckling period, the female worker gets a suckling allowance (an eighth of the average monthly wage paid in the locality), as well as a single allowance amounting to two weeks' money at the local rate. During her vacation, the woman gets full pay, inclusive of the average piece-work rate, overtime and bonuses, which is paid by the insurance fund and which permits her to use her vacation to rest and strengthen herself for the approaching birth.

In this relation the question of reduction of staffs has come to the fore, and the Commissariat for Labour has issued a decree in the interests of female workers, in accordance with which pregnant women and those who have accouchement leave may not be dismissed; mothers of large families and those who have little children to provide for must be among the last to be dismissed when staffs are being reduced.

Now for the question of juvenile workers.

The legislation of the Soviet Union forbids the employment of youths under 16 years of age. Those children of under 14 years of age who were at work before the October revolution were gradually dismissed, and the possibility of education and social welfare was provided for them. Youths of 14 to 15 years of age may be taken on, in case of great material need, in apprentices' shop-schools. All youths from 16 to 18 work only six hours; and no youth under 16 years of age is allowed to do night-work, to work in a mine or to put in over-time. Youths also enjoy longer holidays as well as preferential treatment in respect of admission to sanatoria, convalescent homes, forest schools, etc.

There is a list compiled of professions and processes in which youths of under 18 years of age may not be employed, because they are especially injurious to health or dangerous. Every year the juveniles have to undergo examination by official doctors. The curtailed working-day put in by youths must be paid as a full day of eight hours (according to the apprentices' tariff or according to the general tariff in case they are doing independent work). According to special legal regulation juveniles enjoy the same rights as adult workers in respect of working agreements. Parents or guardians, as also the officials representing workers' protection, have at all times the right to dissolve an agreement, even though it apply to a definite period, if the health of a youth is thereby endangered or the youth is in any other way injured.

The hygienic-technical regulations of workers' protection are of special significance.

In the Soviet-Union there exist a number of legally enforced regulations covering hygienic conditions in the factory and the prevention of accidents. They relate to the design of machines and shops, to the prevention of injuries arising from various trades, poisoning, etc., to ventilation, adequate lighting, etc., to the removal of dust, the modifying of excessive heat and counteracting humidity and injurious gases. Furthermore, there

are explicit regulations governing the screening of belting and other moving parts to prevent possible accidents. In injurious trades the workers have, in addition to shorter hours, longer holidays, special protective clothing and footwear, masks, respirators or milk and fat products, which in case of poisoning arising from work may also function as antidotes. Workers engaged on dirty jobs also have soap given to them to take home.

The law covering the so-called technical opening-inspection is of great importance. According to this law new industrial plant, big repair work, reconstructions, etc. may be proceeded with only when they satisfy all regulations covering safety, trade hygiene and all the sanitary by-laws. All construction and repair plans must be submitted to the local office of factory inspection for approval.

About the middle of 1925 a further important workers' protection law was issued. For the purpose of perfecting the prevention of accidents it is forbidden to build in the Soviet-Union or to import from abroad machines which have not previously been provided with the respective guards.

And, finally, a few words may be said about the supervisors of workers' protection. In the Soviet-Union, the factory inspectors are elected by the working masses themselves, i. e. by the trade unions of the locality or district in question. Furthermore, factory inspectors, who prove to be unsuitable, may be dismissed at any time by the trade unions, who may appoint others in their places. Factory inspection is subsidiary to the workers' protection departments, which keep in close touch with the trade unions and act under their supervision.

Before the revolution there were only 220 factory inspectors in Russia. On January 1st 1926 there were 1,118 at work in the Soviet Union. In January 1926 there were among the factory inspectors of the R. S. F. S. R. 75 percent of workers, 5.8 percent peasants and 19.2 percent staff employees; in the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic 75 percent were workers, 22.3 percent peasants and 2.7 percent employees. The great majority of the labour inspectors have previously worked for years in the factories. Again, there are 250 doctors working in the organisation of the workers' protection supervision as sanitary inspectors and about 350 engineers as technical inspectors, all using their knowledge and rich experience for the protection of health and life among the masses of the workers.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### Opening of the Fourth Congress of the Young Communist League of China.

Wuhan, 19th May 1927.

The Fourth Congress of the Chinese Young Communist League has been opened in Wuhan. Representatives of the Young Communist International, the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Communist Party of China, the Kuomintang and many other organisations, delivered speeches of welcome to the congress.

The agenda is the following:

1. Speech upon the results of the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party in China.
2. Speech of the representative of the Y. C. I.
3. Report of the Central Committee of the Y. C. L. of China.
4. The policy and the tasks of the League.
5. The work in the trade unions.
6. The work in the countryside.
7. Statutes.
8. Kuomintang movement.
9. Elections.

The congress issued an appeal to the Chinese youth and sent off a telegram of greetings to the E. C. of the Communist International in the name of 40,000 young communists and of the whole working class and peasant youth of China whose representatives were present at the Congress.

## IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

### The Congress of the Dutch Social Democratic Party.

By A. de Vries.

The Congress of the Dutch Social Democratic Party (S. D. L. P.) was held from the 16th to 18th April last in Utrecht. This Congress was mainly remarkable for the fact that for the first time for many years there was to be seen a certain unrest and discontent among the broad masses of the membership.

The S. D. L. P. is one of the most Right wing of the parties affiliated to the Second International. Its policy is out and out reformist. It appears to be pacifist, but in essence it is imperialist.

From the report of the Central Committee it can be seen that the membership of the S. D. L. P. (about 40,000) has for several years practically remained stationary. It should be noted at the same time that the percentage of the women members has increased from 21 to 28% since 1922. At the Party Congress a numerically tolerably strong opposition made its appearance in the question of the participation of the social democratic parliamentary fraction at the opening of the sessions of Parliament. This opening of Parliament is an imposing ceremony performed every year by the queen, and partakes the character of a demonstration for the monarchy. For this reason the social democratic members had formerly always held aloof from this ceremony. But as the policy of the central committee aims at a coalition government with the bourgeois parties, this custom of abstention from the opening ceremonies was changed last year by the parliamentary fraction without the authority of a Party decision first being obtained. The opposition, which was led by van Goes, one of the founders of the Party, called upon the fraction to return to its old practice. Its proposal was rejected by 478 against 363.

In other and more essentially important questions the Opposition was less strong.

The attitude of the social democratic members in the First and Second Chamber regarding the Treaty between Holland and Belgium was only lightly touched upon. This Treaty was adopted by the Second Chamber with a very small majority, but was rejected by the First Chamber with a two thirds majority. In both Chambers the fraction of the S. D. L. P. was divided on the question, although the Central Committee of the Party had declared itself in favour of the Treaty. The Treaty contained very important privileges for Belgian capitalists, who, among other things, received permission to construct a canal from Antwerp to the Rhine. Further, the prohibition of Belgian warships passing down the Schelde from Antwerp to the sea was abolished. This provision, which threatened to drive Holland more and more into the imperialist complications, was the main reason why the Communist Party opposed the Treaty. The social democratic opponents of the Treaty, however, rejected it because they feared the severe competition of the port of Antwerp with Rotterdam.

The differences within the social democratic fraction went so far that the leader of the S. D. L. P. in the capital of the country, Wibaut, most sharply attacked in the first Chamber the chairman of the Party, Polak. This was mentioned at the Congress in several speeches. The Party Congress, however, did not adopt an attitude towards this important question.

The differences within the social democratic fraction went and the leadership of the free trade unions continue to exist. The President of the N. V. V. (Amsterdam trade unions), Stenhuis, who was present at the Party Congress, refused to deliver a speech of welcome. A sharp discussion between him and the leader of the S. D. L. P. Albarda has been continued after the Party Congress. As regards Stenhuis, it appears that he has again abandoned his "radical" views. He has come forward in the Amsterdam International as one of the bitterest opponents of any understanding with the trade unions of the Soviet Union.

The real Left opposition in the S. D. L. P., which is still weak and which is grouped round Fimmen and Schmidt, did not even attempt to put forward their views at the Congress,

although the mood of the members was such that if they had done so they would undoubtedly have achieved a certain effect.

Speaking generally, it can be said that the Central Committee of the S. D. L. P. has to a very considerably extent lost contact with the masses of the members. In broad circles of the membership discontent and dissatisfaction with the reformist policy and the actual support of Dutch imperialism are beginning to make their appearance.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Women's Work in the United States.

By Kate Gitlow, (Sec. United Council of Workingclass Housewives).

In the United States, the married women are quickly undergoing a tremendous change from being domestic, i. e., housewives, they are becoming working women. It does not matter whether they are office or factory workers. The fact is that the housewives of today can be the working women of tomorrow. Others are housewives by night and working women by day.

The high cost of living and especially the high rents are driving even the well paid union workers' wives to earn some money to help maintain the American standard of living, as it is called here. There is no question that the poorly paid un-unionized workers' wives must work in order to make both ends meet.

When the world war broke out the worker in American was promised a better life. After the world war, the workers expected a more comfortable, easier life, but on the contrary, they have been confronted with more hardships. This does not exclude the better paid unionized workers. Big business in America immediately after the world war, began a campaign for breaking up the unions in favour of the open shops. The cost of living has risen and the wages have either gone down or are the same as before the war when things were much cheaper.

