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The New Political Course of the British Communist Party.

By R. Palme Dutt.

The decision of the Ninth Enlarged Executive of the Communist International on the English question, with special reference to the coming General Election, is a landmark in the history of the British Communist Party and the British working class movement.

The essence of this decision is that the British Communist Party will henceforth advance beyond the former policy of supporting the opportunist Labour Party together with criticism, and go forward as an independent party to direct and open conflict with the official reformist leadership of the Labour Party on behalf of the revolutionary working class. This policy will receive its clear expression at the coming General Election, when the maximum number of independent Communist candidates will be put forward and will fight against the official Labour Party social traitors, without allowing themselves to be held back by the corrupt machine-discipline of the reformist bureaucracy in the Labour Party, or by the fear of the pos-

sible consequence in certain cases of letting the (open) capitalist candidate in.

This decision extends in its significance far beyond the immediate issue of the coming General Election, and is of governing importance for the whole future line of development of the Communist Party, of the Labour Party, and of the British working class movement. It marks the advance of the British Communist Party to a new stage as the independent leader of the revolutionary working class, conscious of its growing strength, directly fighting the reformist traitors at the head of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions who have completely merged into coalition with capitalism, throwing off the shackles of the bureaucratic Labour Party discipline which have hitherto restricted its advance, and entering on to the direct path to the revolutionary mass party of the working class. This advance corresponds to the sharpening issues of class

struggle in Britain, as well as to the general international line of sharpening the fight against Social Democracy.

What is the change in the situation in Britain which has made this advance on the previous policy of seven years (1920—1927) possible, justified and inevitable? Why has the change been decided on at the present moment rather than earlier or later? What are the consequences likely to be of the new policy in Britain?

The change is the consequence of the complete transformation of the British situation during the past seven years, following on the continuous heavy capitalist decline (the gigantic economic depression began in the winter of 1920 and still continues unabated and even intensified), which has effected a radical alteration in British economic and political conditions. British Capitalism has been finally transformed from its old surviving "liberal" traditions, which received their last blossoming under Lloyd George, into the prototype of reactionary, decaying capitalist repression and dictatorship, exemplified in Baldwin and Chamberlain (the smashing of the General Strike and the miners, the Trade Union Act, the break with the Soviet Union, the offensive against China and India). The British Labour Movement has been transformed from its former boasted liberal "unique" character of all-inclusive "tolerance" and "unity", freedom from doctrinal dissensions and imperviousness to revolutionary theory (actually the reflection of its old-time dependence on capitalist prosperity and world-monopoly), into a rapidly evolving process of differentiation and revolutionisation: the upper strata of the Labour Party and Trade Unions evolving to complete and open coalition with capitalism and persecution of the revolutionary workers closer and closer to the model of Continental Social Democracy and Amsterdam (the Mond-General-Council Industrial Peace Conference, the Baldwin-MacDonald united front of imperialism and counter-revolution, Liberal-Labour coalition preparations, expulsion of revolutionary workers and local sections in the Labour Party, and beginning in the Trade Unions); while the mass of the workers have been driven to increasingly revolutionary struggle against capitalism and the capitalist state (the General Strike and miner's struggle; growth of the Minority Movement a million strong; new left wave signs to-day). The militant left workers have been transformed from scattered elements into a united and cohesive fighting force, following ever more clearly the leadership of the Communist Party. The new policy is the inevitable and necessary expression of this new situation.

The former tactics of the Communist Party, originally laid down by Lenin in 1920 and 1921, were based on the situation when the Party was formed and on the early years of its growth up to the present point. When the Communist Party was formed in 1920, it was formed of scattered elements, with many sectarian traditions, and with little or no experience of systematic work in the mass organisations of the working class. It was confronted with a very large, long established and deeply entrenched reformist-controlled organisation in the shape of the Labour Party, based on the trade unions and nominally expressing the principle of political unification of the working class forces. The workers were streaming into the Labour Party after the war (its vote rose from 2 1/4 millions in 1918 to 5 1/2 millions in 1924), which was proclaiming a rapid advance to Socialism by its programme of a "New Social Order". The task of the newly formed Communist Party was therefore to throw itself into the midst of this larger movement, there to fight the reformist bureaucracy from within in this wider field, assist forward the advance to a "Labour" Government in order to expose the hollowness of the reformists' pretensions in the practical experience of the working class, and on this basis to advance to the fight for the direct leadership of the working class.

The unique character of the Labour Party assisted to make these tactics possible. The Labour Party was nominally a federal bloc of all working class organisations, trade union or socialist, allowing complete liberty of expression and policy to its constituent organisations (the old British Socialist Party, which was already affiliated to the Communist International in 1920, was at the same time affiliated to the Labour Party). Thus the Communist Party, both by the demand for affiliation, through individual membership, and through trade union delegations, could act with considerable freedom within the Labour

Party, and even secure the adoption of its candidates as Labour candidates.

To-day this position is completely changed. The exposure of the reformist Labour Party leadership in government, has now taken place by the experience of the "Labour" Government of 1924, which revealed itself as the willing tool of the bourgeoisie in the enforcement of the Dawes Report, terrorist repression in India, armaments expansion, anti-strike action at home etc. This exposure has been carried further by the experience of the General Strike and miners' struggle, which laid bare the pretensions of the "left" reformist leaders who sought to lead the left wave following on the disillusionment after the Labour Government, and which consolidated the reformist leadership into a single reactionary bloc. By the acceptance of the Trade Union Act, the Industrial Peace campaign, the increasing transformation of the Labour Party programme from the last vestiges of socialism to a liberal imperialist programme, the disciplining of the Labour Party in Parliament into a "responsible" governmental party of capitalism, and the campaign of persecution and exclusions against the revolutionary workers, the Labour Party and Trade Unions are being steadily transformed, by the active co-operation of the reformist leadership and Baldwin, into auxiliary organs of capitalism and of the capitalist state.

Corresponding to this change, the Labour Party is completely changed in organisation. Although still based on the trade unions, the old "free" all-inclusive character no longer obtains. Communists are excluded from individual membership, candidatures or official positions; this is being extended to left wingers; left wing local labour parties sympathetic to the Communists have been excluded; local labour parties have been reorganised and reconstructed wholesale to bring them under the dominance of the reformist machine; even the last avenue of Communist activity in the Labour Party, as elected trade union delegates, is now beginning to be closed. The Labour Party is thus almost completely transformed into a Social Democratic type of party, based on reformist control of the trade unions.

Finally, the Communist Party has advanced, on the basis of its systematic activity in the mass organisations of the workers, and its active leadership in every phase of the workers' struggle, to a position of a definite measure of organised wider support and influence in the working class. Its press has a steady working class circulation of sixty to eighty thousand; through the Minority Movement it is able to speak to a million workers; in the last phase of the miners' struggle its slogans were being followed by the miners in their fight in the face of the opposition of the entire reformist leadership. Recent signs, such as the Scottish Miners' Elections, show important left developments and a sweeping turnover of votes to the Communists against the reformist officials, who are now using every form of manipulation and obstruction to retain their positions against the workers' votes.

Thus the situation is ripe in every way for the advance of the Communist Party to the new stage of direct fight against the reformist leadership.

More than this. There are signs that, unless the new leadership for which the workers are beginning to look were forthcoming, there would be grave danger of growing stagnation, apathy and disintegration in the British working class movement, owing to the machine-discipline and discrediting of the reformist leaders. During the last six months the Labour vote in the industrial centres has begun to fall; and this is widely attributed to the disruptive policy of the reformist leadership and growing apathy and disillusionment of the left wing workers. In the municipal elections last autumn, although the aggregate Labour representation for the whole country increased, in the ten largest industrial centres (Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Edinburgh, Bristol, Bradford and Newcastle) the aggregate Labour vote between 1926 and 1927 actually decreased by 25,000 or 9%, while the Conservative vote increased by 120,000 or 28%. In the recent Northampton bye-election, the Labour vote fell below the level of 1923; in the Lancaster bye-election, the Labour vote fell from 9000 in 1922 to 6000 in 1928. Thus there is considerable indication that the Labour Party, though still advancing in the agricultural and backward areas, is beginning to lose its hold

in the industrial working class. This, if true, is a very powerful demonstration of the need of the new policy.

The new policy does not mean that the Communist Party will cease to carry on agitation within the Labour Party (all the more, of course, within the Trade Unions) to the full extent of the possibilities still remaining, or will in any way diminish the tactics of the united front. On the contrary, the Communist Party will continue through the trade union delegations, so long as these are not finally closed, to conduct propaganda in the Labour Party, and to utilise the machinery of the local labour parties, so far as possible. The Communist Party will press for the calling of new Selection Conferences of the local labour parties, on a basis of unrestricted and equal workers' representation, to select new candidates in place of the reformist candidates. But where this is refused, or the local labour parties are made unrepresentative of the workers by reformist manipulation, the Communist Party will call unofficial selection conferences in union with the left wing workers to select independent candidates against the official Labour candidates. The Communist Party will organise support for its candidates among the left wing workers on the basis of a **united front programme**. Labour candidates in constituencies where there is no Communist candidate or independent left candidate approved by the Party, will be confronted with the united front programme, and will only receive support in special cases where they pledge themselves to the united front programme; in other cases they will receive no support.

The consequence of the new policy are likely to be

1. clarification of political issues in Britain, and a rapid stimulus to the process of differentiation in the working class;
2. the possible defeat in certain cases of prominent reformist Labour leaders, consequent on Communist opposition;
3. mobilisation of the militant workers around a clear revolutionary programme;
4. advance of the Communist Party in political influence and mass support.

The reception of the new policy in the reformist Labour press is instructive. Very considerable attention and prominence is given to it; and although the words of the editorials proclaim complete indifference etc., the very loudness of the protesting and the prominence betray the apprehensions that are felt, as the seats of prominent Labour leaders are known to be endangered, unless (as is possible) the bourgeoisie rally to their support to save them. The bourgeois press also gives very prominent attention to the new policy. Both bourgeois and Labour press universally endeavour to brand the new policy as a sudden "order from Moscow" sprung from the blue upon the British Communist Party against its opposition and in ignorance of British conditions. Isolated sentences from the preceding discussion in the British Party, expressing views critical of the new policy, are torn from their context and reprinted broadcast by the bourgeois and reformist Labour press with high praise as the last word in political wisdom, in order to suggest a division of opinion between the British Communist Party and the "Moscow dictators". Apart from the usual ignorance thus displayed of the democratic working of the Communist International, the whole suggestion of a division between the British Communist Party and the International is of course fantastic nonsense. The new policy was unanimously reached by the International Executive, with the unanimous agreement of the British Delegation. The whole question is now subjected to complete and thorough discussion throughout the British Party; and there is no question that the entire British Party will stand united behind the international policy.

The new political course of the Communist Party will undoubtedly receive the enthusiastic support of the revolutionary workers in Britain, who have already been chafing at the restraints imposed by the machine-discipline of the reformist bureaucracy. It should help to sharpen and intensify the entire political fight and development of the class struggle in Britain, and carry the Communist Party a whole stage forward in the advance to a revolutionary mass party and independent political leadership of the working class.

POLITICS

The Reply of the Working Masses of Poland to the Fascist Election Terror.

By M. Romanovska (Warsaw).

Pilsudski can boast of having broken the record "Galician" election.

The Government is employing against the working masses the whole of its well tried methods of terror. The lists of candidates of the workers' and peasants' bloc have been declared invalid on the basis of mere formal pretexts. In this manner the workers' and peasants' lists have been concealed in all the most important districts: Lodz, Posen, Cracow, Lemberg and Vilna, and in the Cracow coal area.

