

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

# - INTERNATIONAL -

Vol. 7. No. 26

# PRESS

21<sup>st</sup> April 1927

# CORRESPONDENCE

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

## CONTENTS

Against Imperialist War! Against the Throttling of the Chinese Revolution.

Liau Han Sin: The Betrayer of the People, Chiang-Kai-Shek, and the Revolutionary Kuomintang.  
The Shanghai Coup d'Etat.

### Politics.

Boshkovitch: The Conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia.

### The Balkans.

Chr. Kabakchieff: The Fight against the Fascist Regime in Bulgaria.

### The White Terror.

J.: The Collapse of the Extraordinary Court Proceedings against Szanto and Comrades — a Victory of the International Proletariat.

The Trial of Szanto, Vagi and Comrades.

### Union of Soviet Republics.

A. Jenukidse: The Provisional Result of the Soviet Elections.

### The Labour Movement.

F. Wheeler: A Challenge to the British Workers.

### Rescue Sacco and Vanzetti.

Judicial Murder of Sacco and Vanzetti to be Carried out.

### Against Imperialist War.

H. Günther: Oil on the Flames.

### The Co-operative Movement.

E. Varjas: Co-operative Delegations.

### Book Reviews.

A. Komjat: A Shapovalov: "On the Way to Marxism".

### Ten Years Ago.

N. Lenin: The Political Parties of Russia and the Tasks of the Proletariat.

Chronicle of Events.

## Against Imperialist War! Against the Throttling of the Chinese Revolution.

### Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to the Proletarians of the Whole World and to all Suppressed Peoples!

Workers, Toilers, Oppressed Peoples of all Countries!

The Communist International appeals to all of you to join in a mass protest against imperialism which is threatening the world with the incalculable misery of a new world war. Almost thirteen years have passed since the beginning of the first great imperialist war. Up to the present time humanity has not yet completely recovered from the terrible destruction of this war. Hundreds of thousands of cripples and millions of invalids from this wretched slaughter still throng the streets. The rivers of blood which drenched the fields of Europe and Asia have hardly dried. And the whole world still trembles in the convulsions of crises whose beginning is to be sought in the first world war. And now the mouths of the guns are smoking once again! The still powerful imperialist clique has begun a war

of extermination against the Chinese revolution. Over 170 war-ships are lying in Chinese harbours. Tens of thousands of soldiers, Japanese, British, American have planted their boots on the soil of China watered with the blood and sweat of the much tried masses of the Chinese people. The most important towns are in actuality occupied by the "civilised" hangmen. The great Yangtze river is thronged with gun-boats and cruisers. The harbours are occupied by the capitalist robbers. China is blockaded by their fleets. Manchuria is occupied by the Japanese army. In alliance with the vile reactionary Chang Tso-lin the imperialist armies are carrying on a destructive war against the Chinese revolution. The imperialist powers are jointly carrying on war against the Chinese people without a declaration of war, without the usually recognised formalities and despite their own disagreements.

And they have also begun to prepare the war against the Soviet Union. The unparalleled raid upon the soviet representation in Peking, the demolition and plunderings, the arrests and the maltreatment of the arrested, the siege of the Shanghai Consulate by Tsarist white guards, British and Americans, the obvious provocation of the Soviet Union — all this points to the existence of a systematically carried out plan initiated by the imperialist pirates.

Not for nothing is British imperialism striving to fling the British working class movement into chains, to rob the trade unions of the proletariat of all their rights. British imperialism wishes to secure "peace" at home so that it can exercise its military "heroic deeds" undisturbed abroad.

Not for nothing is the French bankers clique carrying out the "war laws" in France, which country is being turned into a military camp. She is being armed with all speed for a new bloodbath, for the new catastrophe which the imperialist politicians are preparing, for new conflicts over the division of the spoils and for a new intervention against the proletarian revolution!

Not for nothing do all the forces of capital unite now against the Chinese Revolution and against the bulwark of the working class movement — the Soviet Union. A new bloodbath is being prepared which will be still more criminal, still more bloody, still more murderous than the war of 1914.

The preparations for this bloodbath are being screened by the League of Nations, the most hypocritical institution of all times and all peoples. The League of Nations is a league for the enslavement of the peoples by the imperialist murderers, it speaks of peace and conducts war, it speaks of protecting the weak and destroys them, it speaks of disarmament and arms feverishly, in one hand it bears the olive branch of peace and in the other a sword dripping with the blood of millions of victims of the imperialists in Syria, Egypt, India, Morocco and China.

The preparations for this bloodbath are being screened by the leaders of the Second and the Amsterdam Internationals who speak platonically of peace but who concentrate their chief energy upon the struggle against the bulwark of peace, against the Soviet Union. They favour and spread the calumnies fabricated by the venal press of international imperialism against the Soviet Union.

In the great struggle which has begun, imperialism is using the scum of the old world. The allegedly progressive and democratic countries, Great Britain and the United States ally themselves with hangmen like Mussolini, with reactionary bandits of the type of Chang Tso-lin and with Tsarist white guardists who have been swept by the steel broom of the revolution from the territory of the one-time Tsarist empire. They bribe traitors and hire hangmen. The toiling people must fight for its freedom and defend its rights in a heroic struggle.