These changes are affecting the minds of the workers' wives. It is now much easier to organise them than it was before the war. It is true that there were up-risings of housewives against the high cost of living before the world war. They died down with the coming of the war. Due to the activities of the bourgeoisie which was engaged in time of war in organising the great masses of workingclass women for the war, the women have been brought to social consciousness. Now when they are not so un-informed about organisation, it is much easier to talk organisation to them.

The worker's wife, the housewife, knows that she has to fight for better conditions for her family at home, for better housing, for better schooling and for other things that vitally concern the workingclass housewives. In the meantime she is also learning that the most important struggle goes on in the industrial field, on the job where she or her husband works.

In the last three or four years, working women's organisations have been set up with distinctly workingclass character such as the United Council of Workingclass Housewives, an organisations of trade unionists' wives and other workers' wives. The activities of this organisation during the different strikes as the Passaic, the Paper Box Makers and the Cloak Makers and Furriers strikes have done away with the illusion that women's place is only in the home.

It was the United Council of Workingclass Housewives that came in time to the Textile Strike and it has not only carried on tremendous relief work, but it has also carried on organisational work by organising the striking women, the strikers' wives and other working women and workers' wives. These women are now organised into working women's councils affiliated to the United Council of Workingclass Housewives where they are learning quickly the lesson of the class struggle. This proves that even housewives who were never thought much of, can understand the great advantage of organising and combining the working men and women at home and in the shop.

The United Council of Workingclass Housewives is fighting on many fronts with the workers, men and women, carrying on relief, picketing and holding mass meetings, organising the workers' wives in the different struggles that are going on for better conditions for the workers. Many of the women

are being arrested for their militant participation in the different strikes.

The workers' wives are moving nearer to the shops and factories. During the Cloak Makers Strike, a committee for work among women was formed consisting of women from the industries and workers' wives.

Cloak Makers Wives have been organised into **cloak makers wives' councils**. These cloak makers wives' councils are not only helping in the struggle of the Cloak Makers but are participating in the struggles of other workers. With the reactionary bureaucrats' attack upon the left wing, the committee is engaged in organising especially the Cloak Makers and Furriers' wives for the defence of the imprisoned cloak makers and furriers and against the reactionary labour bureaucrats.

These organised Cloak Makers and Furriers' wives councils are affiliated to the United Council of Workingclass Housewives.

Working women and men are beginning to realise the great necessity for organising and educating the great masses of workingclass women in the shops and the homes. They are beginning to see now that the workingclass women and men must unite in a common struggle to protect their interests.

The Joint Women's Committee is determined to organise greater masses of trade unionists' wives, to unite with working women from other trades. This committee has organised a larger committee of 25 from trade union and workingclass women's organisations to spread this movement nationally.

The committee had their first conference with women from shops, trade unions and homes to arrange a mass meeting for the women to enroll them for the defence of the imprisoned cloak makers and furriers. The mass meeting was held in Cooper Union on April 6th, 1927. 3000 women from the shops and homes jammed the hall to protest against the reactionary labour bureaucrats and for the defence of the imprisoned cloak makers and furriers. This was the first meeting of its kind where working women from the shops and homes responded in such great numbers.

Most of the activities of the United Council of Workingclass Housewives are on the industrial field. The barricades against the women, especially against the housewives, that they cannot be organised and serve the working class, have been broken.

The task of this committee of 25 is now to organise trade unionists' wives and to unite them with the working women from the shops nationally for the defence of the imprisoned cloak makers and furriers from the left wing. The task of the committee is even greater. It has to establish permanent delegated conferences on a national scale where the women from the shops and homes and trade unions can come together and discuss problems of the workingclass as a whole and will act unitedly with the men workers and will be a standing army to rally at a moment's notice to defend their common interests.

## TEN YEARS AGO

### The New Russian Government.

Petrograd, May 18th. (Petrograd, Telegraph Agency). As regards the distribution of the ministerial posts, the Government and the Democratic parties have come to the following agreement:

Prince Lwow, Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior; Tereschtschenkov, Foreign Affairs; Konovalov, Commerce and Industry; Dodnev, Controller of the State; the Socialist Skobelev, Vice-President of the Soviet of the Soldiers' and Workers' deputies and Labour Minister; the lawyer Pereverzev, Justice; the Socialist Tshernov, Agriculture; the Nationalist Socialist Plechanov, Food Supplies; Kerensky, Army and Navy; Shingarev, Finance; Zeretelli, Post and Telegraphs; Nekrasov, Traffic; Manuilev, Public Education.

Apart from these, Professor Grimm and Prince Shakovskoi, Secretary of the first duma, were put up as candidates for the offices of a ministry for affairs concerning the Constituent Assembly and for the Ministry of Public Assistance.

### Opening of the Russian Peasant Congress.

Petrograd, May 18th. (Report of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) In the People's House in Petrograd, the opening session of the Congress of Peasant Deputies from the whole of Russia took place yesterday, attended by 2000 persons, amongst them 561 delegates. In his opening speech, deputy Maslov discussed the tasks of the congress: firstly, that of recording the opinion of the peasant class; secondly the necessity of all keeping before their eyes not only the rights they had acquired but also the duties they had to fulfil; thirdly the protection of the interests of the peasant class, fourthly the protection of all the interests of the free country and of its glorious future. Breshkobreshkovska, to whom the honorary presidency was offered, made a speech emphasizing the necessity of increased activity at the front, which was the only way to hasten peace. Thomas, the French Minister of Munitions, who was also present at the session, greeted the congress in the name of the French peasants. Shingarev, the Agricultural Minister, gave expression to the hope that the people, which was sending out its sons to defend the country, would not withhold from the country bread and munitions, without which it was impossible to carry on war or to conclude peace.

### The Coalition Government in Favour of a "General" Peace and Opposed to Separate Peace Treaties.

Petrograd, May 19th. (Report of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The newly formed Provisional Government has published the following declaration:

The newly-formed Provisional Government, strengthened by the representatives of revolutionary democracy, declares that it will, with all energy, put into effect the idea of liberty, equality and fraternity, under the flag of which the great Russian revolution came into being. The unity of the Provisional Government is based on the following principles of its future activities:

In foreign policy, the Provisional Government, in agreement with the whole people, rejects any thought of a separate peace and openly makes it its aim to restore general peace in a way which aims neither at the predominance over other peoples nor the confiscation of their national goods, nor the seizure by force of the territory of another country — a peace without annexations and without compensations on the basis of the right of self-determination of the peoples.

Being firmly convinced that the fall of the Tsarist Government in Russia and the firm establishment of democratic principles in home and foreign policy have strengthened the allied democracies in their new efforts for a permanent peace and for a fraternal spirit between the peoples, the Provisional Government will take steps to prepare an agreement with the allies on the basis of the declaration of April 9th.

Being convinced that the defeat of Russia and its allies would not only be a source of the greatest misfortune for our people, but would also postpone or render impossible the conclusion of a world peace on the above mentioned basis, the Provisional Government is sure that the revolutionary army of Russia will not allow the German troops to destroy our Western allies which would set them free to throw themselves against us with the whole force of their weapons.

### Election Appeal of the Bolsheviki in Connection with the Approaching Soviet Elections.

Petrograd, May 20th. "Pravda" publishes the Bolshevik election appeal for the coming elections. The delegate should advocate the following points of view: 1. The war continues to be an imperialist war. A just peace is only possible if the capitalists and landed proprietors are turned out in every country. 2. The peasants, organised under the control of the peasants' and agricultural workers' Soviets, should at once take over the whole of the land without waiting for the Constituent Assembly. 3. With regard to work — the eight hours' day must be introduced, wages raised and the production and distribution of goods placed under the control of the Soviets. 4. All power to the Soviets, no confidence in the "new Government". 5. The police and standing army should be replaced by a militia and general arming of the people. 6. The only way successfully to combat economic ruin and starvation is by breaking off the war and placing all the power in the hands of the Soviets of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

### Wilson in Favour of a "Practical" Basis for Peace.

Petrograd, May 25th. The Minister for Foreign Affairs has received a note from the American Government in answer to the note of the Provisional Government with regard to the aims of the war. In his note Wilson says that America does not wish to have any material advantages from the war and that the fraternisation of the peoples is an empty phrase until it is backed by practical forces. Until this has taken place, it is impossible to dispense with any of the means of protection for right and security against autocratic Powers.

### The Fight Against Economic Ruin.

Petrograd, May 24th. The economic department of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies has passed a resolution with regard to the fight against economic ruin. The resolution points out the decay and the catastrophic position of the national economy. The Provisional Government has done nothing to improve the situation. The Coalition Government cannot refuse to take the necessary measures to improve our national economy.

It is necessary to create advisory organs and executive organs which should regulate systematically our economic life under the guidance of State administration.

The advisory organs should be appointed in the centres and in the provinces; they should consist of representatives of the general public, of the party, of commercial and industrial associations etc.; they should be called upon to determine the situation in our national economy by a given date and to work out a programme of the economic measures which should be taken. The central organ should be an auxiliary to the Provisional Government. It is time to place our national economy under the control and guidance of the State. The profits of the industrial concerns of private persons must be regulated; some branches of industry are ripe for a State monopoly, others for the formation of trusts to be regulated by the State (coal-mining and the naphtha, metal, sugar and paper industries), and, as regards the other branches of industry, the State must control the distribution of raw materials and the fixing of prices.