At the same time wholesale arrests of candidates of the workers' and peasants' bloc have been and are still being carried out; all their appeals and election literature are being confiscated, the distributors of the same arrested, all meetings broken up and those attending the meetings arrested. The first candidates of the "Workers' and Peasants' Unity", the P.P.S. Left, the Union of Peasants, the Ukrainian Party "Selrob" (Left) have already been placed under arrest.

Not content with that, the government has issued a secret order, a portion of which, however, has been published in the press. In this document the heads of the municipalities are instructed how they are to falsify the results of the election. The government reminds them that at the preceding election various paragraphs of the election regulations were deliberately broken without the election being declared invalid by the Supreme Court. The order recommends the repetition of this method and expressly allows: first, agitation for the government list to be conducted at the polling stations, which renders possible the physical terror of the fascist fighting groups at the polling booth; secondly, the voting papers are not to be handed over immediately to the President of the election commission, but to any other person, which in practice renders possible a wholesale buying of votes; thirdly, the opening of the envelope containing the voting paper by the chairman of the district election committees shall take place without witnesses, which naturally provides unbounded opportunity for falsifying the election.

In such circumstances what is of importance is not so much the result of the election, which will be falsified, but rather the **activity of the masses and of the revolutionary strata of the people during the election campaign**, the making use of the election for a large-scale agitation against fascism, and its transformation into a great demonstration of solidarity on the part of workers, peasants and suppressed nationalities against the Pilsudski government.

The first expression of readiness and desire to support the **anti-fascist bloc** was the wholesale setting up of lists and the great campaign for signatures to the nomination papers, which require not only a knowledge of the questions involved but also great readiness for sacrifice. For those who placed their signatures to the lists had to reckon with the loss of their freedom. The police are endeavouring by means of every possible threat to induce all those who have placed their signatures to the lists to withdraw their signatures, and to get them to make a declaration that they had been placed on the list against their will.

In spite of all this about 50,000 signatures of workers and peasants were collected for the anti-fascist bloc.

A no less important indication of the mass character of the election campaign as it is being conducted by the workers' and peasants' bloc are the mass meetings.

The working masses of Poland possess neither freedom of agitation nor of assembly. The election meetings must be organised illegally. They must be held suddenly and quickly, before the police can receive news and break up the meeting. But in spite of these difficulties there is **not a town nor a large**

centre in which meetings have not been held. In the open air, in the factories, in halls, everywhere where there has been any opportunity, agitation has been conducted for the lists of the workers' and peasants' bloc.

In Warsaw and in the Warsaw district alone over 50 meetings were held during the month of January, 80 of which were held in factories. In the Dombrov coalfields all police barriers were simply swept aside and the workers' and peasants' bloc conducted a broad election campaign. 12 great election demonstrations, often attended by three to six thousand people, not including the factory meetings and the meetings of the unemployed, that is the balance for the month of January. The same thing is happening in Lodz. In Cracow and Upper Silesia, in Vilna, in Lemberg, in the whole of Poland, the election campaign of the workers' and peasants' bloc is assuming ever larger proportions.

At the meetings anti-fascist election committees are formed, which again and again fill up the gaps caused by the arrests and carry on the election campaign. More than a hundred of such committees have arisen in the Warsaw district, 30 in the Dombrov area etc.

A few examples in order to illustrate the revolutionary mood of the masses:

A great meeting of the workers' and peasants' unity on the 29th January in Dombrova. Illegal. In spite of it, masses of workers, more than 7000. The police are helpless. They cannot disperse the masses of demonstrators. The masses stand like a wall, protect the speakers, who speak from the platform under the banner of the workers' and peasants' unity. In spite of monstrous police attacks, the meeting lasts for five hours. After the conclusion of the meeting, the masses — still attacked by the police — march in closed ranks to the meeting of the P.P.S. Right, force their way into the courtyard and the premises, where an insignificant meeting of the P.P.S. is taking place. A workers speaks to the other workers and calls upon them to march with the workers' and peasants' bloc. It is only now that the police at last succeed in dispersing the masses.

Further evidence of the revolutionary mood of the proletariat is furnished by the fact that no fascist or social reformist dares show himself in the important working class centres. Therefore neither the P.P.S. nor the big peasants' parties venture to visit the workers' quarters, but conduct their election campaign solely on the outskirts, in the remote villages, among the big peasants and the women. Often the coalition parties do not venture to come forward even under their own name, and assume names similar to that of the anti-fascist bloc. In one district the peasants' party assumed the name of "Самомощь" (Self-help), the same name as is borne by the anti-fascist lists. And the P.P.S., which in the whole Republic is putting forward list No. 2, attempted to come forward in the Dombrova district as workers' and peasants' unity, a name which they stole from the Communists and which the P.P.S. are using in order to deceive the electorate.

Finally, as a characteristic feature of the election campaign and as evidence of the increasing influence of the workers' and peasants' bloc, there should be mentioned its popularity in the villages, where some hundreds of meetings of peasants have been held. It must be specially pointed out that in many localities the peasants had put their signatures to the list of the workers' and peasants' unity, giving as their reason: we demand the commune for ourselves. In the Warsaw district, where the greatest numbers of signatures has been collected, 20 per cent. of the signatures were given by peasants.

The workers and peasants who are conducting the election campaign, hundreds of whom are being sent to prison as a result, have no illusions. They know that fascism cannot be overthrown by means of the ballot box. This election work among the masses is to mobilise the great army of workers and peasants, to strengthen their ranks, demonstrate their force and arm them for the fight for the overthrow of fascism. The 4th of March will be a day of great anti-fascist demonstrations under the banner of Communism.

Cutting Down of the Tenants' Protection in Austria.

By A. Ketzlik (Vienna).

Doctor Seipel, the Chancellor, promised the house owners that the rent restriction act will be cut down. The latter evidently also belongs to the "revolutionary rubbish" as he expressed himself in reference to the achievements of the time of the revolutionary upheaval which ought to be cleared away. After his sanguinary success on July 15th he thinks that he is now in a position to fulfil his promise.

Seipel's government has therefore drafted a new bill regarding house rents which it is intended to bring in as soon as possible. According to the bill the chief tenants' rent will amount to 2000 to 3000 times the pre-war rent. Apart from that the tenants will have to pay for repairs, the cost of administration, the working expenses and the tax for house building. Furthermore it will be made possible for the provincial tenants commissions of the country to increase the rents annually by a thousand fold of the pre-war rent. The intention is that the 5000 fold of the pre-war rent may be demanded immediately for housing and business premises which are becoming vacant. The said provincial tenants commissions are to be composed of two house owners, two representatives of the tenants and on either side a representative of the Chamber of Commerce and of the Chamber of Labour, under the presidency of a judge nominated by the government. In the event of an equal number of votes being cast, the chairman has the casting vote. In order, however, to be quite sure that the awards will be to the disadvantage of the tenants, the presiding judge has the right to impose penalties on obstructing members of the Commission. In order that the punishments may be executed immediately, members of the Upper and Lower Houses, town councillors and members of the Diets — who enjoy so-called immunity — are not allowed to sit on the Commissions. The existing regulations with regard to giving notice to the tenants are to be restricted and the rights of the house owners extended.

In spite of the tenants' protection — which form the basis for the starvation wages in Austria — the Austrian workers are the most poorly paid of any country in Europe, as has been calculated by Dr. Schiff, a bourgeois statistician. If the bill is passed, even though in its present outline, it will mean a further increase of the destitution of the Austrian proletariat. The workers and employees have indeed been promised that the cutting down of the tenants' protection will be compensated for by an increase of wages. The standard of living will nevertheless be lowered. Above all not all the workers and employees will receive an increase in wages equivalent to the amount by which the rents will rise. Persons who are drawing pensions for instance will probably remain empty-handed. Business men on the other hand will in any case pass the extra expenses resulting from the increase of rents on to the consumers, a fact for which no increase of wages has been either provided or promised.

The workers of Austria have therefore every reason for opposing the contemplated cutting down of the tenants' protection. Instead of organising the struggle in good time, the Social Democratic Party of Austria is confining itself to trying to means of persuasion. It rightly points out that the house owners' rents will, on the basis of the government bill, be restored to the value it had before the inflation. It is also threatening with a fight but fails to carry it through.

Doctor Seipel, the Chancellor, required at all costs the consent to the budget proposed by him in order to be sure of the League of Nations' loan. This circumstance offered the social democrats the possibility of causing the proposed bill to be dropped even before it was introduced into Parliament. The social democracy, however, allowed the budget to be passed in the Committee of Supply and Doctor Seipel thereupon immediately placed the government bill for the cutting down of the tenants' protection on the agenda at the first meeting of the Ministerial Council. Doctor Seipel is reckoning on the readiness of social democracy to come to a compromise. Doctor Otto Bauer, at a public meeting of women, demanded in connection with the question of the tenants' protection, that the old age and sickness insurance which has no value for the workers, shall come into force. The bourgeoisie regards this as a sign of the preparedness of social democracy to consent

to the cutting down of the tenants' protection in return for the old age insurance.

It will therefore not be possible to maintain the tenants' protection in Austria, unless the workers themselves proceed to fight unanimously. In Vienna 300,000 of the 535,000 tenants of the year 1923 are members of the tenants' organisation. If the said organisation were to enter on a united fight which social democracy refuses to conduct, Doctor Seipel's bill, even though it should be passed by Parliament, would remain a dead letter.

At the last elections to the National Council, which was carried on under the slogan of the tenants' protection, the bourgeoisie proclaimed: "The tenants' protection is ensured! vote for the unity list!" And the social democrats trumpeted forth: "The tenants' protection must not be disturbed!" Practice has shown how much seriousness can be attached to their words. The working class is realising that only the Communists are standing for a determined, consistent struggle for the maintenance of the tenants' protection, a fight which may be carried on with success if the workers ceased to tolerate the coalition policy of the social democracy.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Disarmament Proposals of the Soviet Union at Geneva.

By Georg (Berlin).

At the meeting of the League of Nations held last summer, Paul Boncour on behalf of French Imperialism succeeded in bringing about the setting up of a "Security Committee" alongside of the "Preparatory Disarmament Committee". His ostensible object was to search for "new securities" which would in the first place render possible a limitation of armaments in accordance with the views of the imperialists. The so-called disarmament negotiations are to create a system rendering impossible any alteration of the state of affairs as was established after the world war in the Peace Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon. For the European Power which derives benefit from these treaties is French imperialism, and which therefore continues to demand the maintenance of the status quo.

Whoever doubted this must have been convinced by the two sessions of the Security Committee. The setting up of the Committee in Autumn provided the welcome occasion to all capitalist government to sweep aside the discussion on the disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union. Since then the Committee has been at "work". The result of its activity is a contradictory memorandum, concocted by the zealous Benes and his assistants in Prague. The militant language of the report, which forms the basis of the present session, caused such a supporter of the League of Nations as the social democratic "Arbeiter-Zeitung" of Vienna to assert that

"it is an appalling document of crime which has been prepared under the auspices of the League of Nations. It is very seldom that reaction has spoken in such a brutally warlike tone as in this document".

In Geneva endless debates over "securities" were held in order to conceal the fact that none of the capitalist governments even thinks of limiting armaments, but wishes to secure the best platform for the next war. The antagonisms of the imperialists among themselves (France and her vassals against Italy and Great Britain, Germany against France etc.) collide with one another, but all are united in their hostility to the Soviet Union; new sub-committees, new questionnaires are being planned.

It is in this way that the capitalist world is preparing to disarm. It promised disarmament in 1919 under the threat of the proletarian revolution. It is true, six years elapsed before the League of Nations thought of these "promises". It was only in December, 1925, that the League of Nations decided to set up a Preparatory Disarmament Commission. This Commission, which has been functioning since May, 1926, has up to now held four conferences, and is now preparing for the fifth, which is convened for the 15th of March in Geneva. But up to now it has not been possible to fix even the date of the actual "Dis-

armament Conference". Should one enquire as to the results of these meetings, the only answer is the insane armaments in all corners of the capitalist world.