In China the imperialists have not merely blockaded the whole land, they have succeeded in disrupting the unity of the Kuomintang and hiring Chiang Kai-shek. This traitor to the Chinese revolution and the Chinese people has now become the centre-point of the national counterrevolution. In agreement with the foreigners, Chiang-Kai-Shek has overthrown and dis-

solved the government in Shanghai. His generals have disarmed the workers guard and, on the instruction of foreign imperialists, have shot down hundreds of proletarian men, women and children.

With indignation and hatred we declare the hangman Chiang-Kai-Shek a traitor to the revolution, an ally of the imperialists robbers, an enemy of the revolutionary Kuomintang, an enemy of the working class movement and an enemy of the Communist International!

The working class of all countries and the oppressed peoples of the world must recognise that the Chinese bourgeoisie has abandoned the struggle against imperialism because it fears the tremendous wave of the working class and peasant movement. This movement embraces such a sea of people, such tremendous masses that the forces of imperialism will not be able to throttle the Chinese revolution. The imperialists will not be able to defeat the revolution with their fleets, with the blockade, by bribery and lies.

They are preparing to throttle the revolution in a world slaughter. But millions of workers and peasants will rise against this bloodbath. The soldiers will rise against this bloodbath, the oppressed peoples of the world will rise. The fermentation has begun in India. The British high command has already been compelled to withdraw the Punjabis from China. Arrests have already begun amongst the imperialist troops. The protests of the workers in Europe have already commenced. In the Soviet Union millions of workers are on the march to protest against the insolence of the imperialists, against the attempt to throttle the Chinese revolution and against the danger of a new world slaughter.

The Chinese revolution with its tremendous sweep and its enormous influence upon the colonial world and upon the European proletariat has caused an extraordinary intensification of the crisis of capitalism. The seriousness of the crisis has caused the imperialists to join forces and compelled them for the moment to bury their differences beneath their rifles and bayonets. Their crusade against China, their plans for a criminal provocation of the Soviet Union place the cause of peace in the whole world at stake.

Therefore the Communist International appeals to all workers and peasants and to all the toilers, all the opponents of war to protest fearlessly and to fight fearlessly against the danger of war!

Do not believe the lies of the bourgeois press!

Demand the withdrawal of all troops from China!

Prevent the transport of arms and men with all the means at your disposal!

Down with the instigators of a new war!

Down with the imperialist hangmen of the Chinese people!

Down with Chiang-Kai-Shek and the other renegades and traitors, the organisers of the shootings!

Long live the workers of Shanghai!

Long live the revolutionary Kuomintang!

Long live the Communist Party of China!

Moscow, 15th April 1927.

The Executive Committee of the  
Communist International.

# The Betrayer of the People, Chiang Kai Shek, and the Revolutionary Kuomintang.

By Liao Han Sin,  
Representative of the Executive of the Kuomintang.

The rumours which for a long time have been spread by the imperialist press regarding the defection of Chiang-Kai-Shek from the revolutionary front have been confirmed by this General himself by his disarming of the Shanghai Workers Defence Corps and by the dissolution of the Shanghai government formed by Shanghai workers and citizens. In the days following Chiang-Kai-Shek proceeded in a similar manner against the workers in every place over which his first army corps is distributed: in Futchow, Hangchow, Nanking and Canton. He has employed even more brutal measures of terror against the working class than the counter-revolutionary generals hitherto have been wont to employ. He caused machine-guns to be turned on processions in which many women and children were participating. It is further reported that Chiang-Kai-Shek intends to proceed against the Kuomintang and against the Kuomin government, and to form a party of his own and his own government in Nanking. We revolutionary Chinese, we sincere adherents of the Kuomintang and true disciples of Sun Yat Sen, must now openly declare that Chiang-Kai-Shek is a traitor to the Chinese revolution, a traitor to Sun Yat Sen (whose programme expressly demanded an alliance with the Soviet Union and with the Communist Party and the safeguarding of the interests of the workers and peasants), an enemy of the Chinese people and a new tool of the imperialists.

The treachery of Chiang-Kai-Shek does not come unexpected. This danger has already existed a year. The Chinese revolutionaries first obtained a hint of the intentions of Chiang-Kai-Shek on the occasion of the coup d'état of 20th March 1926. The present open defection has come about, first in consequence of the failure of his dictatorship and secondly in consequence of the threats, enticements and bribes of the imperialists.

When, at the commencement of past year, the Eastern portion of the province of Kwantung was captured by the Canton government, Chiang-Kai-Shek immediately attempted to thrust aside the democratic principles of the Kuomintang and to set up his dictatorship. He approached the Kuomintang Right wing and even the Right wing elements which had been expelled from the Kuomintang to work according to the instructions of the British authorities in Hongkong. The Coup d'état of 20th March last year is to be attributed to the intrigues of these Right wing elements, who persuaded Chiang-Kai-Shek that the Communists and the Left wing supporters of the Kuomintang wanted to take up an armed fight against him. When he had recognised that the assertions of the Right wing elements had no basis in fact, he drew back somewhat. Nevertheless he soon made use of an opportunity to get rid of the old colleague of Sun-Yat-Sen, Wang Shin Wei, who was an obstacle to his plans for a dictatorship. Wang Shin Wei was compelled to relinquish his office as political leader of the Party and to go abroad. Thereupon Chiang-Kai-Shek, step by step, carried out his dictatorial plans: the Party leadership was reorganised, friends and relations were raised to leading positions. He himself filled six important offices, i. e. chairman of the secretariat, of the political Bureau, of the organisation department and of the military department; in addition he held the following military functions: Commander-in-chief, and President of the War Council.