In the domain of finance, the issue of paper money must be stopped, the possessing classes must be more highly taxed and internal credits must be taken up. As large a part as possible of State expenses must be covered by taxes (prohibition of the traffic in land, dissolution of saving banks etc.). Should these measures not suffice, compulsory loans must be resorted to. It is necessary that work and the rational distribution of the workers in the country should be regulated by the State.

### The 8th Party Conference of the Cadets.

Petrograd, May 22nd. Miljukov read a paper on the situation. Winarev, speaking for the C. C., moved a resolution which said that in the present circumstances, when the country is threatened by the dangers of the disintegration of the army at the front and of anarchy within the country, the Cadets cannot leave the Government in the lurch... They welcome the statement of the Provisional Government with regard to the necessity of consolidating the army and to unbroken loyalty to the allies... The party of the Cadets promises to support the Government.

### THE EFFECT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ABROAD.

The Dutch-Scandinavian Committee declared permanent under the Pressure of the Workers.

Stockholm, May 18th. The Dutch-Scandinavian Committee unanimously passed the text of a new invitation which runs:

Under the impression of the Russian revolution, the pressure of the working class has become so strong that the committee has resolved to declare itself permanent. It is taking up its work by organising special conferences with the individual parties and fractions. The parties are asked to present their conception of the problems of war and the questions of peace. The committee will endeavour to find a common platform which will serve as a basis for possibly summoning a general conference. The committee points out that the negotiations which have taken place hitherto have already revealed great difficulties, because embitterment is strong and the motives of the best people are the subject of suspicion. At the same time however it has become clear that open discussion does away with many misunderstandings.

The proclamation concludes with the words: "The International must come together again." It is signed by Troelstra and van Kol from Holland, Branting and Sjoederberg from Sweden, Nina Bang from Denmark, Pindes from Norway, Huysmans and Egberg, the secretaries, Stauning was prevented from appearing by Ministerial duties and arrived later.

### The Conference of the Zimmerwalder postponed.

Stockholm, May 17th. The secretariat of the Zimmerwald Committee writes: The Soviet of Workers and Soldiers in Petrograd is invited to the 3rd Zimmerwald Conference which is to take place in Stockholm on May 31st. The Executive Committee of the Workers' Soviet wrote that this was only by way of preparation for the conference planned by the Workers' Soviet itself. The international committee having confirmed this point of view, the Workers' Soviet resolved to send Skobelev as a delegate. Skobelev was already on his way to Stockholm, but was apparently compelled to break his journey owing to events within the party. In order to make it possible for the Workers' Soviet to take part in the discussion, the International Committee has resolved to postpone the Zimmerwald Conference which was planned for May 31st till the middle of June.

### Tisza's Fall.

Buda Pest, May 23rd. As the King refused his consent to the Government Bill concerning the franchise, Count Tisza, the Prime Minister, handed in the resignation of the Cabinet, which the King accepted.

In the club of the Labour Party, Tisza held a speech directed against the Monarch. He stated that some people, apparently intimidated by international events, tend to make over-hasty concessions. He warned the King against daring experiments which might lead to conditions which would be in contradiction to the historical character of the Hungarian nation. Tisza laid stress on the fact that his party would not, to please anyone, consent to the leadership in Hungary being taken out of the hands of the "intelligentsia".

### Embitterment among the English Workers.

London, May 22nd. The strikes were discussed in the House of Commons. Anderson, a Labour Member, spoke on the great embitterment among the workers. He warned the Government against repressive measures which might bring the country to the verge of a revolution; he said he had had the opportunity of convincing himself in various industrial centres of the colossal embitterment.

## The Mutinies of the Soldiers on the French Front.

(May — June 1917).

By Marcel Fourrier (Paris).

At the beginning of 1917, the soldiers in France were thoroughly weary of the war. The war seemed to drag on for ever. Bluntness and loathing had followed the enthusiasm of the first days. The senseless offensive of 1915, the slaughter before Verdun in 1916 had decimated the fighting troops without bringing the military issue of the war a day nearer.

The Briand Government, which realised the necessity of making the impression that it wanted to do something, had resolved to call upon those in supreme command of the army to prepare a great plan of offensive for 1917; the plan of a simultaneous attack on all fronts. In December 1916, General Joffre, the "kind-hearted murderer", had been removed from the supreme command and had been replaced by General Nivelle, who had attracted attention by his unusually successful military operations before Verdun in 1916.

From January onwards, rumours were circulating through all the cantonments at the front of an approaching offensive to break through the enemy's lines. At the commanders' quarters, the officers' messes, in the dug-outs and dressing stations, everybody tried to find out more details about the sudden attack which was to throw the "Boche" back behind the Meuse, about the part the coloured troops were to play, about the aircraft and the mysterious "tanks", which pulverised railway lines, levelled up trenches and crushed everything in their path. In order to



raise the morale of the troops, it was trumpeted abroad that it was a case of the last, the "peace offensive", which would end the war with a brilliant military victory, as a result of which all the soldiers would return to their own hearths as heroes.

The replacement of the Briand-Liautey Ministry by that of Ribot and Painlevé, made no change in the plans for the offensive. It was finally fixed for April 17th.

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On April 16th, the offensive began to develop on the front of the 5th and 6th armies.

"At 6 a. m., with snow falling", wrote a trustworthy witness, "the French infantry made a storm attack in the section of the front between Rheims and Soupir; the German machine-guns, which were posted in advance, mowed down the first ranks; powerful counter-attacks developed at suitable points. The enemy fire devastated and decimated our ranks and with certain aim hit the enormous masses of reserves of infantry, artillery and cavalry which had been thrown into the front line in view of the great assault. Long lines of artillery, army service corps and ambulance divisions blocked the roads; an indescribable confusion reigned."

On the night of April 18th, more than 20,000 French soldiers bled to death between the lines without the cause having advanced a single step.

The Supreme Command however obstinately persisted in its plan. On April 17th the offense was continued with equal futility and loss of lives on the front of the fourth army. General Nivelle persisted until April 21st in his murderous insanity. In ten days the French front counted 34,000 dead and more than 50,000 wounded.

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After the formal promises which had been made to the fighting armies that this was "the last offensive", a massacre of this kind raised a storm of indignation and rage at the front.

From April 26th onwards, breaches of discipline took place at the front of the 6th army. In certain regiments, which were exhausted by ten days in the trenches, whole companies refused to go out to fresh attacks. On May 3rd, a general mutiny broke out on the front of the 21st infantry division of the colonial troops. It was cruelly suppressed. The dull fermentation and agitation however was only strengthened in this way, both among the units which had already been put to the test and which were called back to the front after too brief a rest, and among the fresh divisions which, on approaching the lines, heard the indignant reports of their comrades about the massacres they had just witnessed.

The Government soon found itself compelled to turn into account the wave of indignation which rapidly spread from the front to the rear. Painlevé, the War Minister had not much trouble in getting the incapable Commander in Chief removed from his office. In order to "save General Nivelle's honour", as Painlevé wrote, word for word, many years later ("Revue de Paris", Jan. 15th, 1922), it was resolved not to replace Nivelle until he had gained a "success to retrieve his honour". Thus, in order to save the military reputation of an incapable général Painlevé had a new offensive made which, between May 5th and 10th, became the battle near Craonne and which again cost 20,000 human lives for less than nothing.

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This filled the measure to overflowing.

The revolt, of which dull rumblings had already been heard, broke out almost simultaneously in fifty bodies of troops, 22 divisions being affected. It originated at the front, but it very soon found a strong echo at the rear.

The way things happened in the 128th Regiment of Infantry was as follows:

On May 20th the regiment received the order to re-occupy the front line. The 120th Regiment of Infantry, which had already received the same order, had refused to carry it out.

In the cantonments, groups form round a few soldiers. Cries are heard of: "We will not go forward again!" Meetings are improvised. The most moderate of the speakers castigate the incapacity of the generals and the ministers. The boldest cry: "Down with the war!" and they loudly declare that the thing to do is to follow the example of the Russian soldiers and form Soviets.

The mutineers take refuge in caves, carrying their rifles with them. Thence they negotiate for three days with the stronger party before they surrender.

Even in Soissons, two regiments leave their cantonments and storm the railway station where they take possession of a locomotive; they declare that they will march on Paris and turn the gas-bags, who are responsible for their being slaughtered, out of the Palais Bourbon. At the station itself, a struggle takes place, and only after some lively fighting, do the "loyal" troops succeed in disarming the mutineers.

In the course of the month of May, such events recurred frequently.

"On June 7th", wrote Painlevé — in the 'Revue de Paris' — the condition at the front was so threatening that General Petain, General Nivelle's successor, demanded that courts martial be set up again."

In the period between May 10th and June 10th, more than 150 death sentences were pronounced for collective refusal to obey orders.

M. Painlevé boasted later that he had had "only" 23 soldiers shot. In reality however — unless the secret archives of the War Ministry are made public — we shall never know the exact number of executions which took place at the front, nor even the number of those who were condemned to penal servitude which certainly involved many thousands.