The Soviet government plays a very important rôle in these hypocritical discussions of the imperialists on their alleged disarmament plans. This rôle was at first a passive role. The capitalist governments took advantage of the circumstance that the Soviet government, owing to its conflict with Switzerland on account of the murder of Vorovsky, could not send a delegation to Geneva, in order to make an obvious manoeuvre. They accused the Workers' State of sabotaging the "disarmament efforts" of the League of Nations and represented it as being the obstacle to disarmament. This accusation was always repudiated by the Soviet government. Comrade Chicherin declared on the 7th of April, 1927, in a Note to the League of Nations' Secretariat, that the League of Nations could have had the possibility of the securing the participation of a Soviet delegation at the meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Committee by arranging that the Committee should meet somewhere else than in Switzerland. The insistence on Geneva as the place for the meeting of the Committee has been nothing else but a deliberate exclusion of the Soviet Union. In the same Note Chicherin laid down the fundamental standpoint of the Soviet government to the disarmament negotiations of the League of Nations, which has not been altered since then.

"The Soviet government has never concealed its scepticism in regard to the Conference convened by the League of Nations. The attitude of the leaders of the League of Nations has convinced the Soviet government that these Conferences do not possess a serious character and are lacking in sincerity."

In the course of the Summer of 1927 the situation had altered insofar as the Soviet government had settled the dispute with Switzerland and thereby deprived the League of Nations' wirepullers of the last possibility of excluding the Soviet Union and accusing it of sabotaging disarmament work. At the Autumn meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Committee in Geneva, Litvinov appeared at the head of the Soviet delegation and submitted the proposals of the Soviet Union for complete and immediate general disarmament. In his speech he did not leave any doubt that the Soviet government sees through the hypocritical disarmament speeches of the League of Nations people and that he had come to Geneva to expose this hypocrisy before the workers of the whole world. The most important portion of this speech was:

"The Soviet government is of the opinion, as it has always declared, that the causes of military conflicts are not to be removed within the capitalist system. Militarism is an inevitable result of capitalism. But the peoples wish to fight against new imperialist wars and to secure peace. This circumstance permits the Soviet government to accept an invitation of the League of Nations in which it is declared that it wishes to work for disarmament. We have accepted this invitation in order to show to the whole world that we really have the will to peace, that the capitalist governments, however, have quite other intentions in regard to disarmament."

The spokesman of the Soviet delegation at Geneva showed how the League of Nations obstinately evades every practical disarmament question, that hitherto not a single concrete step had been made in this direction; from which it was to be seen that the League of Nations and the imperialist States do not wish to put forward practically the question of disarmament. The social democratic "Arbeiter-Zeitung" of Vienna wrote regarding this speech:

"It sounded like a trumpet blast. It was really comical to see how flabbergasted the whole assembly of trained diplomats appeared in face of this gust of wind which swept away all paper, all the unctuous words in which Geneva is so rich. That at this meeting representatives of the working class could unfold the programme which alone gave expression to the wishes of the working masses, that is felt to be a satisfactory act."

The social democratic politicians, however, were far from welcoming this satisfactory act. On the contrary, the French social democrat Boncour, who had been sent by the imperialists

to reply to the disarmament proposals of the Union, characterised them as "phantastic, impracticable, in fact childish".

What happened in November will now be repeated. During the meeting of the Security Committee the Soviet Government submitted to the League of Nations Secretariat its concrete disarmament measures. It is a unique document in history, in order to enforce the formal discussion of the proposals at the coming meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission on the 15th of March.

The draft provides for the immediate commencement of complete disarmament; this to be completed within the period of four years. What is of importance is that this draft demands the participation of labour organisations in the control of the disarmament measures. It is a unique document in history. It is the first time that a government of a great Power proposes the complete destruction of the entire war machine. Such a proposal could only be made by a powerful workers' State the whole policy of which solely serves the interests of the workers, and therefore the interests of peace. Whilst all the draft proposals of the League of Nations are devoted to the organisation of war, which is declared to be the last wisdom of capitalist policy, so that even in the so-called disarmament draft of the League of Nations it is openly declared that all the measures for limitation of armaments provided for in the draft become invalid in the event of war, the Soviet proposal aims at the abolition of the war danger.

What its fate will be there can be little doubt. The imperialist wire-pullers have not succeeded in stifling it by a conspiracy of silence, they will therefore at the March session seek to reject it by means of flimsy excuses. It will again be the lot of the social democrat Bônour to mask rejection by hypocritical "amendment proposals".

The Soviet government, however, will not agree to a watering down of its proposals. The workers of the world must clearly see who are the warmongers and who are the defenders of peace. In the proposal of the Soviet Government the way of the struggle for peace is clearly indicated: **Fight against the capitalist system** until it is overthrown, alliance of the workers of all countries with the proletarian State which stands for peace, exposure of the hypocritical lies of the League of Nations, **discovery and control by the workers' organisations of all war measures of the imperialists** in order that the workers can be alarmed and mobilised against the threatened danger of war!

The Main Objects of the Draft Convention of General, Complete and Immediate Disarmament Submitted by the Soviet Union.

On the 15th February last the President of the Soviet Delegation in the Commission of the Preparatory Disarmament Conference, Comrade Litvinov, sent to the General Secretary of the League of Nations the draft of a Disarmament Convention which fixes in the form of a treaty those proposals which Comrade Litvinov brought forward in his declaration of the 30th November, 1927, at the fourth session of the Commission.

The draft provides for general, complete and immediate disarmament, to be completed within four years, but in such a manner that the possibility of armed collisions will be limited already after expiration of the first year.

The draft accordingly provides for the following measures already in the first year: 50 per cent. demobilisation of the armies, destruction of all reserves of weapons, overhauling of the most important types of warships and aircraft, liquidation of military institutions. In the following three years there shall take place the complete disbandment of the army, destruction of all weapons in the hands of the troops, destruction or transformation for peace purposes of all sea and aircraft, as well as the means for production of war material, abolition of the military budget and handing over of all matters connected with armaments to the civil Ministries. According to the purport of the Convention there shall be retained only a certain number of defensive troops (customs and forest guards, police etc. and also a small number of smaller warships for the pro-

tection of ocean traffic from pirates etc.) and an insignificant number of weapons for personal purposes (hunting etc.).

The control of the carrying out of the Convention shall be entrusted to a permanent International Control Commission, to separate commissions in every State and district commissions, which will be set up according to the principle of equality and of the participation of representatives of legislative bodies and of the working classes.

Explanatory Memorandum to the Draft Convention of Immediate, Complete and General Disarmament.

1. As a basis of the draft of a Convention on immediate, complete and general disarmament there is laid down the destruction of the chief elements constituting the military power of a country, i. e. of the organised land, sea and air forces, of war material and of those branches of industry connected with the production of war material.

At the same time the draft of the Convention provides that after the expiration of one year from the day of the coming into force of the Convention, the land, sea and air forces of all States shall be so greatly reduced that their employment for purpose of conducting a war shall be thereby rendered difficult. Thus the possibility of armed conflicts will be limited even before the carrying out of complete disarmament.

2. The draft represents only the general principles of disarmament which can be applied to the armed forces of all countries without going into the peculiarities of every separate State. In this respect it was taken into consideration that all these peculiarities will form the subject of a further discussion of the question of total disarmament after the acceptance of the main principles.

Nevertheless, in this case also, the necessity of working out details is excluded, as this will be the function of a special organ which will be formed after the Convention comes into force.

3. Chapter I of the Draft Convention contains the principles of disarmament in regard to the personnel of the forces.

For the first year there is provided the disbanding of half of the total of the commanding staff, officers and men, further the closing of military schools, ministries of war, and military institutions, and discharge of the authorities, along with the destruction of the mobilisation documents and the statistics relating to the reserves which have been formed.

The armies and fleets will thereby be brought into a condition which will render difficult their employment by one state to attack another, while the chief provisions of the remaining section deal with the carrying out of disarmament in relation to war material, the destruction of which requires free disposable labour for the carrying out of this work.

It is thereby assumed that the question of the organisation of the armed forces after the carrying out of the first stage of disarmament represents an inner affair of each State. In the armies based upon the territorial principle with small cadres periodically filled out by a changing personnel, disarmament will be carried out on the same principle, i. e. after the lapse of the first year 50% of the cadres and 50% of the changing personnel belonging to the reserves will be discharged.

For the rest, Chapter I of the Draft develops and lays down those theses which the Delegation of the Soviet Union introduced at the Fourth Session of the Preparatory Committee of the Disarmament Conference.

4. Chapter II. contains the fundamental directions in regard to destruction of war material:

a) here provision is made for the main part of disarmament for the first stage, namely: destruction of all reserves of armaments which are destined for the mobilisation of the armed forces, and in the first place those weapons which can be employed against a peaceful population.

b) After the carrying out of the first stage of disarmament, the armies of all States shall retain, strictly reckoned, only so many weapons as correspond to the strength of the armed forces to be maintained in the next years. The degree to which technical fighting means will be provided is subject to a limitation on the basis of a special convention. Such limitation, as well as the measures provided in Chapter I., aim at preventing the employment for the purposes of conducting war. of weapons remaining over in the following years.

c) By annihilation of war material is understood that it should be placed in such a position as will render it impossible to be used for war purposes. The technique of destruction will be the object of a further elaboration, the aim of which shall be the maximum employment of valuable material for the requirements of peace industry and for increasing the well-being of the people.

d) Under article 15 of the Draft Convention provision is made for the retention of hunting rifles of a non-military type, as well as of revolvers for the purpose of hunting and self-defence. The latter is necessary under the conditions of the social order prevailing in the majority of States, particularly in the States possessing a feebly developed system of transport.

e) In regard to the sea forces, the Draft provides in the first place for the destruction of capital ships, cruisers, aircraft carriers, as all these means mainly serve imperialist purposes. The enumerated categories of warships shall be withdrawn from naval effectives, and the personnel of such vessels shall be immediately disbanded, the possibility of their employment for war purposes being thereby limited; after which they will be rendered useless and the whole material part of naval artillery, mines and torpedo equipment shall be dismantled and destroyed. Simultaneously with the rendering useless of the material part, the reserve stores of artillery, mines and torpedoes shall also be destroyed. The employment of warships for war purposes will thereby be rendered impossible without long preparation.

The provisional draft of the Convention permits the employment of warships as merchant ships after their dismantling and appropriate transformation.

The complete disarmament of warships is contemplated in the sense of removal of armour plates, destruction of special equipment, such as turrets, gun platforms, landing places for airships and the other special appliances destined for war purposes.

f) The disarming of the air forces consists in the first place in the destruction of heavy aviation and airships as a means for conducting war. In view of the cultural significance of aviation as means of transport, the Draft of the Convention does not provide for the destruction of the material part, as a portion of the aeroplanes can be transformed and employed for economic and cultural purposes. As, however, the adaptation of aircraft for the purpose of throwing bombs does not encounter any particular difficulties and can be carried out in a short time, it is necessary to bring the number of units of the civil air fleet into harmony with the actual requirements, which is provided for in article 28.

g) Fortifications and bases must be destroyed, as they can be employed as a jumping off ground for an attack.

h) The question of the destruction of war industry is particularly complicated, as a well-developed industry offers enormous possibilities for the production of war equipment. Nevertheless here also there are a number of main elements the destruction of which would greatly hamper the production of weapons. Among these elements are: those mathematical instruments, brass instruments, calibre measures, lathes, machines, and apparatuses which solely serve for the production of war material. In addition the adaptation of munition factories, for the production of industrial goods, or the employment of not specifically military instruments in other factories, as well as the destruction of the elements of mobilisation preparation, hinder to a considerable extent the employment of these factories for war purposes.