When the expedition to the North had commenced, Chiang-Kai-Shek succeeded in getting full powers conferred upon him, so that he could make any arrangements or dispositions without obtaining the sanction of the Party or the government. From this time on the Party and the government merely functioned as his tools. The revolutionaries did not take any action against him, because they did not wish to endanger the united front by inner quarrels at a time when the troops were marching against the North, and because they hoped that Chiang-Kai-Shek would again come to reason. But when he prevented the carrying out of the October Party decisions and wished to transfer the government, not to Wuchang but, against the will of the

entire membership, to Nanchang, then it was obvious that for him there was no turning back. From that time on there commenced a movement within the Kuomintang for the restoration of the authority of the Party.

The Party at its Executive Meeting in March of this year was victorious. The system of dictatorship was abolished and democracy restored in the Party: Wang Shin Wei was called back and Chiang-Kai-Shek retained only one of his six offices, that of commander-in-chief. As the working class was naturally the most eager in its efforts to improve the conditions within the Kuomintang, Chiang-Kai-Shek's rage was directed especially against the workers, and this rage finds expression in his present employment of white terror.

Hundreds of warships and aircraft, thousands of soldiers of foreign States are in Chinese waters and on Chinese territory. In addition to their threats of war, the imperialists are employing every possible intrigue in order to crush the Chinese revolution, by which means they wish to split the revolutionary front and to win a portion of the revolutionaries over to their side. The British eagerly desired to support the action of Chiang-Kai-Shek in March 1926 and offered great sums of money for this purpose. As however the Left wing Kuomintang members had not withdrawn their confidence from the Commander-in-Chief and his position was still a somewhat minor one, he at that time rejected the offers of the British and even gave a rebuff to the Right elements which had conducted negotiations with the Hongkong imperialists. When the revolutionary troops had annihilated Wu-Pei-Fu and captured Wuchang and Hankow, it was the Japanese in particular who wooed Chiang-Kai-Shek. At first they propagated the idea of the division of China among the various generals, including Chiang Kai Shek; then they advocated co-operation between Chang-Tso-Lin and Chiang-Kai-Shek. They also sought to divide the Kuomintang into an extremist wing and a moderate wing, and declared themselves to be desirous of co-operating with the latter. The international imperialists wished in this manner to win over Chiang-Kai-Shek. When the latter saw himself compelled to give up his dictatorial policy within the Kuomintang, and when Shanghai fell into the hands of the revolutionaries, the imperialists became more ardent in their wooing. The Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, that well-known tool of the imperialists, granted Chiang-Kai-Shek a loan of 10 million dollars. Thereupon the latter went over to the camp of the counter-revolutionaries.

It is not surprising that Chiang-Kai-Shek wished to seize the dictatorship under the flag of the Kuomintang which stands for democracy. Similar attempts had already been made by various "revolutionary" generals before him. The aims of the Kuomintang are: annihilation of the foreign rule, abolition of the remnants of feudal society and introduction of a real democracy on the basis of majority rule. During the present transition period there are, of course, many persons who have not yet finally discarded their feudal ideas. In view of this fact, one of the leaders of our Party, the head of the Political Bureau of the National revolutionary army of China, Deng Janda, in February last wrote a fighting article against the dictatorship of Chiang-Kai-Shek, in which he said:

"In the period of such a powerful revolutionary movement one must devote great attention to the leadership, because this has not yet quite freed itself from the ideas of the past period. There are many clever people among the leaders who feel from their own experience that it is necessary to conduct a revolutionary fight. From this however they often derive a very motley, subjective revolutionary outlook. We must analyse and examine these revolutionaries more closely:

1. They maintain: a revolution is necessary but the leadership must be solely in my hand;

2. As soon as the revolution has entered on a certain stage and certain conditions of such revolutionaries have been fulfilled, they easily stray from the revolutionary path and no longer bother about the aims of the masses.

3. Many persons of a vacillating character allow themselves to be easily influenced and led astray; others, again, who are more obstinate wish to be looked up to as heroes.

What significance have such phenomena for the revolution? Of course no one can carry through the fight against feudalism and imperialism single-handed. The result of such aspirations can be the repetition of the Napoleonic coup d'état of the 19th century, or submission to the will of the masses. One can become a traitor to the revolution and fight to his death for false conceptions . . ."

The words of comrade Deng Janda are perfectly applicable to some of the leaders of the Kuomintang. Chiang-Kai-Shek is a professional soldier. After the revolution of 1911 he was a minor officer; after the treachery of Chen-Shui-Min he became an officer on the staff of Sun-Yat-Sen. He never had any firm convictions, but always had an eye to obtaining a higher position for himself. If the Kuomintang had tolerated his dictatorship longer, he would not to-day be an open traitor. His going over to the imperialists is quite in accordance with his character. He, like the imperialists, wishes to keep China in feudalistic conditions.