In any case, the example of the Russian soldiers bore fruit and the Supreme Command telegraphed that the Soviets of Russian soldiers should be isolated from the French troops.

With regard to this, M. Painlevé wrote:

"It was impossible to conceal from the Russian brigades the new military régime which had been established in their country (according to which the officers were elected and were deprived of the right to punish); when the Provisional Government appointed representatives to negotiate with the troops in France, it was impossible to avoid taking facts into account for better or worse. . . . The example given by these soldiers through their Soviets, their resolutions and their attitude towards their officers demoralised the neighbouring French troops, and the reaction was felt along the whole front. The only remedy was to transfer them to the interior of the country."

In connection with the events at the front, strikes broke out in various factories, especially in Paris and its neighbourhood and in St. Etienne in the Loire Basin. "Safe" troops, cavalry and Senegalese rifles were put at the disposal of the prefects. Above all, however, use was made of treacherous Socialist and trade union leaders in order to suppress the revolutionary movement which was spreading in the factories. The renegade leaders worked so well that before long "order" reigned everywhere, all the more because the Government allowed its lackeys to grant higher wages and further announced an increase of billet-money.

On June 15th the mutiny at the front was ended; by June 30th the last resistance in the factories within the country was broken. The French bourgeoisie could breathe freely again and resume the war.

## Those who have Remained behind the Revolution.

By J. Stalin.

From "Pravda" of May 17th 1917.

The revolution is advancing. As it deepens and expands, it spreads from one sphere to another, revolutionising the whole public and economic life of the country, from top to bottom.

The revolution, penetrating industry, raises the question of the control and regulation of production by the workers (Donetz Basin).

Laying its hand on agriculture, the revolution urges the necessity of the collective cultivation of the neglected estates, and of the provision of implements and live-stock for the peasants (Schlüsselburg district).

By showing up the wounds inflicted by the war and the economic ruin caused by the war, the revolution is penetrating into the sphere of the process of distribution, is, on the one hand, putting the question of the provision of food to the towns (the food crisis) and on the other hand the question of the supply of manufactured articles to the villages (goods' crisis).

The solution of all these and similar questions which have already become acute, demands the greatest possible initiative on the part of the revolutionary masses, the active interference of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies in the construction of the new life and finally the transition of the whole power into the hands of the new class which is capable of leading the country along the broad path of revolution.

The revolutionary masses in the provinces are already treading this path. In some places, the revolutionary organisations have already taken the power into their hands (Ural, Schlüsselburg) by passing over the so-called "Rescue Committees".

The Petrograd Executive Committee, which was summoned to conduct the revolution, is trotting helplessly up and down on the spot, remaining behind the masses and being out-distanced by them, whilst it sets up the quite unimportant question of the "candidature" for the Provisional Government in the place of the cardinal question of the seizure of the whole power. In lagging behind the masses however, the Executive Committee is at the same time lagging behind the revolution and putting a spoke in the wheel of its offensive movement.

We have before us two documents of the Executive Committee: "A Leaflet for the Labour Delegates at the Front" who take presents with them for the soldiers and an "Appeal to the Soldiers at the Front". And of what do they speak? They speak of the same backwardness of the Executive Committee, for in them the Executive Committee gives the most revolting anti-revolutionary answers to the most important questions of the present time.

The question of war. As long as the Executive Committee was at loggerheads with the Provisional Government over the question of annexations and contributions, as long as the Provisional Government was manufacturing "notes", while the Executive Committee preened itself over its role as "victor", whilst the war for annexations went on in the same old way, life in the trenches, the true life of the soldiers created a new means of fighting — mass fraternisation. Fraternisation as such is undoubtedly only an elementary form of the desire for peace. Nevertheless, fraternisation, well organised and deliberately carried out, may, in the hands of the working class, become a powerful means for revolutionising the position in the belligerent countries.

What is the attitude of the Executive Committee towards fraternisation?

Listen:

"Comrades, soldiers! You will not arrive at peace through fraternisation... Those who assure you that fraternisation is the way to peace, are leading yourselves and Russian freedom into jeopardy. Do not believe them! (see leaflet).

The Executive Committee advises the soldiers, instead of fraternising, "not to withdraw from offensive measures should they be demanded by the situation of the fight". (see "Appeal"). The point is that "defence" in a political sense, does not exclude strategic offensive action, the occupation of new districts etc. It is absolutely necessary... in the interests of defence, to carry out an attack, to take new positions." (see "The Leaflet").

To put it briefly: "In order to arrive at peace, we must attack and occupy foreign "territory".

These are the expositions of the Executive Committee.

In what then do these imperialist representations of the Executive Committee differ from the counter-revolutionary "order" of General Alexejev in which fraternisation at the front is regarded as "treachery" and the soldiers are commanded "to carry on a merciless fight against the enemy"?

And again: In what way do these expositions differ from Miljukov's speech made at the conference in the Maria Palace, in which he demanded "offensive action" and discipline from the soldiers in the interest of the "unity of the front"?

The question of land. The conflict which has broken out between the peasants and the Provisional Government is known to all. The peasants demand the immediate cultivation of the soil belonging to the landed proprietors, as they regard this step as the only means of ensuring bread both to the population of the country and to the army at the front. In reply, the Provisional Government declared war on the peasants in a decisive way by decreeing that the agrarian movement is "outside the law" and sending commissaries into the country to protect the interests of the landowners against the "attacks" of the peasants, "acting on their own initiative". The Provisional

Government recommended the peasants to refrain from any confiscation until the Constituent Assembly had been summoned; it would then decide everything.

What then is the attitude of the Executive Committee to this question? Whom does it support, the peasants or the Provisional Government?

Listen:

"Revolutionary Democracy will, in the most decisive way... advocate the expropriation of the estates of the landed proprietors... without indemnification in the Constituent Assembly when it meets. At the present time however, starting with the idea that an immediate confiscation of the estates of the landed proprietors... might lead to serious economic conflicts in the country, revolutionary democracy warns the peasants against any arbitrary solution of the land question as agrarian unrest would not help the peasants but rather the counter-revolution", for which reason they are recommended not to take possession of the property of the landowners on their own initiative until the Constituent Assembly has come to a decision. (See "Leaflet").

Thus speaks the Executive Committee.

It is as plain as a pikestaff that the Executive Committee does not support the peasants but the Provisional Government.

Is it not clear that the Executive Committee by assuming such a position has descended to Shingarev's counter-revolutionary slogan: "Bridle the peasants!"?

Since when then have agrarian movements become "agrarian unrest" and "arbitrary resolutions" become inadmissible questions? What are Soviets as a whole, and among them the Petrograd Soviet but an organisation which has arisen "arbitrarily"?

The Executive Committee uses the bogey of the "collapse of the food supply" in connection with the "independent" cultivation of the estates of the landowners. With the object of increasing the capability of the population with regard to the provision of food, the district revolution committee in Schlüsselburg, which was formed "arbitrarily", has resolved:

"In order that a larger quantity of cereals for bread, of which there is a real deficiency, may be harvested, the communities must undertake the cultivation of the available areas belonging to the churches, monasteries, former apanages and private owners."

What can the Executive Committee answer to this "arbitrary" resolution? What can it place over against this wise resolution than empty phrases about "arbitrary action", agrarian unrest, "arbitrary resolutions" taken from Shingarev's daily orders?

Is it not clear that the Executive Committee has remained behind the revolutionary movement in the provinces and, looking backwards, has come into conflict with it?

Thus, a new picture unfolds itself before our eyes. The revolution is growing in breadth and in depth, is constantly spreading to new spheres, is penetrating into industry, into agriculture, into the sphere of distribution and raising the question of taking over the whole power. The provinces lead the whole movement. Though in the first days of the revolution, Petrograd took the lead, it is beginning to lag behind. In this respect we get the impression that the Executive Committee is trying to stop at the point it has reached. A revolutionary epoch cannot remain at a given point — it can only move forwards or backwards. Consequently, anyone who wants to call a halt during the revolution, will inevitably get left behind, and he who is left behind will have no consideration shown him, the revolution will thrust him into the camp of the counter-revolution.

## Open Letter to the Delegates of the All-Russian Soviet of the Peasant Deputies. \*)

By N. Lenin.

Comrades, peasant deputies,

The Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviks), to which I have the honour to belong, wished to give me authority to represent our party at the

\*) The first All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies was held on May 17th 1917.

Peasant Congress. As until now, illness has prevented me from fulfilling this commission, I take the liberty of addressing this open letter to you, in order to greet the All-Russian union of the peasantry and briefly to point out the far-reaching differences of opinion which separate our party from that of the "Social Revolutionaries" and of the "Mensheviks".

These deep-reaching differences of opinion concern three highly important questions, those of the land, of war, and of the national construction.

The whole land must belong to the peasants. All landed property must be handed over to the peasants without any compensation. This is clear. The question in dispute is: Shall the peasants take possession of the land at once, without paying rent to the landowners and without waiting until the National Assembly is called, or shall they not?