5. Chapter III. is devoted to the organisation of protective troops. In order to render it impossible that the various protective troop formations shall be employed for military purposes and that on the basis of these formations masked fighting forces be created, the number of the police, the militia, the gendarmerie and of the various sorts of guards shall be strictly fixed for the whole term of four years provided for the carrying out of complete, general disarmament. The subsequent strength of the customs and revenue guards, as well as the municipal constabulary, shall be determined by a special Convention, regard being had to the number of the population, the length of the traffic routes, the objects which have to be guarded and the development of forestry.

For the arming of all kinds of inner defence troops only the most simple modern weapons can be retained, as the retention of more complicated weapons can facilitate the employment of these troop formations as striking forces for attack by stronger States on weaker ones.

Protection at sea is not regarded as a function of a single State, but serves the requirements of a group of States. This excludes the possibility of it being used for imperialist purposes. For the arming of the sea defence only those means shall be retained which are strictly necessary for the fulfilment of its tasks.

6. Although complete and general disarmament can be based only upon the good will of all States, its regulation in regard to the gradual carrying out and to the proportionality, and also the founding of a special institution for working out the technical preconditions of disarming and for the solution of questions of dispute which may arise are necessary. Consequently, chapter IV. of the Draft deals with the principles of control. This control rests upon a far-reaching mutuality, upon unconditional publicity and upon the participation in this control of those strata of the population which are most interested in the speediest carrying out of disarmament.

As there exists at present no such arbitrator whose decisions would be submitted to by all States, it is provided that this function be entrusted to an international permanent Control Commission, which of course is only possible with the good will of all States. The composition of this Commission guarantees the impartiality of its decisions, and the Committee of Experts attached to it permits it to reckon upon a prompt solution of technical questions.

7. Chapter V. contains directions with regard to the conclusion of supplementary treaties upon single questions connected with disarmament, on the ratification of the Convention and on the solution of questions which can arise in the event of a violation of the Convention.

It is precisely the last group of questions which is the most complicated; nevertheless the Draft excludes the employment of military measures of compulsion altogether, as such measures can serve as causes of great international conflicts. In the Draft there underlies the assumption that the good will of the majority of the States to carry out complete and general disarmament to an end will always permit that, against such States which attempt to violate the pledges undertaken, other means will be found by which they can be induced to fulfil their obligations.

CHINA

The Revolutionary Women in the Canton Insurrection.

By H. N.

On December 11th 1927 the workers and soldiers of Canton engaged in a heroic fight against the white guardist regime of the landowners, capitalists and other reactionaries. The majority of the Canton garrison, two elite regiments of Kuomintang troops went over to the side of the proletariat in the night between the 10th of December, shot down their reactionary officers, tore off their Kuomintang badges, replacing them by red badges with the hammer and sickle, proclaimed the army parole "revolt" and placed themselves under the command of the Canton Soviet. The Red soldiers and the workers' guard which has been formed by the red trade unions, succeeded by this united attack in capturing the whole town of two million inhabitants, one of the biggest harbours of Asia, in an embittered fight within a few hours.

The workers organised mass meetings and proclaimed the establishment of Red Soviet Canton. Counter-revolution mobilised its whole military force against the Canton Commune without delay. Four divisions on war-footing, the whole Chinese war navy which was present, the cruisers and canon boats of the British, Japanese, American and French imperialists, the fascist organisations and the so-called "Mintuan", the reactionary corps of bandits of the landowners were thrown into the fight against Soviet Canton. The Commune defended its existence heroically, to the last breath. After three days and three nights of uninterrupted fighting, Soviet Canton was defeated by the superior forces of the white enemies. The terror of reaction began; 4000 revolutionary workers, soldiers, peasants and civil guards were slaughtered.

In spite of having been overthrown so quickly, the Canton Soviet Power is "historically immortal" as was declared after

its fall in a Manifesto of the Comintern. The Soviet Power was established, although for a short time, for the first time in Asia and in the colonies of the East altogether. The young Chinese proletariat has, in that short time, proved to be a gigantic, revolutionary force, it has stood the test as the undisputed leader and organiser of the fighting masses. Tens of thousands of workers took part in the Canton struggles. Far more than hundred thousand workers supported the Soviet Power either in one form or another.

The proletarian women took a particularly active share in the revolt and in the defence of the Commune. In the first ranks were the women Communists and the members of the Young Communist League. When the Canton District Executive of the C. P. of China resolved, at its meeting on November 26th, on preparing for the insurrection, on founding a Red Guard and on the military mobilisation of all the Party members, the women Communists and the members of the Young Communist League were also enlisted in the revolutionary work. They took a large share in the information service of the Party, in providing illegal quarters and meeting rooms, in the underground transport of arms etc.

The Party was obliged to make its preparations for the insurrection under conditions of strictest illegality and threatened by the most cruel white terror. As the proletarian class war developed tremendously even in the first months of Autumn 1927 and in view of the fact that demonstrations, strike movements and armed attacks on the Red trade union premises occupied by the police were on the order of the day, the reaction was expecting every day a revolutionary act on the part of the working class as a whole. It therefore made preparations, proceeded with a constantly increasing number of arrests, fired several times on demonstrating crowds and searched passers-by day and night for weapons and Communist agitation material. That was the time when the women Communists and the non-Party women in the Red trade unions rendered invaluable service to the revolutionary cause.

Towards the middle of November the political prisoners in the Central prison of Canton organised a prison-break, by means of which many of them recovered their freedom. In this action also the revolutionary women who were under arrest, played an important part. The women workers of Canton took part in all the public demonstrations and illegal meetings.

In the night of the insurrection, the courier and information service, upon the functioning of which depended the success of the revolt, was, to a considerable extent, in the hands of the women Communists and of the women members of the Red trade unions.

When the police headquarters, the strategical centre of counter-revolution was stormed by the Red Guard, hundreds of women from all the suburbs, especially from the workers' quarters, hurried to the seat of the Canton Soviet and to the staff of the Red Guard in order to help in carrying through the insurrection. A young Communist woman participated in directing the storming of the Finance Ministry which was being obstinately defended by the reactionaries. The revolutionary troops in their hard struggle having no time and forces to spare for arresting the bourgeois and reactionaries who were flocking to the British ships, the revolutionary women organised shock troops armed with rifles and surrounded the wharves of the big shipping companies. The Red women troops barred the roads leading to the harbour, stopped the rich capitalists in their flight with their "goods and chattels", arrested all the well-known reactionaries and suspicious elements, shooting down those who offered resistance and frustrated their plan of fleeing to Hongkong, the British crown colony.

After the victory of the insurrection, the fighting workers, soldiers and peasants were faced with the gigantic task of organising the revolutionary Power. Forces were lacking with which to accomplish the whole work in the shortest time. It was necessary to send every single worker, every revolutionary capable of fighting, every Communist, every youth comrade to the front against the approaching division of the enemy from the first hour of the establishment of the Soviet Power.

At that moment the proletarian women of Canton undertook the work of organisation behind the front with an exertion of force, with a heroism and such cleverness that they aroused the general admiration. The whole task of provisioning the Red Army of 6000 men engaged in the combat was carried out exclusively by the Canton women Communards. With the help

of the Red Guard these women fighters requisitioned the food stocks of the big rice store houses, organised the supply of food on transport waggons with the help of the Red transport workers' union and provided the red troops engaged in the fight with food. In all the districts of Canton women were seen occupied with transporting cases of munition containing shells and cartridges to the army: sometimes in the midst of the enemy's fire.

The participation of the red women and girls of Canton in the whole work of agitation and propaganda for the Soviet Power was also of the utmost importance. The members of the Soviets and of the Council of People's Commissaries had no time for the general management of that extremely important sphere of work except at the hours of the night. The Council of People's Commissaries issued the most important decrees, the Party Committee determined the slogans, the Agitprop Department of the Canton District Executive wrote the most important appeals and published the "Red Flag", the paper of the Soviet government, of which a quarter of a million copies were distributed.

The chief question however was that of spreading the programme of the Soviet Power, its resolutions, Manifestoes and slogans. That task was brilliantly solved by the women. It was the women who posted up the documents of the Soviet Power on thousands of houses, fixed up the red linen streamers bearing the slogans of the insurrection in all the streets. They distributed the "Red Flag", scattered pamphlets among the masses and wrote the ever recurring slogans "Long live Red Soviet Canton! All Power to the workers, peasants and soldiers!" in big red letters on the pavements. Shortly after the storming of the police headquarters when chaos and disorganisation still prevailed, a group of revolutionary women and girls set to work and began to establish a regular control of the entries and exits and organised distribution of the premises in the centre of the revolutionary power. Other groups of women organised a regular passport office, in which credentials, permits etc., were written and stamped for thousands of Communards in accordance with the regulations of the revolutionary War Council and of the Soviets.

On the second day of the insurrection the staff of the Red Guard already presented a firmer and more organised aspect. The arms, munition and equipment were gathered together in the building in which the staff had taken up quarters; the rifles and cartridges were handed out to the leaders of the separate divisions of the Red Army when they had special orders in writing. The distribution of weapons was carried out chiefly by red women and girls.

Needless to say, the entire ambulance service, rendering of first aid and transporting of a large number of wounded was for the greater part carried out by the women workers. In this work as in all other activities however, many women who belonged to the non-proletarian strata, to the poor of the town, regular hospital nurses in their Red Cross uniform, hospital employees and women students who remained at the side of their proletarian fellow-combatants to the last breath, took part.

Finally, the activity of the women Communards of Canton was very important in the Cheka, in detecting, arresting and punishing counter-revolutionaries, further as scouts and on patrol duty in the Red Army, in protecting the town against surprises by the enemy at night.

Many hundreds of the heroic women who took part in the Canton insurrection, paid for their self-sacrifice and activity with their lives and with tortures, when the wave of white terror swept over Canton with bestial ferocity. In the first days after the overthrow of the Commune the white executioners in their blind fury slaughtered any woman or girl with bobbed hair. In the first place the petty bourgeois intellectuals fell victim to their raging madness, amongst them in the majority of cases women and girls who had nothing to do with the insurrection but had merely committed the "crime" of wearing their hair according to modern European mode. A large number of the women communards and many women Communists succeeded in finding shelter in the numerous secret places of a town of two million inhabitants. It is not known how many of them had been butchered. The number of women martyrs, however, certainly amounts to several hundred.

The women and girls of Red Canton can be eradicated from the memory of all the workers, from the remembrance of the

international proletariat, just as little as the women Communards of Paris to whose memory Marx dedicated an immortal work. The services rendered by the women Communards of Canton on the occasion of the insurrection in the armed fight, in the work of agitation, in the ambulance service, in the Commissariats, in the Cheka and in the Red Army are written in brazen letters in the history of the Chinese workers' and peasants revolution.

THE BALKANS

Terror at the Municipal Elections in Bulgaria.

Letter from Sofia.

On February 19, there took place in Bulgaria the elections to the rural district councils. The great significance of these elections is evident from the fact alone that eighty per cent. of the total population of Bulgaria are living in rural districts and that the elections took place in more than two thousand villages. The Liaptchev Government, knowing very well the hatred with which it is regarded by the peasantry, resorted to the old method of intimidation and intensified its terror to an unlimited extent. Liaptchev wanted to be victorious at the elections "at any price" and "by all means". As has already been made known, he has succeeded by these methods in obtaining sixty per cent. of the vote and seventy per cent. of the seats. The exact result of the election will only be known in a few weeks.

The cruel Terror of the government was directed with all its force against the Workers' Party, which entered the election campaign under the slogan: Creation of the bloc of the toilers for a decisive fight against the terrorist government and for the vital interests of the masses of workers and peasants.