The present defection of General Chiang-Kai-Shek does not mean any loss for the Chinese revolution or for our Party. A betrayal at a later period would have been much more serious. In the last few years, after the numerous successes of our Party, many treacherous elements have crept into our Party, through the mediation of Chiang-Kai-Shek, who are only bent on making careers for themselves. There threatened the danger that the Kuomintang would go to pieces. But the treachery of Chiang-Kai-Shek provides us with the opportunity of again undertaking a great purging of the Party. For our Party it is not a question of quantity, but of quality. With the best forces we will be able to proceed still more energetically in carrying out the programme of Sun-Yat-Sen. The workers, peasants and petty bourgeois have long recognised from Chiang-Kai-Shek's behaviour that he does not represent their interests. The dissolution of their government in Shanghai has finally made plain to them the true character of this General. The peasants, workers and petty bourgeois will now place themselves with all forces behind the Wuchang government and the Kuomintang Party

Central in order to resume along with them the energetic fight against the betrayer of the people.

As regards the military forces of Chiang-Kai-Shek, these cannot be said to be very favourable. The total number of the armies under his command is 42 (one army = 3 divisions). Only about the half of these is well armed and well organised. Directly behind Chiang-Kai-Shek there stands only the first and a portion of the fourth army and a few troops who had gone over to him. On the other hand, the Kuomin government and the Party has the support of the 2nd, 6th, 7th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 15th, 34th, 35th and 36th army corps, and in addition numerous troops who have recently gone over to them. Further, the Party and the government have on their side the well-armed and well-organised and disciplined army of Feng-Yu-Hsiang, numbering 200,000 men. A mass demonstration held on the 16th of this month in Wuchang demanded the immediate and closest co-operation of the Canton and Feng-Yu-Hsiang troops, and energetically demanded that a punitive expedition be sent against Chiang-Kai-Shek. As the possible new Commander-in-Chief over the entire revolutionary troops the following names may be mentioned: Feng-Yu-Hsiang, Yu-Yo-Yin, Tang-Sen-Dji or Tang-Yen-Kai. Of the territory captured by the revolutionary troops we shall certainly have the provinces of Hunan, Hupe, Kiangsi, Shensi, Kansu, Kweichow, Kwangsi, Szechwan and a portion of Honan, Kwangtung and Nganhui. The former head-quarters of the revolution, Canton, which Chiang-Kai-Shek has long endeavoured to secure, will very soon as a result of the mass movement, again form part of our territory. In Chiang-Kai-Shek's hands there are: the provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Fukien. As a result of his open treachery to the revolution the population of these three provinces will adopt an exceedingly hostile attitude against him, especially the working class and the petty bourgeoisie who have for years been engaged in a heroic struggle.

In response to the command of the imperialists: "against the Communists", Chiang-Kai-Shek is now fighting against the Chinese people, against the revolutionary Kuomintang Party and against the principles of Sun-Yat-Sen. **Our people and our Party will adopt an irreconcilable attitude to this treachery.** Our Party, the Kuomintang, will proceed forwards undeterred along the way which our Party leader indicated to us, and will strive for the alliance with the Soviet Union planned by him, with the Communist Party, with the suppressed peoples and classes and for the policy of the workers and peasants. **We will not cease for a moment the fight against the imperialists and against the feudalists.**

## The Shanghai Coup d'Etat.

Moscow, 15th April 1927.

Today's leading article in the "Pravda" entitled "The Shanghai Coup d'Etat" points out that the Chinese revolution is developing with bitter agony in a terribly difficult and complicated situation, in which the relations with the imperialists are strained to the utmost and growing contradictions make themselves evident in the anti-imperialist front which up till quite recently was united.

These contradictions inside the Kuomintang between the working class and a bourgeoisie inclining towards capitulation to the imperialists were developing with certain and bitter logic. The Enlarged Executive of the Comintern had pointed to the necessity for differentiation within the revolutionary movement and to the inevitability of a "serious re-grouping of the social forces". In December 1926 the Comintern had declared that the Chinese revolution had reached the threshold of the third stage of its development which would be characterised by "the removal of the greater part of the imperialist bourgeoisie" from the revolutionary united front.

Since then events had developed with tremendous rapidity and the prophecy of the Comintern had been realised. Shanghai and Nanking had been released from the grasp of the militarists. Shanghai had been taken from within by the insurrectionary workers. The relations to the imperialists who had dug themselves in in the settlement and whose fleets occupied the Chinese harbours, had become extremely tense. The masses were swinging rapidly to the left whilst the terrified Chinese bourgeoisie

was retreating from day to day ever further from the banner of the revolution. These liquidatorial tendencies on the part of the Chinese bourgeoisie expressed themselves in the military command with General Chiang Kai-shek at the head, who suffered a defeat at the last plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang. Under the pressure of the masses of the people Chiang Kai-shek had been compelled to manoeuvre and to declare that he submitted fully to the directions of the Kuomintang. At the same time however, he and his supporters had sought to come to an understanding with the imperialists.