Our party holds the point of view that the peasants should adopt the former plan and recommends the peasants, settled in a district to take possession of the land at once, to carry out these measures as systematically as possible, in no circumstances to permit any destruction of property and to use every effort to increase the production of grain and meat, for our soldiers at the front are suffering terribly from hunger. The National Assembly will work out the final laws with regard to the soil. Preliminary regulations must, however, be made by the local organisations at once, before the spring-sowing; for our Provisional Government, the government of the landowners and capitalists is postponing calling the Constituent Assembly and has not yet announced a date for which it will be summoned.

The provisional measures can only be taken by the local organisations. The cultivation of the fields is absolutely essential. The majority of the resident peasants will know how best to administer and work the soil systematically. This work must be managed by them in order to improve the provisioning of the soldiers at the front. For this reason it is out of the question to wait until the Constituent Assembly is called. We do not in any way dispute the right of the National Assembly to determine in detail the final laws regarding the handing over of the land to the whole people and the forms of its administration. For the time being, however, now, this spring, the peasants on the spot must themselves take the initiative. The soldiers at the front can and must send delegates to the villages.

Further, a close alliance between the urban proletariat and the poorest peasants (semi-proletarians) is necessary if the whole land is to be placed in the hands of the workers. Without such an alliance it is impossible to defeat the capitalists, but unless they are defeated the transference of the land into the hands of the people will not remove the distress of the people. The soil cannot be eaten, and it is impossible, without money, without means, to get hold of tools, cattle and seed for sowing. The peasants must not put their trust in the capitalists nor in the rich peasants (for they are capitalists too), but only in the urban proletariat. In alliance with the latter, the poor peasants can insist on the land, the railways, the banks and the factories being recognised as the property of all workers. If, however, we are satisfied to hand over the land to the people, misery and distress will not be abolished.

In some districts of Russia, the workers are introducing a kind of supervision (control) of the factories. This supervision on the part of the workers greatly benefits the peasants, for in this way production is increased and the products become cheaper. The peasants, to the best of their ability, support this action of the workers, and refuse to believe the calumnies spread by the capitalists against the workers.

The second question is that of the war.

This war is a war of conquest. The capitalists of all countries are carrying it on in order to make conquests and to increase their own profits. This war can and will bring nothing but destruction, horror, devastation and brutalization to the working people. The party of the class-conscious workers and the poorest peasants, that is our party, condemns this war; it is above supporting the capitalists of any country; it is attempting to bring about an end to the war as quickly as possible by overthrowing the capitalists in all countries, by kindling the proletarian world revolution.

Ten of the Ministers in our present Provisional Government belong to the parties of the large landowners and capitalists, six to the parties of the "Narodniki" (Socialist Revolutionaries) and the "Mensheviks". In our opinion, the Social

Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks are committing a serious and fatal mistake in taking part in the government of the capitalists and altogether being prepared to support it. Men like Zeretelli and Tchernov hope to persuade the capitalists to put an end to this criminal war of conquest as soon as possible. The leaders of the Narodniki and the Mensheviks however are in error; for, in reality, they are helping the capitalists to prepare a new offensive against Germany, that means they are helping to prolong the war and to multiply tenfold the terrible sufferings of the Russian people caused by the war.

We are convinced that the capitalists of all countries are deceiving the people; they promise an early and a just peace and nevertheless prolong the war of conquest. The Russian capitalists, who were supreme in the old provisional government and who have the new Government in their hands, even refused to publish the secret predatory treaties concluded by the former Tsar, Nicholas Romanov with the capitalists of England, France and other countries; treaties from which it is evident that it was intended to rob the Turks of Constantinople, the Austrians of Galicia, the Turks of Armenia etc. The Provisional Government has recognised these treaties and is continuing to recognise them. In the opinion of our party, these treaties are just as criminal as are those of the German criminal capitalists and their bandit Kaiser William and his accomplices.

The blood of the workers and peasants shall not flow in order that these predatory aims of the capitalists may be realised.

This terrible war must be terminated as soon as possible — not by a separate peace with Germany but by a general peace, not by a peace concluded by the capitalists, but by one forced on the capitalists by the working masses. There is only one way to do this, that of transferring the whole power of the State into the hands of the Soviets of the Deputies of the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants in Russia and other countries. Such Soviets alone are capable of putting an end to the frauds of the capitalists and of preventing the capitalists from prolonging the war.

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This brings me to the third and last question I raised, that of the form of Government.

Russia must be a democratic Republic. Even the majority of the landowners and capitalists agree to this, they who were always in favour of the Monarchy, but have now realised that the people of Russia will never admit of the Monarchy being re-established. The capitalists are now exerting every effort to make the Republic as similar as possible to the Monarchy, so that, at any given moment, the Monarchy can be restored (we have examples enough of this sort of thing in many countries). For this reason, the capitalists wish to maintain the staff of officials who are above people and under the command of generals and officers. Unless, however, the generals and officers are chosen by the people, they will certainly be recruited from the class of capitalists and landowners. This we know from the experiences of all the republics in the world.

Our party, the party of the class-conscious workers and poorest peasants, is therefore aiming at a different kind of democratic republic. We aim at a republic in which there is no police hostile to the people, in which all officials, from the highest to the lowest, are elected and are liable to be dismissed at any time if the people demands it, their salary not being higher than the wages of a skilled worker. We demand that even the officers in the army be elected and that the standing army which is alien to the people and is commanded by a class which is hostile to the people, should be replaced by a general arming of the people, by a people's militia.

We aim at a republic in which the whole power of the State, from top to bottom, belongs exclusively and entirely to the Soviets of the Deputies of the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants.

The workers and peasants form the majority of the population. The power must belong to them but not to the landowners and capitalists.

The workers and peasants form the majority of the population. The exercise of power and the administration must be entrusted to their Soviets and not to the officials.

These are our views, comrades, peasant delegates! We are firmly convinced that experience will soon show the broad masses how wrong is the policy of the Narodniki and Mensheviks. The masses will soon learn from experience that the salvation of

Russia, which is on the edge of a precipice just as are Germany and the other belligerent countries, that the rescue of the peoples tortured by the war cannot be achieved by working in common with the capitalists, in the power of the State is transferred into the hands of the majority of the population.

## Resolution of the "April Conference".

### The Situation in the International and the Tasks of the Bolshevik Party.

Since the end of the 19th century (1889 to 1914) an opportunist tendency has developed in the majority of the parties of the 2nd International, fostered by the conditions prevailing in the peaceful epoch which began in 1871, the period during which the bourgeois national revolutions came to an end in most of the countries of Western Europe, the epoch of the development of colonial policy etc.

The social foundations of opportunism are: 1. the aristocracy of Labour, a more or less thin layer of workers who are bought by their bourgeoisie; the bourgeoisie "sacrifices" a few crumbs of its profits to corrupt these workers. 2. The petty bourgeois followers of social democracy who are linked with social democracy not through the socialist programme, but only through the democratic demands.

Before the beginning of the present war, opportunism got the upper hand in most of the European Labour parties. Since the beginning of the imperialist war (1914) opportunism has turned into social chauvinism, into "defence of the country". In the imperialist predatory war, the defenders of the country proclaimed "protection of the fatherland", they betrayed the cause of the working class. Opportunism destroyed the 2nd International.

During the war, three chief schools have developed in the Labour movement of the whole world:

1. The "defenders of the fatherland" in all countries have broken with socialism and become tools of their imperialist governments, they have helped the capitalist governments to prolong the war, they have, in practice, become class enemies of the proletariat.

2. The "Centre" — whose chief leaders in Germany are Kautsky, Haase; in France Longuet, Pressemane; in Russia Axelrod and others; in Switzerland Robert Grimm and others; in Italy Turati etc. — replaced socialism by pacifism. The Centre is not calling upon the proletariat to overthrow the capitalist governments, but is trying to persuade the present imperialist governments to conclude a democratic peace. The Centre has vacillated between the internationalists and the defenders of the fatherland, during the war it is not carrying on the revolutionary fight of the workers against their governments, it is aiming at unity with the defenders of the country on an international scale; the Centre has not even drawn the necessary conclusions from the split which has already taken place in social democracy in Germany.

3. The revolutionary internationalists who, regardless of the state of war and the regime of terror, have begun a fight against war in every country. These are the groups of Karl Liebknecht and the "Workers' policy" in Germany; Maclean, Tom Mann, the Left wing of the British Socialist party and of the Independent Labour Party in England; Lorient (secretary of the committee for restoring international relations) and his comrades in France; in Italy the Left wing of the Socialist party; in Austria the comrades who are grouped round the Vienna Karl Marx Club; in America the Socialist Labour party and the group which publishes the journal "Internationalist"; in Sweden the party which has broken with the defenders of the country and is led by Comrade Höglund and others; in Holland the party of the Tribunists, Panekoek, England, Roland-Holst, Gorter and others; in Switzerland comrades who are grouped round the journal "Jugendinternationale". The tendency represented by the groups mentioned has carried on a fight against the capitalists in their own countries, and, during the war, has broken with the social chauvinists and thrown down the glove to the "Centre". This is the only tendency which has remained true to socialism. To it alone belongs the future of socialism.