The Workers' Party was actually outlawed. All their district conferences were dispersed by the police; a large number of those who attended the conferences were arrested and cruelly tortured. Even Chr. Kalagdjiev, a deputy of the Workers' Party, did not escape being arrested and brutally tortured in the police prison of Charmanli. Several members of the Executive Committee of the Party were thrown into prison in order to prevent them from taking part in the election. Both the fascist press and the government press continually demanded the dissolution of the Party. Anyhow most of the premises of the Party organisations have already been sealed by the police.

Under the sign of the intensified terror introduced on the occasion of the election, the country is once again being swept by a wave of political murders.

The "irresponsible elements" and the police functionaries have been quite openly encouraged and instigated to these murderous deeds by the supreme council of the government party which recently met, and also by Liaptchev himself, who, at the conference of the prefects, urged that "the conspiratory elements and robbers be persecuted".

Hence large number of political murders have again been recorded the last few weeks, a few of which we enumerate:

Ivan Petrov of Dolna-Banja, a political emigrant who had returned home, disappeared without leaving a trace, having been under arrest in the police headquarters of Sofia.

N. Stojanov of Kalandia was murdered in the police prison of Vassiliko.

Stojko Mirov from the village of Kapitanovza, district of Vidin, ex-mayor of the parish and a member of the opposition was murdered by "irresponsible elements".

T. Valkov of Hasbegli, district of Karnobat, was shot "while attempting to escape".

B. Piskjulev from Kasanlik, who had been an active member of the workers' co-operative movement for 25 years, was murdered by "irresponsible elements".

Dimo Batcharov, worker from Varna, was murdered in the police prison.

Gantcho Moev, a political prisoner from Lovetch, was murdered "while trying to escape".

Dimo Poppov from Vidin, a lawyer and political emigrant who had returned home, was foully murdered; wholesale arrests took place on the occasion of the demonstration at his funeral.

G. Zdravev from Sofia, an officer in the reserve and a member of the opposition, was arrested and has disappeared in the police headquarters "without leaving a trace".

Many reports are received from the villages; the peasants have fled to the mountains in order to escape the arrests and tortures. The government, however, uses this circumstance as a pretext for sending punitive expeditions, for describing the peasants who have fled as robbers and having them shot as being "outlawed".

The terror exercised on the occasion of the municipal elections has also resulted in an intensified persecution of the revolutionary labour and peasant press. Thus, for instance, the newspapers "Zemledelsko Wazrajdana", "Novini", "Rabotnichsko Delo" and others have been confiscated dozens of times in the last few weeks, and actions for infringement of the press laws have been brought against the editors of the papers, among them being no less than thirteen against the "Novini" alone! The editors of the young peasants paper, the "Mladejko Zname", and of the young workers' paper, the "Mladejka Duma" have recently been thrown into prison.

The more the government party feared being defeated at the elections, the more the infamous bloodhounds of the Zankov wing came to the front with their plans for a putsch and a dictatorship. General Russev, Minister for the Interior in the former government of Zankov, openly declared at an election meeting in Varna that, should the government suffer a defeat and collapse, the military dictatorship would be proclaimed. The government is at the same time conducting an energetic propaganda in favour of a purely fascist "reform" of the rural municipalities after the pattern of Mussolini, according to which the mayors shall be nominated instead of elected, and such like. Changes in the electoral law have already been introduced.

It is true the internal struggle within the government party is silenced for the time being on the basis of the unifying platform, according to which "the complete and final annihilation of the subversive movement (i. e. of the workers' and peasants' organisations) should be accomplished with even greater energy and determination than hitherto". (Last revolution of the supreme council of the government party.) This is equivalent to a carte blanche to all the authorities and fascist gangs. Not content with this, Liaptchev is preparing for fresh provocation in order to find the desired pretext for dissolving the Workers' Party and organising a fresh massacre.

The rôle played by the Social Democracy Party and by the official leaders of the Peasants League — that of the oppositional bourgeois parties at the present municipal elections was quite insignificant — was, as has always been the case, that of pronounced traitors and despicable denounciators of the Workers' Party and the masses of the Peasant League.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Capitalist Offensive against British Cotton Workers.

By B. Williams.

The growing conflict in the British cotton industry is likely to reach a head at any time. The crisis is of tremendous significance from the point of view of the development of the class struggle in Britain. The workers are faced with the threat of a 12.5% wage cut on earnings (25% on list prices) and an increase of hours from 48 to 52 $\frac{1}{4}$ per week. The arguments of the cotton employers are familiar, namely, that if their proposals are adopted they will make possible a cut in prices and enable them to gain lost markets, and also that the longer hours worked will make up for the reduced wages of the workers.

It must be noted that about 570,000 workers are involved in the present crisis. The wages are at present about 61% of the pre-war level (making allowance for the reduction of hours in 1917 from 55.5 to 48), while the cost of living is now 68% above pre-war.

The British textile industry represents the "first fruits" of the capitalist mode of production and is the oldest form of capitalist industry. It is to be expected, therefore, that it would contain within itself to-day many relics of the earlier forms

of the capitalist industrial organisation. It is hampered and fettered by traditions of individualism and small scale productive methods, and as a consequence is finding itself hopelessly outclassed by foreign competitors who came later into the field. The textile capitalists in the countries which developed much later than Britain were not weighted down with old traditions, were able to learn from the experience of Britain, to introduce the latest methods of organisation and technique.

In Britain each process is carried on by a number of small individual firms such as spinners, weavers, bleachers, dyers, calico printers, etc., though the finishing processes are more highly organised into large combines. There are between 500 and 600 individual firms engaged in spinning and more than double that number in weaving. The majority of those are private firms.

The same picture presents itself when we examine the organisations of the workers. Here also we find a number of relics of old and now obsolete forms of working class organisation. Numerous petty craft unions, brimful of class jealousies, possessing a leadership hopelessly incapable of understanding the situation which exists to-day. These weaknesses make it possible for the employers to play off one section against another.

A few figures should serve to illustrate the present economic condition of the industry. The export of cotton goods 1913—1927 is as follows:

	Millions of Square Yards
1913	7,021,084
1923	4,141,303
1924	4,443,959
1925	4,433,617
1926	3,834,448
1927	4,117,683

Britain has lost one third of her export trade. The change which has taken place in the export of cotton goods is illustrated in the following table published in the Board of Trade Journal November 1927.

	Millions of Linear Yards	
	1913	1925
To Europe	867	1,008
To Africa	721	756
To America	997	728
To Australia	211	204
	2,706	2,691
To Far East	4,369	1,946
Total	7,075	4,637

The position of the British cotton industry relative to that of the other countries is illustrated in the following: the world mill consumption of cotton in 1912/13 amounted to 23 million bales, the share of Britain being 4,274,000. In 1926/27, the world's mill consumption had increased to 25,882,000, while Lancashire's consumption declined to 3,010,000 bales. The number of spindles increased during the same period by 18,000, but in Lancashire 1,500,000 spindles were silenced. The world's cotton trade has decreased by 16%, while Lancashire's trade has decreased by 33%. Before the war Britain supplied 73% of the cotton piece goods entering into international trade. During the period 1921—1925 her share dropped to 56%.

The figures of bankruptcies in the cotton industry is of interest. In 1921, the first of the bad years, there were 243 bankruptcies. During the five years 1926 the average amounted to 335 bankruptcies per year.

The crisis is mainly in that section of the industry which is engaged in working American raw cotton from which the coarser and cheaper goods are manufactured. This section works chiefly for export and it is this class of goods, which are increasingly being made in those countries which were previously a market for British cotton goods. This applies particularly to the East which is rapidly becoming industrialised.

The Egyptian section, which is fairly prosperous, produces the finer and more expensive articles. It produces but a small percentage of the total cotton goods and represents only about 50% of Britain's total cotton exports.

The cotton industry has to bear its share of the enormous burden of parasitism (a burden heavier in Britain than any

other country). Over capitalisation in the more modern and efficient plant which were erected during the war on post-war boom, many of which are only earning enough to pay interest on the bank loans. The financiers must have their pound of flesh and so the workers must be attacked.

To the extent that the workers are attacked, to that extent will they be compelled to enter into conflicts, and conflicts in the present period means gigantic class struggles. The events in Britain since the war have demonstrated that the British workers are as capable of prolonged and acute class struggles as elsewhere. The Communist Party with its faith in the ability of the workers to enter the revolutionary struggle sees the process of revolutionary education of the British workers taking place, and is bending its energies in the direction of assisting this process.

What is the programme round which the Party is rallying the textile workers? It is the following:

1. 100 per cent trade unionism. At present only about 50% of the workers are organised. An effective campaign based on a fighting programme is the only way to get the workers into the unions.

2. Formation of Mill Committees for the purpose of co-ordinating all sections and crafts. Mill Committees representatives of all workers in the factory will achieve this.

3. Formation of local unity committees which should be constituted from representatives from the Mill Committees and local unions involved in the struggle.

4. One central negotiating body, representing all the unions in the textile industry. This will prevent sections being won over by small concessions and thus dividing the ranks of the workers, and making for defeat.

5. A demand that the T. U. C. shall abandon the policy of "industrial peace" and call a special T. U. C. to mobilise support for the textile workers. This support must take the form of a) financial support, b) an embargo on raw cotton and finished cotton goods, and c) by convening a world conference of textile unions for mutual aid and support.

This programme represents the lines along which the textile workers must conduct the struggle if they are to resist the onslaughts of the employers.

FASCISM

Mussolini's Reform of the Constitution.

The Italian Ministerial Council met under the Presidency correspond to the aim of the further construction of a fascist of Mussolini on February 20th. Mussolini laid several legislative projects before the Ministerial Council, among them being the New Electoral Bill, which according to his words "will State and with an organic plan, the criterion of fascist unity".

What are the provisions of this new election bill? It provides for 400 deputies for the whole of Italy. The whole country represents a single electoral district. The Fascist National Trade Union federations or their general councils, which are recognised as being legal, have in the first instance the right to set up candidates. They must put forward twice the number of candidates in comparison with the number of deputies to which they have a right on the ground of special regulations. In addition to that, public institutions and actually existing organisations which "are of national importance and serve purposes of civilisation or of charity" may also contest a seat in Parliament, but only as regards a fourth of the number of deputies to which they are entitled. All the lists of candidates are handed in to the Grand Fascist Council, which compiles from them the final lists of candidates according to its own will, adding to them, if necessary, other candidates from the realm of science, literature, art and politics who have not been proposed.

The candidates must be put up within 40 days after the date of the election is fixed. The election takes place on the third Sunday following the publication of the lists. The voting is done by means of voting papers containing the emblems of the fascio and the formula: "Do you vote for the list of candidates who have been set up by the Grand Fascist Council?"

The answer is simply yes or no. If a list is not accepted (with an equal number of affirmative and negative votes the list is regarded as accepted), the Court of Appeal instituted by the government orders a fresh election with various lists to be held. Unions and organisations with a membership of at least 5000 persons duly figuring in the election lists may hand in lists of candidates for the fresh election, which takes place at the earliest thirty days after the decree of the Court of Appeal has been issued. The list of candidates to the fresh election must not contain more than three quarters of the number of deputies who are to be elected.

Any Italian subject who has completed his twenty first year, or is married and has children, although he has not yet attained the said age limit but is over 18, possesses the right to vote. They must, moreover, fulfil certain conditions: pay membership dues to a fascist trade union, pay direct national or communal taxes of not less than 100 Lira per year etc. Members of churches recognised by the State also possess the franchise.

The bill determines the number of candidates to which the different associations have a claim. Thus for instance, the National Union of Agriculture has a claim to 12% of the candidates; the National Union of Agricultural officials and workers to 12%; the National Union of Industrialists to 10%; the National Union of employes and workers of industry also 10%; the National Union of merchants 6%; the National Union of Banks 3%; the National Union of Free Professions and of artists 2%.