The significance of the Coup d'Etat in Shanghai was that it drew another broad furrow in the entire history of the great liberation struggle of the Chinese people. The new alignment of forces could now be seen clearly. As long as Chiang Kai-shek led the revolution against the northern militarists, he was working for the cause of the revolution. But in the moment when the blood of the Shanghai workers stained his hands he became a Chinese Cavaignac. He and his supporters had become the centre point of the national counter-revolution. Chiang Kai-shek now raised himself against the revolution in the same line with Chang Tso-lin. He had already played with the idea of coming to a peaceful agreement with Chang Tso-lin. In the eyes of hundreds of millions of Chinese, Chiang Kai-shek had gone over into the camp of the imperialists. Previously the international bourgeoisie had only flirted and coquetted with Chiang Kai-shek, but now it gave him full applause and took him to its bosom.

A serious situation had arisen in China. The danger threatening from the side of the imperialists and from the internal counter-revolution is now realised by the whole revolutionary people of China. In the coming difficult period of struggle the Chinese revolutionary camp will have to maintain self-control and iron coolness. The Chinese revolution will be able to mobilise sufficient forces to fling off the renegade and traitor Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang Kai-shek has challenged the masses. **The masses will accept the challenge.** People learn from their defeats. The Chinese workers and peasants and all Chinese revolutionaries will draw the logical conclusions from the Shanghai tragedy. The C. P. of China will stand more closely than ever at the side of the Kuomintang. The masses will organise themselves more persistently than ever, mobilise their forces, arm themselves for new battles and advance over the Shanghai defeat to their final victory.

## POLITICS

### The Conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia.

By B. Boshkovitch.

Under the auspices of French diplomacy and for the protection of the "peace" treaties against Bulgaria, Hungary, and Austria, the Little Entente was founded, that union of the three States Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Roumania with the help of which France desired to guarantee its hegemony in the Balkans. But France's rival in the Balkans is Great Britain, which likewise endeavours by all means at its disposal to strengthen its influence there. Besides the imperialism of France and Great Britain, however, an aggressive policy is also carried on in the Balkans by Fascist Italy, which has the advantage over its greater competitors of being far nearer the scene of action. In collaboration with the British imperialists, those of Italy have established themselves in Bulgaria and are constantly augmenting their influence on Roumania, Greece, and Hungary. In its endeavours to convert the Adriatic into an Italian sea, Italy has already laid hands on Fiume and is on the way to convert Albanian on the Board of this society.

Italian capital has already found a firm footing in Albania, the foreign trade of which country presented the following aspect in 1925: 75 per cent., or three quarters of the turnover fell to the share of Italy, 21 per cent. to that of Greece, and 3 per cent. to that of Yugoslavia. In 1926, the First Albanian Bank was founded with a capital of 12½ million gold francs. Of this capital, 50 per cent. is Italian, 23 per cent. Albanian, 15 per cent. Swiss, 8 per cent. Yugoslavian, and 4 per cent. Belgian. The chairman and two of the managers are Italians. One half of the reserves is deposited with Roman banks. Furthermore, 18 months back, a group of Italian capitalists, headed by the well-known financier Mario Alberti, concluded a loan agreement with the Albanian Minister of Finance for a sum of 50 million gold francs, to run for 40 years at a rate of 7½ per cent., the annual service including amortisation amounting to about 8 millions.

Last year a Society for the Economic Promotion of Albania, created mainly with Italian capital, was granted concessions for forest exploitation in the Skutari region, besides concessions for the construction of railways and roads of strategic importance in a possible attack on Yugoslavia. There is only a single Albanian on the Board of this society.

By means of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. and the Anglo-Dutch Royal Dutch Shell, Great Britain has succeeded in extending its influence to Albania. In connection with the exploitation of the naphtha sources there was once lively competition in Albania between British and Italian interests, but this ended with the acquisition of extensive naphtha concessions by Italy, too.

The interests of Italy and Yugoslavia are diametrically opposed in Albania. In June 1924, there was a revolution in that country which destroyed the power of Achmed Bey Zogu, the adherent of the Serbs, representing the interests of the feudal landowners (Beys). This revolution, indeed, was directed against the power of the Beys and against the remnants of medieval feudalism and favoured the confiscation of large landed property and the distribution of the land among the peasants.

At the head of the new Government was Fan Noli, who was backed by Italy. The old Government of Achmed Bey

Zogu fled to Yugoslavia, whence it managed with the full support of Belgrade to depose Fan Noli and to restore the old regime of the landowners. This connivance has been admitted by the Yugoslavian Foreign Minister, Dr. M. Nintchitch. In the Paris paper "Le Matin" of February 16th, 1927, Dr Nintchitch openly declared that at the close of 1924 his Government financed and organised the overthrow of Fan Noli. Finally, however, Italy succeeded in winning over the Yugoslav puppet Achmed Bey Zogu, by which means the Italian Fascists paralysed the anti-Italian policy of the Albanian Government.

For a time it seemed as though the Yugoslavian Government of Pashitch and Nintchitch would succeed in coming to an understanding with the Italians under the influence of British diplomacy. According to the agreement of 1924, Italy and Yugoslavia had each its separate sphere of influence in Albania and in other disputed regions of the Adriatic. Yugoslavia renounced its claims on Fiume in favour of Italy and was in its turn allotted the entire coastal stretch of Dalmatia. The Serbian Government agreed to this settlement so as to have a free hand in regard to some disputed points in Macedonia and on the Egean Sea in relation to Bulgaria and Greece, in which connection it was desirable that all available Yugoslavian forces be concentrated on the Eastern borders. In Yugoslavia's foreign politics, the "Egeans" got the better of the "Adriatics".