In Zimmerwald and Kienthal, the "Centre" was in the majority. This weakened the Zimmerwald block from the begin-

ning. The Zimmerwald Block as a whole has rejected the proposal of the Left wing to call upon the workers in all countries to carry on an immediate revolutionary fight against their governments. The Zimmerwald Block refused to recognise the necessity of an immediate split in the official socialist parties, thus robbing the Zimmerwald movement of its force. The Conference of Kienthal condemned pacifism, both bourgeois and socialist, in words. In deeds however, the majority of the parties and groups belonging to the Zimmerwald Block have continued to pursue the policy of social pacifism. The vacillating tactics of the Zimmerwald Block has resulted in Zimmerwald becoming a drag on the revolutionary movement in some countries.

It is the task of our Party which is working in the country, in which the revolution began earlier than in other countries, to take the initiative in creating a third International. The latter should break finally with the "defenders of the country" and fight resolutely against the vacillating policy of the "Centre".

The Conference vigorously protests against the attempt of restoration of the International by means of a reciprocal amnesty of the leaders of the social patriotic parties, and is opposed to international conferences being organised in which the social chauvinists take part.

Our Party remains in the Zimmerwald Block, sets itself the task of carrying out the tactics of the Zimmerwald Left within it, and commissions the C. C. to take immediate steps to form the third International.

The new socialist International can only be created by the masses of workers themselves and by their revolutionary fights in their own countries.

The Conference vigorously protests against the attempt of the Berne International Socialist Conference to come to a compromise with the organisers of the Stockholm Conference, with the social patriots, Troelstra, Branting and others, in whose policy the socialist proletariat has no confidence.

The Conference resolves to take part in the international conference of the Zimmerwald Block which is fixed for May 18th and commissions the C. C. to make arrangements for it to be represented at the said Conference.

## The Meeting of the Peasant Congress.

(Published in the "Pravda" of May 24th 1917.)

The discussion on the question of provisioning has given rise to lively disputes and caused a division of opinion among the members of the Congress. The resolution proposed by the presidium is a typical example of the liberal attitude towards the wounds caused by the war and the general ruin; it met with a protest on the part of the peasants. The eyes of the latter were opened to the real state of affairs. Nothing more is to be seen of the "unanimity" of which the leaders of the Congress boasted at the first session. The peasants came forward with their own demands. They declared, openly and straight out that it was no use struggling against the ruin of economic life with "loyal and submissive" resolutions. For this purpose, decisive measures are necessary, to which neither the "Socialist" Ministers, and still less the Liberal landowners consent. We hear the same in all speeches: Bread is demanded from the peasants, but nothing is undertaken to restrict the enormous incomes of the landowners and exploiters, to secure for the peasants the industrial products of the towns — articles of general necessity. It is necessary for the production and distribution of bread to pass into hands of the peasants who are organised in Soviets. No one can guarantee objects of general necessity to the peasants unless the organised strata of the poor urban population take on themselves the control of production and the direct administration of the most important branches of industry as well as the distribution of products.

A soldier from the South Western front complained that those at the front were very badly provided for: "Only those are clothed who can provide it at their own expense. Those who have no money go naked and barefoot, whilst the shops in Petrograd are full of shoes. You, peasant comrades, must consider that a moment will come when the soldiers will lose patience at these deprivations."

The collapse of production is not decreasing, but is getting worse; the railways are completely destroyed, only 30% of

them are fit for traffic; the landowners and exploiters have their barns full of corn — and are waiting for prices to rise; the same thing is happening in the towns; articles of luxury are produced, while in the country there are no nails, no shoes, no clothes; there is no petroleum and, in the twentieth century, we are burning chips of pinewood. All the speeches are full of complaints.

Here and there stores of articles of general use, which were found at the village shops, have been requisitioned. These requisitionings however are only temporary half measures; the villages must be supplied with cheap goods, and in order to do this, we must overcome the resistance of the capitalists. The peasants shrink from the class war, but when they can hardly keep their heads above water, they will abandon their deeply rooted faith in the possibility of public life being arranged "in peace and good will" from above — without a fight "on their own part".

To-day a soldier spoke. He said that which was nearest to the hearts of the peasants, that nothing would come of all the good wishes, that the Peasant Soviets themselves must take over affairs and exercise control from top to bottom. The Ministers gave evasive answers to all these straight questions.

The peasants insist on the private railways being requisitioned; they are told they must wait until the State has bought the railways, as though there were no other solution to the difficulty!

The forests belonging to private owners are being cut down. Who gets the money for the wood that is sold? The Ministers reply: The lawful owners. This again is no popular solution of the question.

The Government refuses to interfere with the war-profiteers. They say that the capitalists subscribe to loans, but they omit to mention that they are enriching themselves through the war; they are making 600 per cent profits! The only issue from the difficulty would be the confiscation of war profits. It is not enough to introduce a bread monopoly, the transport of bread to the railway must be ensured to the peasants. Who will pay for this transport?

There is a talk of revolt. But the soldiers at the front are hungry, ill and in rags...

After this, a resolution was put by Comrade Smilga in the name of the Social Democratic fraction of the Soviet of Peasant Deputies. This time the over-zealous Social Cadet elements could not prevent our coming forward.

Reporter: G. Safarov.

## II.

(Published in "Pravda" of May 23rd 1917.)

Yesterday the Congress discussed the question of the Coalition Government, although this question had already been decided without any discussion two days previously.

After the Ministers had spoken, the delegation for the negotiations with the Provisional Government was elected without further ado.

In a perfectly correct way, although somewhat cynically (after the manner of ministers), Tchernov said: "You do not shake your fist at your opponent when the tussle is over." But the presidium which predominates in the Congress, found it necessary, when the tussle was over — "to shake its fist" (towards the Left).

Comrade Michailov moved a resolution in the name of 14 non-party members to the effect that the formation of the new Coalition Government was only "an intermediary stage towards the transference of power into the hands of the All-Russian Soviet of the Deputies of Workers, Soldiers and Peasants", that immediate steps must be taken to create the All-Russian Soviet, that the present Government, in which the large bourgeois elements predominate, was not in a position to solve the most urgent questions of home and foreign policy in accordance with the interests of the majority.

The majority furiously attacked this cautious and moderate resolution of the non-party peasants. The resolution was immediately called Leninist, Bolshevik etc. They fought against the invisible enemy, but he was clearly described as the danger from the Left. Nothing was omitted, all the means of demagoguery were brought into use.

When the direct question was put:

"What is to happen to the land until the Constituent Assembly meets? Are the conditions of serfdom in the country to remain in force?"

they answered evasively. The danger of "civil war", of anarchy etc. (which only exists in the imagination of the worthy "Socialists") was painted in the blackest colours. In the speeches, the prejudices and ignorance of the peasants were castigated, it was said that the majority of the delegates did not know our views etc.

After these speeches, conversations were heard in the corridors to the effect that one had to become firmly convinced that all these "Socialists" in the Government Block were working in the interests of the bourgeoisie. In the conversations, the characteristic instincts and prejudices of the country found violent expression, the country which had only been roused from its long serfdom a few weeks ago. At the same time, a certain contempt for the masses of peasants was perceptible: You are not equal to the burden of power, alone, without "those who do not work", i. e. the "capitalists", if the whole soil with free disposal of it were handed over to you, the whole thing would go to ruin. Nothing but disorder arises from the expropriation of the land, nothing but "confusion" arises from the power of the peasants, workers and soldiers in the villages themselves without guidance from above. Groans and complaints at the difficulties of power.

Comrade Jermoshenko made a clear speech entirely in the spirit of the attitude of our Party, but alas, no power of persuasion sufficed to break the confidence in "their" Ministers, a confidence hardly to be distinguished from that which until recently they placed in the "kind authorities".

It was interesting however to hear what the peasants, who voted for the Coalition, were saying in the corridors: "Never mind!" one heard, "we shall plough all the fields, but we will not pay rent".

The peasant is convinced that his power lies in his work in the village; in the village they do not arrange things according to orders from Petrograd (one of the social revolutionaries who spoke against us, could not refrain from pointing out that in the Saratov Government District, organised expropriation has already been carried out), in the village they act according to the demands made by life, and life does not wait. The peasant however would like to settle everything in peace and good will; the class fight in town and village alarms him; for that reason he is in favour of an understanding between those at the head, for that reason he is convinced that he will remain master of his fate in the village. For that reason he votes for "Socialist Ministers" who are hostile to the idea of the immediate transference of the soil into the possession of the organised peasantry, and at the same time (for the time being only in the corridors and at home in his village), declares himself in favour of immediate expropriation.

The inequality of the development of conditions in the country was expressed in these contradictions.

The voting for the resolution of the presidium was: all against 16, 17 abstaining from voting; for the resolution of Comrade Michailov: 17 for, the rest against, 14 refraining from voting.

Reporter G. Safarov.

## One of the Secret Treaties.

By N. Lenin.

(Appeared in the "Pravda" of May 23rd 1917.)

It is well known that the first thing the "revolutionary" Provisional Government did with regard to its foreign policy was to declare that all the secret treaties concluded by the ex-Tsar Nicholas II with the "allied" capitalists would remain in force and that the new Russia would fulfil them faithfully and to the letter.

It is further a matter of common knowledge that our "defenders of the country" furiously defend the Miljukovists who do not publish the secret treaties. These passionate "Socialists" have got to the point when they defend secret diplomacy — even the secret diplomacy of the ex-Tsar.

Why do the defenders of the imperialist war so fervently defend the secret treaties?