The object Mussolini is pursuing with this Bill is quite obvious. His intention is to destroy all the oppositional parties of Italy in order that only one political party shall exist, which serves absolutely and in every respects the fascist government, i. e. the big capitalists and landed proprietors. The semi-official organ of the Fascist government itself openly admitted this in November, 1927, when the Grand Fascist Council decided upon the new electoral law. At that time it wrote that "the reform of the Constitution will mean the end of Parliament in the traditional sense of the word".

The new law is an expression of the fact that Fascism cannot tolerate a parliamentary regime. The existence of oppositional parties and of an oppositional press is a preliminary condition of a parliamentary regime. Fascism, however, which has concentrated all the economic forces of the country, of bureaucracy, of the armed forces into its hands in the past two years, which has more and more identified itself with capitalism — the fascist party, which has come entirely under the domination of the industrialists, the agrarians and has consequently pushed aside the petty-bourgeois State which had been its original social basis, can no longer grant "democratic rights" to the working masses. Fascism cannot but try to prevent any direct or indirect interference of the working masses with the political life of the country, as any interference of that kind could endanger the fascist stabilisation". That is the political significance of the new "reform of the Constitution".

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

International Communist Women's Day, 1928.

By Hertha Sturm.

In March, 1927, the army of class conscious working women demonstrated under the banner of the Communist International against the offensive of world capital, against fascism and imperialist war, for the Chinese Revolution, for the Soviet Union. This year's International Women's Day calls upon the women masses to fight for the same slogans. But today all the questions are much more acute, and as a result the two great fronts in the class war between labour and capital are being formed more conscious and more firmly.

In such fights the working women also must take part. As a matter of fact we see that with the general swing of the working class to the Left women masses are beginning to stir more actively than in the last few years. In fact the more patiently and the more passively broad sections of them have long and silently borne their yoke, the more violent and the more elementarily they are now stirring against the increasing

hard pressure, against the immediate everyday deprivation. Increasing prices, the burden of taxation, exorbitant rent the uninterrupted cutting down of the already miserable social services, but before all the questions of wages and working time are to-day drawing millions of working women into the fight.

In Germany and France, in Czechoslovakia and America, in fascist Italy and in Poland, masses of working women are striking. Mostly they are the first to down tools. They are not held back by Mussolini's repressive measures against strikes, not by the police and military which are being mobilised in Poland, nor by the police clubs, tear shells and rifle fire of the "democratic" government of the United States, nor by the stupid passivity of their male colleagues, who in Germany in many cases remained at work in the factories. They beat factory managers who venture to shorten their scandalously low wages (Poland), practise passive resistance in the factory, go on picket duty and fetch strike-breakers out of the factories, either by persuasion or physical force, organise food kitchens for the strikers and their families, they are flung into the prisons of the bourgeoisie. They learn how to fight and at the same time learn something more: who are their enemies and who are their fellow fighters and true leaders.

In these struggles the reformist leaders cannot adopt a "middle" position. Thus the working women are experiencing how the trade union bureaucracy stabs them in the back. It rages over the "unofficial" strikes of the women workers — the great majority of whom are unorganised —; it even distributes leaflets against the striking working women, as for example in Viersen in the Rhine district; in order to please the employers it simply ignores the demands of the women; it intervenes in the negotiations for the sole purpose of bringing the struggles to as speedy a termination as possible in favour of the employers. All the smaller and greater victories that the working women have won in their defensive struggle are due to their own strength — exerted against the will of the reformist leaders —, are due to the leadership of the class-conscious advance-guard of the working class — the Communists. It is a defeat for the reformist and a victory for the class struggle when, in the course of the fights in the United States, thousands of women textile workers become organised for the first time in trade unions and when, in Germany, in 1927, in the fighting districts alone, 40,000 textile workers, mostly women, join the trade unions.

These daily struggles for wages and bread form the cardinal point for the mobilisation of the masses of women. To foresee, to prepare for and to initiate these struggles, to draw the broad strata of the women into them, to understand and to represent the interests of the working women, to conduct the fight against capital and the treacherous class collaboration policy of the reformists and the fascists — all these form the immediate task of the Communists. This is the first stage, and one which cannot be skipped, for winning the masses of the women for the slogans of the Communist Party. It is here that it is necessary to shatter the positions of power of the bourgeoisie and the reformists.

Today the bourgeoisie, in alliance with the social democracy, still dominates politically very large masses of the proletarian women, not to speak of the women of the petty bourgeoisie. In such life and death questions as war, white terror, China and the Soviet Union, the Communists must fight hard for the support of the masses of toiling women.

Another very great and difficult task consists in forming the anti-war sentiments — which even today are still very unclear and strongly permeated with pacifism — of the masses of women and to directing them along the line of the class struggle against imperialist war; because the social democracy, by its double game, deceives and confuses the masses of women. Although of all persons it is the "socialist" Paul Boncour who is mobilising the French women by means of the military law, and although the leaders of the Labour Party in Great Britain are actively supporting the entire anti-Soviet and China-intervention policy of the Baldwin Government, large masses of the women still believe the sweet songs of peace sung by the women social democrat leaders on every formal occasion.

If now in Great Britain, Honora Enfield, under the pressure of the strong sentiment for peace prevailing among the proletarian women of Great Britain, cannot do enough to praise in word and writing the disarmament proposals of the

Soviet Delegation in Geneva, if the Austro-Marxist Emmy Freundlich, the President of the International Women's Co-Operative Guild, in her New-Year's message to the affiliated women's guilds adopt a position in favour of the Soviet Proposals, then it is urgently necessary to remind the masses of women, particularly in Great Britain, of Stockholm. There, at the International Co-operative Women's Conference, these same two leaders did everything possible to prevent the proletarian opposition, headed by the Soviet delegates, from clearly and plainly showing the Conference the way in which the war of the imperialists must be fought and ended by the class war of the proletariat.

In the fight against fascism and white terror, for the International Red Aid and for the innumerable victims of the class struggle in all the "democratic" countries, as well as in uncivilised China, it is necessary, simultaneously with mobilising the masses, ruthlessly to expose the joint responsibility of the social democracy for all these crimes of the bourgeoisie. Only thus can the broad masses of the working women have their eyes opened to the fact that the most elementary class solidarity, in spite of all the counter-maneuvres of the social democracy, summons them to flock to the Red Aid.

Active solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants in far off China compels the masses of women to judge between the principles of the class struggle on the one hand and the theory and practice of social patriotism on the other hand. The social democratic International of the white races supports the imperialist policy of suppression and exploitation in regard to the colonial and semi-colonial peoples not only practically, but it even recognises it theoretically. Every class-conscious working woman must turn from social democracy, which, as a servile lackey of the bourgeoisie, has openly allied itself with the gun boats of the imperialists and the counter-revolutionary Chinese generals who are bloodily crushing the heroic struggling working and peasant masses.

Class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in all parts of the globe! Class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie in a special sense; on the one side all the imperialist States of the world against the only and first workers' State, the Soviet Union. Here the revolution has been victorious. Here the proletariat has established its power. Here the woman is emancipated from exploitation and serfdom. Ten years of the Soviet Power have proved to the working women of the world that it is worth while fighting for the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie. May these millions of women realise that the defence of their own vital interests in the great united front of the working class against capitalism and imperialism serves as a source of strength for the Chinese Revolution; that it is a protective wall for the Soviet Union the citadel of the world proletariat. Every mass struggle leads one step nearer to the goal, to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the victory of the proletarian revolution. The International Women's Day must make the masses of women ready for the fight and the victory.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Murder of Comrade Sozzi in the Prison of Perugia.

Our Comrade Sozzi, a young and brave champion of the Communist movement, has been murdered by the fascists in the prison of Perugia. Reports which we have received from Italy state that the murder-government of Mussolini does not deny that Comrade Sozzi died a violent death. It is true the executioners wish to spread the version that Comrade Sozzi committed suicide by strangling himself.

This is not the first crime of Mussolini. Matteotti, Lavagnini, Spartaco Stagnetti were among the many other victims of the bloody regime. But it is perhaps the first time that the fascists have penetrated a prison in such an almost open manner and without more ado slaughtered a political opponent.

As the General Prosecutor for the Special Court himself admits, there are at present in the prisons of Italy 3000 anti-fascist workers who have been placed under preventative arrest in the course of the last two years and nearly an equal number

of workers who have to serve very severe sentences in the various prisons in the country of fascism. These 6000 workers are also threatened with the same fate as Sozzi. The advance-guard of the working class of Italy is in danger. In face of the re-awakening of the workers of Italy, who are being forced into the struggle by the ever increasing economic crisis, in face of the heroic resistance of the Communist Party of Italy and of the trade union Federation of Italy, there no longer exists any doubt that fascism has resolved to kill the hostages which it is keeping in its prisons.

The international proletariat cannot accept without resistance the crime of Perugia, which is a presage of fresh crimes.

The Committee for the Defence of the victims of Fascism, at the head of which stands Henri Barbusse, has submitted a very strongly-worded protest to the Italian Ambassador in France, demanding that a commission consisting of impartial people shall be set up in order to undertake an investigation in the prison of Perugia, and that there shall be an examination of the corpse of Comrade Sozzi in the presence of this commission.

Our murdered Comrade Gaston Sozzi had abandoned his university studies when a young student in order to devote himself wholly and entirely to the study and the struggles of the Labour movement. Since the fascist march on Rome in the year 1922, he was secretary of the Young Communist League of Forlì (Romagna). After he had been accused of having taken part in the murder of a fascist, he had to live underground. When the accusation proved to be unfounded, he was able to resume his legal political activity. In the years 1924/25 he came to Gorizia in order to perform military service, after he had passed through the university course in the Lenin School in Leningrad and had there shown great qualities as a student and a revolutionary. Returned from military service he resumed his work in the Communist Party.

Gastone Sozzi was only 25 years of age. His martyr-death is only a fresh link in the long chain of suffering of the revolutionary proletariat of Italy. His example and his qualities as an inflexible fighter will be followed by hundreds of other proletarians, who will continue the fight until victory and until the day on which punishment will be meted out to all the vile murderers who are now ruling in fascist Italy.

The Vengeful Judgment upon the Korean Revolutionaries.

By N. Fokin.

In Söul (Korea) the trial of the 101 Korean Communists and Young Communists has come to a close. Eighty four of them have been sentenced to imprisonment for eight months to six years.

For nearly two years preceding the trial these young revolutionaries were tortured and maltreated. They were tortured before the eyes of other comrades and there were cases in which those who were waiting for their turn to come could not stand the terrible sight and declared themselves ready to make confessions if only a stop might be put to the torturing of their comrades. Two of the prisoners, Comrades Pak Sun Wen and Pak Kwey Chyn were tortured to death. Several lost their reason. Even during the course of the trial most of the accused were not secure from torture, and that was evidently the reason why the trial took place behind closed doors without the presence of the representatives of the Press and of the relatives of the accused.

The trial just concluded against the 101 revolutionary is only a minor act in the great tragedy of the duel between fettered, oppressed Korea and Japanese imperialism. The immediate reason for placing the representatives of the Korean working masses in the dock was the impetus in the Korean national emancipation movement, in which the Communists are beginning to play a role of increasing importance. This new impulse coincided with the funeral of the last Korean monarch, known by the name Prince I Senior.

On April 26th, 1926 occurred the death of the last of the former ruling house of Korea. This death excited the Korean population among whom the conviction was wide spread that

the previous ruler died a violent death, that his wife was murdered with the direct participation of Japan and that the recently deceased emperor was systematically poisoned by the Japanese and in consequence came to a premature end. The emperor himself had long ceased to be popular with the people, as he was accused of lack of courage in volutarily agreeing to the annexation of the country.