Very soon, however, it became apparent that Italy had no intention of sharing its sphere of influence in Albania with Yugoslavia. The Fascist Government of Italy made use of the rebellion of certain clans of the Roman-Catholic persuasion in the North of Albania in November 1926 for the purpose of forcing Achmed Bey Zogu to sign the agreement of Tirana between Italy and Albania. By means of this treaty Italy gained full control over the foreign policy of Albania.

This agreement between Italy and Albania is backed by Great Britain. Both in the "New York Tribune" and in the "Matin" it was reported that on the occasion of a meeting at Leghorn between Chamberlain and Mussolini, the former promised that Great Britain would not prevent Italy from laying its hands on Albania. British diplomacy works behind the scenes. It is influencing Roumania, Bulgaria, and Greece in an anti-French sense. Under the lead of British diplomacy, Fascist Italy is driving a wedge into the Little Entente, France's main prop in the Balkans, by ratifying the so-called Bessarabian protocol. The yet unofficial union between Italy and Roumania will mean the secession of the latter State from the Little Entente and the complete isolation of Yugoslavia.

The agreement between Italy and Albania caused an acute Government crisis in Yugoslavia. Indirectly this treaty was directed against France and also against Turkey, which particularly suited Great Britain, since the latter has long endeavoured to alienate Yugoslavia from its allegiance to France and to draw it into the British net. As the protector of Yugoslavia, France cannot contemplate with equanimity this advance of Italian Fascism, which already threatens the French interests in Syria and North Africa. Nor can Turkey remain inactive in view of the feverish zeal of the Italian Fascists, which also menaces Asia Minor.

Isolated Yugoslavia now begins to think of an approach to the Soviet Union. True, the Parliamentary speech of the Yugoslavian Foreign Minister, Dr. Peritch still bears the marks of indecision and half-heartedness as regards Soviet Russia, though under the pressure of public opinion he had finally to own that "the Yugoslavian people would gladly welcome the renewal of relations with the Soviet Union".

The conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia in regard to Albania is therefore of more than local interest; it has acquired great international significance. It augments the tension not only in the Balkans, where an explosion may ensue on the slightest provocation, but also in other parts of the world. True, the imperialist Powers are at present endeavouring to prevent any premature outbreak of hostilities in the Balkans, since they are at present still occupied with China. It is a moot point, however, whether they will be able to quench the spark once kindled in the nick of time.

The working masses in Yugoslavia already scent the smell of gun-powder on the Albanian frontier and are therefore redoubling their exertions against the outbreak of a new war. In this connection they reckon on the indispensable help of the international proletariat. Thus supported, the working masses of the Balkan countries will be able to take up a successful fight against war, against imperialism, and in favour of the Balkan Federation of Peasant's and Workers' Republics.

## THE BALKANS

### The Fight against the Fascist Regime in Bulgaria.

By Chr. Kabaktchieff.

Immediately after the 9th of June, the fascist Government, having already destroyed the Peasant League, began to make all preparations for the destruction of the Communist Party. In September 1923, it provoked an insurrection on a large scale by the wholesale arrest of 4000 Communists who were workers and peasants, by suspending all the Communist papers, by occupying the workers' clubs etc. The September insurrection, in which the majority of the masses who took part were peasants, was defeated, and during and after its defeat, more than 10,000 peasants and workers were massacred.

The serious defeat of the workers and peasants in September 1923 did not however break their force. At the elections which took place two months later, in November of the same year, the united front of the Communists and Peasant League, firmly cemented by the common sacrifices of the workers and peasants in September, received more than 300,000 votes, i. e. a third of the total number, in a third of the constituencies, in spite of the terrible election terror and of the refusal to recognise the lists of the united front; they thus sent 200 deputies to Parliament — members of the Peasant League and of the Communist Party. The Communist Party which had, as a matter of fact, already been outlawed, began to adapt its organisations to the new illegal conditions.

In answer to this, the Fascist Government passed the barbarous exceptional law for the Protection of the State and dissolved all Labour organisations, trade unions and co-operatives. The newly-founded legal Labour party, which had succeeded, in a short time, in rallying round it the workers and peasants and in leading them into the class war, was also dissolved. When, however, the dissolution of the Labour parties and organisations did not help and when the united front of the workers and peasants recorded new successes at the district elections in April 1924, the Fascist Government introduced the system of permanent White Terror into Bulgaria, i. e. the systematic individual and mass murder of all the active elements of the working class and the peasantry which still remained alive, a system which it is still maintaining.

The groups of partisans which cropped up and the individual acts of terror in the country, are a consequence of the sanguinary terror of the regime of June 9th; the Government of the murderers of the people drove hundreds and thousands of peasants into the mountains by deeds of violence, murder and torture and, to exterminate them, despatches expeditions of military and police who cause whole villages with their population to disappear in a welter of fire and blood.