Do you want to know, comrades, workers and soldiers? Make yourselves familiar with only one of these noble secret treaties; let us take "our" treaty with Italy (i. e. with the Italian capitalists) from the beginning of 1915.

The bourgeois Democrat W. Wodowosov, bases his report in the paper "Djen" (of May 6th, 1917) on the material published in the "Novoje Wremja" about the contents of this treaty:

"The allies guarantee to Italy the Southern Tyrol with Triente, the whole litoral, the northern part of Dalmatia with the towns of Zara and Spalato, the middle part of Albania with Valona, the islands in the Aegean Sea on the coast of Asia Minor and further profitable railway concessions in Turkish Asia Minor. This is the price of blood paid for Italy. This increase of territory far exceeds any national demands that Italy has ever made. Apart from territories with about 600,000 Italian inhabitants (South Tyrol and Trieste) Italy receives according to this treaty territories with a population of more than a million, who are ethnographically and according to their religion in no way linked with Italy. To these belongs for instance Dalmatia; 97 per cent of its population is Serbian as the Italians only amount to rather more than 2 per cent. Needless to say this treaty with Italy was concluded not only without the knowledge but without any consideration of Serbia and has roused great indignation in Serbia. In the Serbian Parliament, Pasic expressed a hope that the rumours about this treaty were untrue, as Italy had expressed itself in favour of the national principle and could not undertake anything which, in its fundamentals, was a direct breach of this principle. Pasic however was wrong; the treaty was concluded.

This is the only one of these treaties concerning the present war, the contents of which we know; it is a treaty of spoliation. We do not know whether or not such predatory instincts prevail in the other treaties. In any case, it would be extremely important for democracy which has inscribed on its flag the slogan: "Peace without annexations" to know this."

"We do not know" to what extent the other treaties are treaties of spoliation? — Indeed, Mr. Wodowosov, we know quite well that the secret treaties deal with the dismemberment of Persia, Turkey and Armenia, with the conquest of Germany — these predatory treaties are just as foul as is that with Italy.

Comrades, soldiers and workers! You are told that you are defending "freedom" and "revolution". As a matter of fact you are defending the secret treaties of the Tsar which are concealed from you in the same way as people conceal a secret disease.

## The Development of the Trade Union Movement.

(Appeared in "Pravda" of May 15th 1917.)

The organisation of the trade unions is in full swing. The workers in the large works and factories and also in the small workshops, and the commercial employees are organising.

On looking closer, we become aware that the workers have a strong tendency to combine in unions according to their occupations. The consequence is that the workers who belong to one and the same commercial or industrial undertaking belong to various unions. Thus, for instance, in any large works, the workers of one department are members of one union, of another department of another union etc. The same applies to commercial undertakings, in which the clerks, the technical employees and the workers are organised in different unions.

This distribution of the workers in the unions is hardly likely to promote consolidation in their organisation.

We now possess unrestricted liberty to organise ourselves and this must be used to the full. The workers must therefore see that they organise, not according to their individual occupations, but according to whole industries. The workers and employees in factories, works or other undertakings which serve a whole industry, should not split into separate organisations but must join in one union.

Such an association is in itself a mass organisation, i. e. an organisation which has the largest number of members and the greatest power at its disposal and which may have real significance in the eyes of the employers. A mass organisation of this kind can always exercise pressure on the employers, whether in the interest of the protection of all its workers or of only a single member.

Workers organised in masses on the principle of industries can always more easily find the leaders they require among

their skilled members. It is always easier in mass unions to develop agitation and activities of a cultural and educational nature, it is easier to find the means and the people to establish a library, to publish a special paper etc. In order to have individual interests represented according to occupations in such unions, it is always possible to organise special committees or to introduce the principle of sections.

The trade union is the first step taken by the workers in organised life and activity.

The union is for him a true school of life which makes it possible for him to find his way in questions which, had hitherto been obscure.

There is indeed no small number of vital questions for the Russian worker. Decisions as to the consolidation of the revolutionary victory, the questions of the end of the war and of peace, the Constituent Assembly and the questions connected with it, of the reform of the life of the workers and peasants are on the order of the day.

Another advantage of a mass organisation is that the workers who have not been organised before and the workers of the Party who have already been tested in the fight are joined together. Being in constant touch with their comrades, the workers of both sexes, who lack the necessary knowledge, will soon have an understanding for their place, for the significance and the aims of life and will learn to value and to defend both their occupational interests and their human dignity.

## Draft of a Resolution on the Agrarian Question.

Drawn up by LENIN and presented to the All-Russian Council of the Peasant Delegates in the Name of the Social Democratic Fraction (Bolsheviks) by Comrade SMILGA in May 1917.

1. All manorial and private estates as well as Crown and Church lands etc. shall be handed over to the people at once without compensation.

2. With a view to the best agricultural use of the land, the peasantry must systematically proceed to take possession of the estates through its Soviets of peasant deputies, but without prejudicing the final determination of the agrarian regulations by the National Assembly or by the All-Russian Council of Soviets, should the people entrust the central power of the State to such a Council of Soviets.

3. Private property in land must be abolished altogether, i. e. the right to own land must appertain to the whole of the people only. The administration must be in the hands of the local democratic offices.

4. The peasants must reject the advice of the capitalists, the landed proprietors and their Provisional Government to come to an "understanding" with the landowners with a view to determining the method of administration. The administration of the land must be determined by the organised majority of the peasants settled in a district and not by an agreement between the majority, i. e. the peasants, with the minority — and that such an insignificant minority — such as the landed proprietors represent.

5. Not only the landowners but also the capitalists are fighting and will fight with all the means in their power against all the manorial lands passing into the hands of the people without compensation. The capitalists not only have large sums of money at their disposal, but they can influence the peasants who are still ignorant, through their Press, through the great number of officials who are used to the power of capital etc. For this reason, the passing of all manorial lands into the hands of the peasants can neither be carried out nor ensured unless the confidence of the peasant masses in the capitalists is destroyed, unless a firm alliance unites the peasantry with the urban proletariat, unless the transference of the whole power of the State into the hands of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasant Delegates becomes a fact. Only if the power of the State is in the hands of such Soviets and if the State is not ruled by police and officials, nor by an army separated from the people, but by the general armed militia of the workers and peasants, only then is the power of the State able to carry through the transformation of the conditions of landed property described above and demanded by the whole peasantry.

6. The agricultural labourers and poorest peasants, i. e. those who, to a certain extent, eke out their existence by working as labourers because they have not enough land, cattle and tools, must, with all their force, organise themselves independently in special Soviets or form special groups within the general peasant Soviets in order to defend their own interests against the rich peasants who are sure to wish for an alliance with the capitalists and landowners.

7. In consequence of the war, Russia, like all the belligerent countries and many neutral States, is threatened with ruin, catastrophe, famine because it lacks labour, coal, iron etc. The only way to save the country is for the Workers' and Peasants' Delegates to take over the control and the management of production and the distribution of the products. This is why it is necessary even now, to bring about an understanding between the Soviets of Peasant Delegates and the Soviets of Worker Delegates. They must negotiate about the exchange of corn and other agricultural products for tools, boots, clothing etc. and bring it about without the interference of the capitalists who must also be removed from the administration of the factories. With the same object in view, efforts must be made to transfer the live-stock and implements of the landed proprietors to the peasant committees, so that the general public may have the benefit. In the same way, model farms must be established on every large estate where the land is cultivated by the community according to the best methods under the guidance of agricultural experts and according to the resolutions of the Soviets of agricultural workers.

## The Threat of Economic Ruin.

(Published in "Pravda" of May 27th 1917.)

By N. Lenin.

The reports, reflections, anxieties and rumours with regard to economic ruin are multiplying. The newspapers of the capitalists are agitating and screaming while foaming at the mouth, against the Bolsheviks, they are throwing out anonymous hints by Kutler<sup>1)</sup> about "a" factory, about "a few" factories, about "a certain" undertaking etc. Astonishing suppositions, strange "evidence" . . . Why do they not mention the name of certain factories? Why do they not give the public and the "workers" the opportunity of following up the truth of these rumours about which they have been making such a fuss?

Cannot the worthy capitalists understand that in this way, unless they give exact data, they are only making themselves ridiculous? You are the Government, dear capitalists; ten out of the sixteen Ministers<sup>2)</sup> belong to your class; you are responsible and you can make your own dispositions. Does it not seem ridiculous when those who are in the majority in the Government, who can make their own dispositions, restrict themselves to anonymous hints by Kutler, are afraid to come out into the open, are trying to shift the responsibility on to other parties which are not at the helm?

The newspapers of the petty bourgeois parties of the Narodniki and the Mensheviks are also complaining, but in a somewhat different tone, in that they do not so much accuse the terrible Bolsheviks (of course they cannot entirely avoid that) as that they bring forward a number of beautiful wishes. What the "Izvestija", the editorship of which is in the hands of the two parties mentioned, writes in No. 63 of May 11th, is very characteristic in this respect. In this number, there are two articles about the struggle against economic ruin, two articles of similar purport. The title of one of them is, to put it mildly, incautious (just as is the whole behaviour of the Narodniki and Mensheviks) — "What does the Provisional Government want?" It would be more correct to say: "What does the Provisional Government not want?"