The Japanese Government conceived the idea of exploiting the death of the Korean emperor in order by means of an imposing funeral, which was organised by the Japanese police, to demonstrate to the world the "reconciliation" of annexed Korea with the oppressive Japanese imperialism, of showing to the whole world its "solicitousness for the Korean nation" and so to make the first effort at a rapprochement with the leaders of the Korean intelligentsia.

This plan of the Japanese imperialists met with an anti-Japanese demonstration organised by the Korean revolutionaries. The funeral was a mere pretext. They concentrated the attention of the broadest masses on the national and economic yoke of the Japanese occupants. Hardly was the death of the emperor known before two organisations: "Man Gok Dan" (League of Plaint) and "Pon Do Dan" (League of Mourning), came into being and arranged a general mourning throughout the country. The Japanese General Governor sounded the alarm. The red danger of Bolshevism was proclaimed. Mass reprisals were instituted.

But the mourning protest extended further and further, encompassing new territory and fresh masses. On April 29th an attempt was made to assassinate the General Governor **Saj To**: Two Koreans armed with daggers boarded the automobile in which two officials of the General Governor (one of them closely resembling **Saj To**), were seated and stabbed them in broad daylight.

The first of May passed quietly in Korea. But on this day, as though at a given signal, the Korean population wore mourning, even the women and children. It was a silent demonstration affording no pretext for trouble. Many carried in their hands the leaflet announcing the attempted assassination. This attempted assassination served the Japanese police as a signal for violent interference with the Socialist organisations. They concentrated all their efforts upon ensuring that on the day of this funeral the broad masses should be without leadership. In the first place the leaders of the Socialist workers' peasants' and national-revolutionary mass organisations were removed. Altogether several thousand people were arrested in those days. A state of siege was declared. On July 10th there were in Seoul alone ten thousand soldiers. In every port there were Japanese warships. Japanese Fascists were mobilised with revolvers and truncheons.

Nevertheless, the national-revolutionary organisations, with the Communists and the Young Communists at their head, and supported by the sympathy of the broad masses, decided to disclose the real relation of the Korean people to the Japanese yoke and to lead the masses on to the streets under the slogan of national independence. Tens of thousands of proclamations bearing the signatures of the Party for the Independence of Korea and of the Free Association of the Farmers of Greater Korea were distributed. In spite of all the precautionary measures which the Japanese took for the prevention of "disturbances", an anti-Japanese demonstration was organised in the funeral procession in which about 400,000 persons took part. At a given signal proclamations were distributed in all parts of the procession, and speakers were raised shoulder high to hold short, spirited speeches containing anti-imperialist slogans and they met with the general sympathy and support of those taking part in the demonstration. When the police spies tried to arrest the demonstrators, they often had to resort to the use of weapons in order to contend with the hostile masses.

Similar demonstrations took place in a number of big centres at the same time as the demonstration in Seoul. In order to weaken the impression made by these events, the Japanese Government tried to represent them as exclusively Communist disturbances and at the same time speculated on a division between the Communists and the national revolutionaries. They were successful in neither instance, even though they removed the Communists by placing them in the prisoners dock.

The maltreated, tormented and tortured young revolutionaries behaved heroically during the trial. That they had formed the right opinion of the court was evident from the speech made in the beginning by Comrade **Pak Hen Nen** in the name of all the accused:

"We are the representatives of the Korean proletariat which is engaged in a life and death fight against you. How can a court exist between enemies? We know the result beforehand. It will be a ruthless class judgment. Why this court comedy, when you have already avenged yourselves enough, when you have beaten us in prison with bamboo canes and tortured us with needle pricks. Down with the travesty of justice!"

The international proletariat will not forget the Korean revolutionary heroes languishing in the torture chambers.

OBITUARY

Eugen Landler

On Saturday the 25th of February, there reached us the sad news that Comrade **Eugen Landler**, one of the most well-known, meritorious and beloved leaders of the revolutionary labour movement of Hungary, had passed away at the age of 54 years after a long illness.

Comrade Landler had for over twenty years played a prominent rôle in the Labour Movement of Hungary. A lawyer by profession, he soon turned to the Labour movement and, first in the organisation of the railway workers of Hungary and then in the entire labour movement, played an ever greater rôle. During the world war he belonged to the Left radical wing of the social democracy which fought against the imperialist war. He occupied an active and leading position in the organising of the anti-war mass movement, especially in the repeated strikes of the munition workers. For this activity he was repeatedly sent to prison during the war, and had to face the danger of a summary sentence by the military tribunal.

In the October Revolution, which sealed the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian military monarchy and created a bourgeois Republic in Hungary, he continued his activity in the Left wing of the social democracy in the Workers' Council. As one of the leaders of this Left wing who strove for an approachment to the Communist Party, he belonged to those who prepared the way for the proletarian revolution, which on the 21st March, 1919, set up the dictatorship of the Hungarian proletariat.

During the months of the proletarian rule, Comrade Landler was always in the front ranks. First as a People's Commissar for the Interior, then, when it was necessary to repel the invading imperialist armies, as a Commander of a Corps of the Red Army and, finally, as Supreme Commander of the entire proletarian army of Hungary.

After the crushing of the proletarian revolution he was persecuted by the hirelings of Horthy and was compelled to live in emigration. As one of the leaders of the Communist movement of Hungary he worked in these years unweariedly for the organisation of a Communist mass Party, for the emancipation of the proletariat. Nine years of life in emigration and of unceasing work, full of deprivations, undermined his health. It was not granted him to realise his longing desire, which was to fight again at the head of the working masses of Hungary, who saw in him their most popular and beloved leader, and to witness the retribution which the Hungarian proletariat is preparing for its executioners. After long months of severe illness he died in Cannes where he had gone in the hope of recovery.

The Hungarian working class will preserve and revere his memory as a sincere fighter for the cause of their emancipation.

The activity of Comrade Landler as a leading member of the C. P. of Hungary was well known in the Communist International. The international working class mourns with the proletarians of Hungary.

Declaration of the C. P. of Hungary on the Death of Comrade Landler.

23rd November 1874 — 25th February 1928.

The prominent leader of the revolutionary labour movement of Hungary, and of the Communist Party of Hungary, Comrade **Eugen Landler**, has passed away. His death is a tremendously heavy loss not only for the working class and the Communist Party of Hungary, but also for the whole international Communist movement, which Comrade Landler joined immediately after the formation of the Communist International as a fighter in the foremost ranks.

Such leaders, such fighters as Landler are produced solely by the heroic epoch of the proletarian revolution. Sacrifices were for him not sacrifices but were accepted as a matter of course. The activity as leader which he displayed at the head of the proletariat, was a devoted and successful service to the class of the suppressed and the masses fighting for their emancipation. In him there was embodied in the revolutionary times, but also before, in an exemplary manner, the boundless readiness for self-sacrifice of the intellectual who had completely identified himself with the working class. He could say of himself that he was one with the working class in its struggles and its ideas. For him, however, socialism was not a humanitarian ideal, not a charming picture of the distant future, but an uninterrupted, inexorable and unwearying, obstinate struggle.

The proletarian revolution, which commenced with the October revolt of the Russian proletariat, accomplished in him, as in the best of the Western socialists, an individual revolution. When the greater portion of the old social democrats, at the time of the proletarian revolution, at the time of the immediate struggle for power, went over to the bourgeoisie and took their place on the other side of the barricades, Eugen Landler remained in the ranks of the proletarian revolution. He saw with pain and bitterness the bankruptcy of social democracy during the war. He did not take part in supporting the war. On the contrary, he openly placed himself at the head of the masses, in face of the bayonets, combated in the same way by the gendarmes and by the social democratic leaders. He was an instinctive revolutionary, and was therefore one whom in Hungary the social democracy compelled to unite with the Communists, along with them to capture power and to found the Hungarian Soviet Republics, the first Soviet Republic after the Russian.

From an instinctive revolutionary he became a conscious revolutionary, a Bolshevik. There was a great path which he, a social democrat who was inclined to blanquism and whom this inclination to blanquism in the social democracy saved from reformism and opportunism, had to traverse. But he succeeded in overcoming Blanquism, and there are few who penetrated so deeply into the depths of Marxism and Leninism as he. He did not commence as a theoretician, but no one was able to appreciate with more certainty and more concretely than he the importance of the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. This rendered him valuable in that period of the Hungarian revolutionary labour movement when not the great mass movements, but the constant, underground, revolutionary detail work occupied the centre point of the activity of the C. P. of Hungary.

His sickness had been causing him suffering for a long time. But this sickness could not for a moment force him to concern himself with his own affairs. It could not break his profound belief in the revolution and its victory. The last words which he addressed to us were; "I am fighting against terrible forces in order that I shall once again be a useful member of the community". He did not wish to be incapable of work. He exhausted his last forces in order to be able to work together with us, in order to be able to fight together with us, to fight with the revolutionary workers and poor peasants of Hungary, with the revolutionary proletariat against the Horthy regime, against international imperialism, for the Soviet Union, whom nobody loved more than he, which possessed no more firmer patriot than him. His last words, with which he concluded his letter, were: "The Doctor will not even allow me to take a walk. Nevertheless we shall triumph".

The workers and poor peasants of Hungary will, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Hungary, vanquish the Horthy Bethlen regime and found the Second Hungarian Soviet Republic. In its free soil we shall inter the ashes of Eugen Landler, begirt by the love and gratitude of the workers and poor peasants.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary.
(Section of the Communist International.)

The Redaction of "Uj Marcius", Organ of the C. P. of Hungary.

TEN YEARS AGO

The Brest Peace and Germany's War Policy.

III.

By Paul Frölich.

(Conclusion.)

3. The Campaign against revolutionary Russia.

The extension of power in the East acquired by German imperialism through the peace of Brest, was more apparent than real. With regard to Germany's political situation as a whole, it was fatal. It prompted the peoples of the Entente once more to persist in the alleged war of defence, as that peace in the East had given clear evidence of the voracity of German imperialism. In most of the neutral countries, feeling had not been favourable from the beginning. Conditions then got worse along the whole line, because no one felt safe in view of this sabre-rattling. **Holland** and **Denmark** felt themselves threatened, not without serious reasons, considering that strategical plans had been worked out against them. A conflict arose with **Sweden** about the **Aland Isles**.

Even in the ranks of its own allies, the conclusions of peace led to critical complications. The **Bulgarians** had a feeling of being deceived by peace concluded with **Roumania** a short time after Brest. The **Poles** who had, from the beginning, joined the allies with the intention of playing false to them, were offended by the **Cholm** territory being ceded to the **Ukraine**. Towards the middle of the month of February, the Polish auxiliary troops broke away from the German front. A brigade was defeated and disarmed. The **Haller** brigade fought its way through to **Archangel** and afterwards joined the front of the Entente in the West. It was only possible for German militarism to maintain its position in Poland, a friendly country, by means of the most rigorous dictatorship. In order to crown things, the absurd campaign against the **Russian revolution** was begun. That campaign added a good deal to the final break-down of the German military force.

As a matter of fact, the Peace Treaty of **Brest-Litovsk** had not brought about real peace in the East. Peace with the **Ukraine** had always been a mere fiction. Being concluded with a government which had, in reality, already been swept away by the popular rising, it had first only served the purpose of bringing the Russian negotiators into an awkward position and making them pliable. Not content with this, German imperialism, in its hatred of the revolution, wished to cut a vast area out of the Soviet Republic. Peace with the Rada was used as a pretext towards that end. The country was then conquered for that marionette of the German military. In Germany, a few divisions of Ukrainian prisoners of war were collected with which to support the German war of conquest. When they arrived at the front, they melted away in the sun of the Communist propaganda and it was finally necessary to disband them. War was carried on in the Ukraine with all the cruelty which distinguishes the Whites in any civil war.