At the most important moments of the fight against the workers and peasants, the Fascist Government met with the support of all the Right and Left bourgeois parties, including the Social Democratic party. All these parties joined in the Government of June 9th; the Social Democrats however, headed by their Minister Kasassov, took the most active part in the sanguinary suppression of the September insurrection. In April 1925, the bourgeois Opposition and the Social Democrats through the mouths of their respective chiefs, Malinoff and deputies Pastuchoff and Tchernookoff, declared that the Government was in a state of "self-defence" — and, relying on the political support of these parties, the Government, in two months, dragged more than 2000 of the most active elements of the Communist Party and the Peasant League from their prisons and murdered them in the most brutal way according to a pre-arranged plan.

The harmony and unanimity between the bourgeois Opposition parties and the Government only exists however in their fight against the workers and peasants, against the "Bolshevist danger" and only as long as this "danger" is acute. After the defeat of the workers and peasants, when the bourgeoisie found its class rule once more established, the internal dissensions and attempts at competition among the bourgeois cliques began afresh.

In recent times, the bourgeois parties which remained outside the Government and which were chiefly supported by the petty bourgeoisie, have — under the pressure of the growing discontent of their petty bourgeois cadres and in view of the approaching parliamentary elections — increased their attacks on the Fascist Government. The industrial and middle bourgeoisie also longs for "normalisation" and "pacification" of the country as a necessary condition for increasing the purchasing power of the masses and the development of industry and trade; for this reason, it has withdrawn its support from the Government, which came into power through an insurrection, a Government which has remained completely isolated from the broad masses and is the cause of constant internal convulsions which make the peaceful development of the country almost impossible. This section of the bourgeoisie is grouped round the National Liberal party which is endeavouring to place the Fascist regime on broader and firmer foundations by following the example of the Italian Fascists and trying to enroll in its organisations the petty bourgeois and Labour masses which are discontented and lacking in class-consciousness.

The fight of the bourgeois Opposition parties is undermining still more the position of the Liaptcheff Government. In order to maintain its shaken position, the Government is directing its reprisals even against these parties. The Social Democratic party, which is trying to gloss over its serious share in the responsibility for the innumerable misdeeds of the Fascist regime, is also fighting against the Liaptcheff Government. The chief demands of the fighting workers and peasants however — the abolition of the Law for the Protection of the State, the reestablishment of the Labour organisations which have been dissolved, a complete amnesty etc. — have not yet been raised openly and boldly. In this way it is frustrating the formation of a united front with the workers and peasants in the fight against the Fascist regime, the united front which the workers and peasants are proposing.

The workers and peasants alone are carrying on a courageous and obstinate fight against the Fascist regime in Bulgaria, in spite of the enormous difficulties and the serious sacrifices which the fight involves. The united front of Labour, is endeavouring to unite all the other strata and groups of workers: State officials, small tradesmen and artisans, tenants, disabled soldiers etc. It is much to be regretted that the leadership of the Peasant League is in the hands of the Right, which is supported by the Government itself, and which threatens to cause a split in the League. This is a great obstacle to the complete development of the united front. The masses of peasants however go with the Left section of the Peasant League which is decidedly in favour of forming a united front with the workers.

The Communist Party has made enormous sacrifices and its ranks have been seriously decimated. After the defeats it has suffered and in consequence of the confusion of ideas caused by the mistakes it has committed, it no longer possesses the strength and influence it had in former times. The Communist Party is endeavouring, once more to gather the broad masses of workers round its banner in the fight for its minimum demands (in the first place the overthrow of the Fascist Government, the abolition of the exceptional laws, the restoration of the workers' organisations which have been dissolved, a complete amnesty, support of the unemployed, reduction of the hours of work and increase of wages, a campaign against the rise in prices etc.).

The Communist Party has succeeded in retaining the confidence of the masses in spite of its defeats; for this it has to thank its courageous fight against the White Terror in Bulgaria which has claimed so many victims. The masses still regard it as their true leader, who will lead them to victory. It depends on the C. P., on its adopting wise tactics at the present moment and the near future whether it uses this confidence to restore its force and to accelerate the victory of the workers and peasants. The Bulgarian workers and peasants, in their difficult fight against the blood-stained regime, which is part of the fight of the European proletariat against the mad and insolent attacks of Fascist reaction, count on the powerful support of the workers and peasants of all countries.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Collapse of the Extraordinary Court Proceedings against Szanto and Comrades — a Victory of the International Proletariat.

By J.

There exists not the least doubt that the ruling class of Hungary wanted this time to set up an example. Immediately after the arrest of Comrade Szanto, the police and the Ministry of the Interior unanimously declared, that an end must now be made once and for all to the Communist "disturbance of society". In Parliament and in the press there was carried on a ruthless campaign against the accused, and also against Moscow, in order to create the necessary mood for the erection of the gallows. The notorious Public Prosecutor, Dr. August Miskolczy, who shortly after the arrest of the accused should have left his office in order to fill a higher position, nevertheless made all the preparations for this trial in his former office. The Central Public Prosecution referred the matter to an Extraordinary Court and appointed as President the blood-thirsty judge Töreky. The latter, right at the beginning of the proceedings, caused the priests and the executioner to be in attendance. There is not the least doubt that there existed the will to carry out this shameful act. Nevertheless, after ten hours deliberations the proceedings broke down. How came this about?