The other article is a "Resolution of the Economic Department of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies". A few quotations will explain the contents.

<sup>1)</sup> Kutler, a friend of the Minister for Finance, later a member of the Cadets' party and a Deputy to the 3rd National Duma.

<sup>2)</sup> The Socialist Ministers in the first Coalition Government were: Kerensky, Tchernov (S. R.), Zeretelli, Skobeliev (Mensheviks) and Peshechonov, Pereverzev (Narodniki).

"In many branches of industry, the time has come for the introduction of State commercial monopolies (bread, meat, salt, leather), in others the conditions are ripe for State regulated trusts (the production of coal and naphtha, the metal, paper and sugar industries) and finally, in many branches of industry, conditions demand that the State should take a regulating part in the distribution of raw materials and of finished products and in the fixing of prices. At the same time, all credit associations should be placed under State control in order to combat speculation in goods which are subject to State regulation . . . At the same time . . . the most decided measures must be taken against the parasitic elements, until the introduction of compulsory labour . . . The country is already faced by a catastrophe and can only be saved by the whole people straining every nerve, led by the Government, which, in full consciousness of its duty, takes upon itself the gigantic task of rescuing the country, which has been ruined by war and the Tsarist regime."

Apart from these last phrases (with the words we have underlined), phrases of bourgeois confidence in the tasks which have been "committed to" the capitalists and which they are not capable of fulfilling, the programme is excellent. Thus, control, State trusts, the fight against speculation and compulsory labour — in what way are they distinguished from that "terrible" Bolshevism? What more did the terrible Bolsheviks want?

This is the kernel, this is the pith of the matter, this is what the petty bourgeois and the Philistines of all shades will not understand; the programme of the "terrible" Bolsheviks must be accepted, for no other programme offers an escape from the truly terrible collapse which really threatens, but . . . but the capitalists "accept" this programme (see § 3 of the ill-famed declaration of the new Provisional Government), in order not to carry it out. The Narodniki and the Mensheviks on the other hand "trust" the capitalists and infect the people with this dangerous confidence. That is the character of the whole political situation.

Nothing is needed but a decree, which can be decided upon in a single day, for the carrying out of all that is necessary — to place all trusts under control, to publish all their accounts, to call all their employees to a Congress by an urgent summons, to oblige the workers themselves to take part in the control, to admit the representatives of every big political party to the independent control.

What was amiss then, citizens Shingarev, Tcherchenko<sup>3)</sup>, Konovalov? What then was amiss, you almost-Socialist Ministers Tchernov, Zeretelli? What then was amiss, you leaders of the Narodniki and Mensheviks of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies?

All that was necessary was the immediate introduction of this control of the trusts, the banks, trade, of the "parasites" (a marvellously appropriate word slipped out for once from the pen of the editor of the "Izvestija"), and we have proposed nothing more, neither could anyone propose anything more. It is not possible to think out anything else than "the whole people straining every nerve" . . .

Only, we must not believe the words of the capitalists, we must not have faith in the naive (in the best case naive) hopes of the Mensheviks and the Narodniki that such control could be put into effect by the capitalists.

Economic ruin is threatening. Catastrophe is approaching. The capitalists have led and are leading all countries to the verge of a precipice. There is only one salvation: revolutionary discipline, revolutionary measures of the revolutionary class of the proletariat and semi-proletariat; the transference of the whole power of the State into the hands of the class which is really capable of carrying out such control, of waging a victorious "fight against the parasitic elements".

<sup>3)</sup> Tcherchentko, a financier and sugar manufacturer, Minister of Finance to the first Provisional Government. As Foreign Minister to the Coalition Government in succession to Miljukov (who was obliged to retire under pressure from the Petrograd workers), he continued the imperialist policy of his predecessor by maintaining the treaties with the allies.

## Chronicle of Events.

May 12.

Gutchkov, the War Minister, resigns.

**National Conference of the Bolsheviks.** Zinoviev moves a resolution regarding a union of true international socialists against the petty bourgeois block. Unanimous approval. The reports of the commissions having been given, the following nine members were elected to form the C. C.: Lenin, Sverdlov, Stalin, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Miljutin, Nogin, Smilga and Fedorov. Stalin reports on the national question, Great discussion. Piatakov speaks in the name of the opponents of the draft resolution and maintains that, for political, social and economic reasons, it is an illusion to imagine that the nations can put into effect their right to detach themselves completely. After Stalin's concluding words, the resolution of the commission was passed by 56 to 16 votes, 18 abstaining from voting. Zinoviev reports on the situation in the International. "The split is inevitable, but it should take the form of an organised secession of the whole Zimmerwald Left." Lenin proposes to declare that the Party should only remain within the Zimmerwald block for purposes of information.

May 13.

Plenary session of the Petrograd Soviet. The Menshevik speakers decidedly condemn fraternisation at the front.

May 14.

An extraordinary session of the Executive concerns itself with the government crisis. It revises the resolution it had formerly framed against the Coalition Government and resolves by 44 votes to 19, 2 abstaining from voting, to nominate representatives to join the Government. The Mensheviks and the greater part of the S. R. voted for this resolution, the Bolsheviks, the Internationalists and the Left S. R. against it. A commission is appointed to negotiate with the Government and a programme worked out on the basis of which negotiations shall be carried on.

The provisional committee of the National Duma pronounces itself in favour of the formation of a coalition government.

Meeting of the central bureau of the trade unions. The trade union statutes are discussed and passed.

The conference of the South Russian workers and soldiers demands a 50% increase of wages.

May 15.

Negotiations between the representatives of the Soviet Executive and the Provisional Government with regard to the Coalition Government. Miljukov declines to accept the Ministry of Education instead of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Order of the Provisional Government to appoint a special commission of investigation to enquire into the abuses and embezzlements amongst the military authorities.

May 16.

A combined meeting of the Government and the commanders of the army concerns itself with the situation at the front. Commander in Chief Alexejev describes the situation as extremely difficult but not hopeless. The Government promises to take energetic measures to strengthen the defensive power of the army.

At a conference of delegates from the front, Plechanov makes a speech against fraternisation and against the publication of the secret treaties.

The Conference of the S. R. declares itself in favour of joining the Coalition Government by 172 votes to 37. The minority demands that the power be taken over by the Soviets.

May 17.

The Government holds a consultation with the commanders of the army about the composition of the Government.

Arrival of Comrades Trotsky, Melnitchansky and Rakovsky in Petrograd.

Opening of the National Conference of the Peasant Soviets. Thomas, the social democratic Minister of Munitions in France, greets the Congress "in the name of the French peasants".

The Menshevik fraction of the Petrograd Soviet expresses its disapproval of the existence of a special Labour guard. Vandervelde arrives in Petrograd.

May 18.

Kerensky issues his first order as Minister of War in which, in consideration of the fact that "the country is in danger", he prohibits the resignation of any officers in high positions of command.

The plenum of the Petrograd Soviet finally expresses its approval of the Coalition Government.

In agreement with the Workers' Soviet, the Government appoints a commission to "re-establish and promote the normal course of production".

May 19.

The new Coalition Government publishes a declaration of its programme.

The Cadets' party demands an obstinate and energetic fight against "those elements which wish to destroy all order and to undermine discipline in the army".

May 20.

The Bolshevik election appeal for the Soviet elections appears in "Pravda".

May 21.

The workers in several factories in Moscow and Petrograd protest against members of the Workers' Soviet joining the Provisional Government.

At a meeting of the Moscow Soviet, Albert Thomas states: "It is impossible for the International to fight unless the Russian front supports France".

The industrialists in South Russia protest against the 50 per cent increase of wages demanded by the South Russian Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets.

Opening of the Congress of officers' delegates.

Lenin writes an open letter to the National Congress of the Peasant Soviets.

May 22.

Arrival of 250 emigrants from Switzerland, among them: Felix Kohn, Lunatcharsky, Rjasanov, Martynov, Axelrod etc. Grimm also arrived in Petrograd with them.

The Soviet Executive resolves to call upon the social democratic Parties in all countries to do everything in their power to prevent Friedrich Adler being executed.

The soldiers' section of the Petrograd Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet recognises "on principle" the right of self-determination of the nation but, in consideration of the possible danger of the disorganisation of the army, it considers the formation of national regiments to be undesirable.

The National Congress of the Peasant Soviets approves of representatives of the Soviets joining the Coalition Government.

National Conference of the Mensheviks. A resolution against fraternisation is passed by 53 votes to 10, 10 refraining from voting. A resolution in favour of the promotion of the fighting capacity of the army is passed by 47 votes to 5, 11 persons abstaining from voting.

Party Conference of the Cadets.

May 23.

The C. C. of the Bolsheviks decided to send delegates to the Zimmerwald Conference with the express instruction to leave the Conference at once and to resign from the Zimmerwald Union immediately should the Conference advocate any approachment to or common consultation with the social chauvinists.

The employers complain to the government with regard to the "excessive demands of the workers".

Formation of a Red Guard in Samara.

May 24.

Decree of Kerensky regarding the rights of the military persons: freedom of speech when not on duty, freedom of conscience, right to wear civilian clothing, when not on duty, abolition of the institution of officers' servants, abolition of compulsory saluting, abolition of corporal punishment etc.