The same occurred in the **Baltic Provinces**. We have before us an order of General **von Kirchbach**, Commander-in-Chief of the German troops in **Lithuania** and **Esthonia**, which runs as follows:

"I order that all the Bolshevik agitators and leaders of the Red Guard be kept as hostages under the strict supervision, and that merciless revenge be taken for the death of any Latvian, Esthonian or German killed by the Bolsheviks."

The revolutionary troops, of course, were not able to resist the organised military power of the Germans as long as civil war with the Czechoslovakians and other White troops chained the forces of the Soviet Republic. Even German militarism, however, did not succeed in really winning over the Ukraine. The power of the Rada ceased where the space swept by the German guns ended, and the indignation against the "liberators" grew throughout the country in such a way that even between the Rada and the German conquerors dissensions assumed a more and more acute form. This led to the coup d'état on May 1st, 1918, organised by General Eichhorn who deposed the Rada government, had its members thrown into prison and nominated Heimann Skoropadsky dictator.

The fights in the Ukraine were carried on by Germans and Austrians in common. At the same time, the Turks advanced from the South towards the Caucasus, immediately after the Brest Peace Treaty, with the support of German troops. In April they occupied Batum. In May, the Georgian Mensheviks divided the Trans-Caucasian Federation, declared war on Aserbeijan and Armenia and called in the help of the Germans. German troops were landed in Poti on May 25th, and Djenkeli, a Menshevist, concluded an agreement with General Lossow, the leader of the monarchist military revolt in Bavaria in 1923, on the basis of which the navy and the railways of Georgia were transformed into the hands of the Germans for the whole period of the war, according to a written convention, whilst the Menshevist Government was, in reality, placed under the guardianship of the German generals. The latter were thankful to the Georgians for their carrying on civil war in alliance with the Mensheviks. Baku, where the Bolsheviks maintained their power for months, was occupied by the Turks towards the middle of September. The German troops advanced from the Caucasus towards North Persia. They occupied Tabriz. The Supreme Command, intoxicated by megalomania, even planned to advance to India, in order to overthrow Great Britain's power there.

German imperialism, not satisfied with that, undertook a campaign against Red Finland. Even at the time of the Tsar, Finnish activists had joined the German army. They were collected into a united troop and trained for the fight in Finland. When the power in Finland had passed into the hands of the workers and peasants in the winter 1917/18, the German army supplied the Whites who were headed by Mannerheim and Svinhufvud, with war material and arms. Two divisions were placed at their disposal together with the trained Finnish cadres. At the beginning of April, they crossed the Gulf of Finland and defeated the Red Guards in a murderous campaign. The German military, in common with the Finnish Whites had already arranged to set the Red Guardists, whom they had taken prisoners and for whom they did not have a sufficient number of starvation-camps — as they did not die rapidly enough —, to forced labour in German factories or in the rear of the Western front. They only abandoned that intention for fear that the German workers and soldiers might be infected with Bolshevik germs.

During all those sanguinary campaigns, from Finland down to Persia, the German Government still kept up the pretence of friendly relations with the Soviet Government, as though nothing were happening. After the attempt of the social revolutionaries on Mirbach's, the Ambassador's life, Hertling, the Imperial Chancellor, made a speech in the Reichstag on July 11th, which contains the following passage:

"We take our stand on the basis of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk and wish to see that peace effected in a loyal manner. That is the will of the German Government and it is supported therein by the German Supreme Command..."

"We do not want a fresh war with Russia..."

"Our position is thus that we are loyally negotiating with the present Russian Government, that we are not undertaking anything which is likely to injure the authority of the present Russian Government, but that we are keeping our eyes and ears open in order not to be wronged and taken by surprise by a sudden change of conditions in that country."

What was behind the peculiar wording of that declaration? The intention was to wipe away by means of the loyal peaceableness which was repeated ad nauseum, the blood German imperialism was shedding in streams in the civil war against the revolution. Herr Hertling, when he spoke of the eyes and ears

being kept open in order to avoid being taken by surprise by an overthrow of the government in Russia, forgot to mention the hands by which they had already tied themselves to the Russian counter-revolution according to agreement. What, then, were the peculiar negotiations hinted at with such obscure insinuations? A fresh peace of Brest-Litovsk was being prepared for. The difficult situation of the Soviet Government was turned to account for a fresh plundering. Lithuania and Esthonia, the possession of which had been explicitly guaranteed to the Russian Government in Brest-Litovsk, were wrenched away from it; 6 milliards of gold mark were extorted from Soviet Russia and other acts of oppression imposed on it. That additional clause to the convention was signed on August 27th 1918.

What were the aims concealed behind that infamous policy? The object of the advance into the Ukraine was to open Russia's granary to the Central Powers. The Rada had made promises of golden streams of corn. Those hopes came to nought. Only in August 1918, at the very moment when the military collapse of the Central Powers began, the supply of food was set on foot. It was of no importance with regard to provisioning in the summer of 1918.

"Half as much as was imported from former Russia with the help of the military official apparatus, was introduced by smuggling. We would have achieved the same results until the next harvests, by promoting free trade and smuggling, especially in respect to the supply of cattle and horses, which we achieved by means of the occupation." (Deputy Deermann at the executive committee of the Reichstag for investigation into the war.)

In that respect, the campaign into the Ukraine therefore proved a complete failure*). The intention was to get petroleum and benzine from the Caucasus by force of arms. Only in September did the Germans succeed in occupying Baku. The German war machine did not have the benefit of a single drop of petroleum. Germany's intention to feed its own war machinery through the fresh war against the country of the revolution was absolutely wrecked.

That war against revolution was of decisive significance. The Prussian military and bureaucracy possessed enough political understanding and, above all, class-consciousness to realise that, after the demonstration of force of the world war, the Prussia of the Junkers was unable to hold its own against revolutionary Russia. The driving force was their hostility to Bolshevism.

Even in the Spring of 1918, General Hoffmann had entered into connections with Durnovo, the son-in-law of Grand Duke Paul. Negotiations were also entered upon with other monarchist groups, further with the White Don Government of Kaledin; the latter was also supported by troops. Hoffmann's scheme, as he describes it himself, was to advance along the line of Smolensk-Petrograd, of proclaiming a new government and appointing Grand Duke Paul vice-regent of the empire for the Czarevitch. Hoffmann is of the opinion that his troops would have sufficed to achieve these plans.

It is probable that this plan was not attempted because of the other plan of advancing into India. The plans of armed intervention beyond the campaigns carried on from Finland down to Persia, i. e. an intervention aiming at the overthrow of the Workers' and Peasant Government, were not settled with this. In the month of July, plans were being hatched at the Head-Quarters as to how a fresh monarchist Russia should be arranged. The plan was contemplated to cede Polish territory to the new Tsarist Russia in order to create an irredenta in that country and thus weaken it from the very beginning. In August 1918, when the strength of German militarism already began to fail, the Supreme Command — whom the gods wish to destroy they first render mad — had prepared for an expedition to Petrograd with the object of overthrowing the Soviet Power. General von der Goltz, the dictator of Finland, writes with regard to that, in his book "My Commission in Finland and in the Baltic Provinces" as follows:

*) General von Kuhl declared at the executive committee for investigation into the war that an exploitation of the Ukraine had not been possible because the war had not lasted long enough. A man of most sensitive feeling!

"Looking back, we cannot but deplore that the plan of a military expedition against Petersburg along both sides of the Gulf of Finland, supported by the navy at Kronstadt, fixed for August by order of the Supreme Command, was postponed in compliance with the wishes of the Foreign Office, for the reason that Germany was to receive 6 milliards in gold in accordance with the additional clause to the Brest Peace Treaty — 6 milliards which we were afterwards obliged to yield up! — Germany's future in the East was relinquished for contemptible money! That attack would have inspired the 8th army, which was found wanting during the revolution, with a new spirit, and we would have been in a quite different position in October and November 1918, both with regard to home policy and to foreign policy, had we taken possession of the whole Baltic Sea including Petersburg, formed an alliance with the Russian groups with leanings towards the Right and removed Joffe from Berlin.

"That action had been discussed with Lieutenant-General von Estorff, commander of the troops on the South of the Gulf, under whom my own troops also were placed some time afterwards, and with Vice-Admiral Bodecker; things had been reconnoitred and prepared for in such a way that only the catch-word was needed to begin with the advance on foot and by rail. Together with my excellent first staff-officer, von Falkenhorst, I awaited daily the telegraphic order to advance — alas, in vain!

"Negotiations with the leaders of the Right Russian parties had already been entered on in July with Prince Volkonsky, ex-president of the Duma, who had proved to me, by a memorial presented to the Tsar in February 1914, that the Russian Right had been opposed to war against Germany. Those negotiations had been continued, without committing the parties, by myself with Prince Volkonsky, with Alexander Tropoy, the Russian ex-minister and with the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess Cyril, with the knowledge of the Supreme Command and of the Foreign Office. In addition to this, several officers belonging to my staff kept up negotiations with a number of Russian monarchists and officers."

The fresh campaign against Russia, directly after the Peace of Brest, was started at the very moment when Ludendorff was preparing for his offensive against France which, as is well known, ended with partial victories and finally with a complete defeat. Those campaigns, inspired by despair, could in themselves not lead to a victory of the Central Powers. It is, however, a fact that the counter-revolutionary campaign against Soviet Russia played an essential rôle in their military collapse. In March 1918, when the attack in the West began, far more than a million of German soldiers were still in Russia. To these, the Austrian troops must be added. Almost a third of the stock of horses of the German army was retained in the East. Even in October, the German troops still numbered more than 600,000 men.

Those divisions, composed of militia and of the last reserve were certainly not equal to the fight at the Western front, but they might have formed an essential support in the rear of that front. Repeated negotiations between the Government and the Supreme Command took place with regard to the withdrawal of the front in Russia. In vain. Even in October, in view of the collapse of the Central Powers, the Government could not make up its mind to quit the Russian territory. The dread of Bolshevism prevented any decision which seemed reasonable from the military point of view.

To this must be added the "wearing down" of the German troops in Russia. Bolshevism is an infectious disease against which no imperial army which comes into contact with it is proof. The longer the campaign against Russia lasted, the more "unreliable" did the troops become. Divisions which had been sent from the East to the West, proved incompetent. It was in vain that quarantine-stations were established in which to disinfect the soldiers from the Bolshevik bacillus. They took the dangerous poison home and to the Western front. All these factors contributed largely towards the collapse of the imperialist machinery of war. This is how the counter-revolutionary actions on the territory of the Russian Workers' revolution broke the neck of German imperialism.

What attitude did the social democratic leaders take with regard to all these things? They were visited by most acute vacillations. At the moment when the general situation was unfavourable, they lamented over the foolishness of the Brest Peace and over the crime committed against the Russian revolution. As soon, however, as victory was carried off in some place or other, their enthusiasm soared up, as can be read in the "International Correspondence" in February 1918, after peace negotiations had been broken off:

"Hostilities having been resumed, the German troops are advancing in the East with lightning speed. The prophecy that the armies of Russia have lost entirely all capability of resistance, proves true in an unexpected degree. Thousands of guns and immeasurable quantities of other war material, of which the Supreme Command can make good use at the Western front, are falling into our hands, almost without fighting."

Wilhelm Jansson, in the "Glocke", agitated for intervention in Finland and applauded it enthusiastically. When war was finally settled, it was Herr Scheidemann who put the idea in the minds of the members of the German Government, to have the luggage of the Russian Embassy in Berlin burst open by accident, into which a box containing pamphlets had been introduced in an underhand way. The first step taken by the "Socialist Government" of Ebert, Scheidemann, Haase, was its decision against the country of the revolution, in favour of Wilson, against Lenin.

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