As on many other occasions, the international working class has also in this case come to the aid of the Hungarian revolutionaries. The news had hardly arrived that the Hungarian police had carried out fresh arrests, when the Communist Parties immediately began to act. In the Communist press and in Communist meetings there was raised the cry: "Wrest the victims from the executioner!" This movement spread to the social democratic workers and also embraced wide circles of intellectuals. Every day the Hungarian government received from all parts of the world a great number of protest telegrams, from which it could perceive that all eyes were directed on Hungary and that the Court proceedings would be closely followed by the entire world.

What did the first day of the proceedings reveal? In the first place, that that which the police and the government had set up as their first aim: to make a terrifying example and thereby to keep back the workers from Communism, had completely failed. The accused knew what was threatening them. In the court room they stood immediately under the shadow of the gallows. All the more courageously, however, even the socialists among the accused proclaimed their allegiance to communism, to the revolution and to the dictatorship of the proletariat. They thereby compelled the judges to regard them with the greatest respect, and at the same time convinced the judges that nothing can be achieved against this movement by means of death sentences. The statements of the accused showed that with this movement it is not a case of a handful of so-called agitators who wish by means of a sudden act to overthrow the so-called order, and who could therefore be terrified by the Extraordinary Court, but rather of a world movement which gathers together the working class and all suppressed peoples in one powerful phalanx and, in a tenacious, determined, revolutionary struggle, overturns the whole bourgeois society. The Court was specially impressed by the fact that this time nearly all the accused were simple workers, who in plain words gave expression to this powerful world-transforming idea of communism.

The assertion of the Public Prosecutor that the accused had acted on the orders of Moscow played a very considerable role in the charge. But it was precisely on this point that the Prosecution sustained the heaviest defeat. The gentlemen had to sit still while simple workers gave them a lesson on communist discipline, which does not consist in executing orders, but, from one's own conviction, which is shared by millions, helping the movement to victory in all circumstances. "Why should I need orders?", exclaimed Comrade Glanz, a printer, "if I do nothing but what my best conviction and my proletarian conscience dictate?"

The Defence made a very skilful use of the situation. The wellknown professor of criminal law at the Budapest Univer-

sity, Dr. Rustem Vambéry, who also enjoys a considerable reputation in England, pulled to pieces the legal basis of the entire accusation, and in conclusion said to the court: "In the present case the Extraordinary Court is nothing else than a legal form of common murder!"

In addition to this there took place before the court the incredible exposure of the Hungarian police. They posed before the ruling class as the "saviour of society". Now the proceedings showed that the Hungarian police for months had not the least inkling that Comrade Szanto was staying in Hungary. The police did not intervene until the movement had already embraced broad sections of the proletariat, and when, not the organisation of the Party, but the work of this organisation was visible to all eyes. The police arrested a number of workers who, by intimidation and by means of the most terrible tortures, were compelled to make certain confessions. There were moments in the course of the day when it seemed as if, not the Communist Party, but the whole shameful system of the Hungarian police was in the dock. It is true, the President of the Court, Töreky, repeatedly attempted to take the police under his protection. But when the accused demanded more and more vehemently: "Where is Eduard Rubin?", the President finally addressed this question to the Public Prosecutor, Miskolczy. The latter briefly replied: "According to the reports of the police he has disappeared". Thereupon the President, hesitating and with stuttering voice, was forced to declare that he himself knew nothing whatever of this matter.

In the eight hours proceedings of the Extraordinary Court the Communist Party of Hungary achieved a magnificent victory. In the country of Horthy the C. P. has no other public tribune at its disposal than the court room. We can say that our comrades made a splendid use of this tribune. The Hungarian newspapers are full of the reports of the proceedings at the trial. The attitude of our comrades will not fail to make a tremendous impression upon the entire working class in Hungary and the whole world. They have also won the respect of their opponents. Nevertheless it must be said that the Communist Party of Hungary could not have achieved this victory alone. For this there was necessary the help of the international working class. Thus the international working class emerges as the victor from this struggle.

The Hungarian government believed that this time it would be able to put to good use the prevailing international anti-bolshevik mood. It has, however, achieved the exact contrary. It was precisely the international public which stayed the arm of the executioner. The decision of the court not only represents a retreat on the part of a body of judges, but before all the retreat of the Hungarian government. For the former were only acting on instructions from above. The "Vossische Zeitung" is not far wrong when it writes regarding the collapse of the Extraordinary Court proceedings:

"The Extraordinary Court, when it pronounces judgments, can only chose between the death penalty and acquittal. The conscience of the world rose up against this threatening alternative. Proclamations bearing the best German names appealed to the Hungarian nation. The declaration of incompetence means a first success for this movement".

### The Trial of Szanto, Vagi and Comrades.

We give below the continuation of the report of the proceedings before the Extraordinary Court, the first part of which appeared in our last number. Ed.

Budapest, 12th April 1927.

The accused Alexander Pohl

under great excitement of the audience described how the "confessions" were extracted by the police. Without exception the accused were terribly beaten even before they were brought to be examined. They were tortured in the padded ante-room of the chief of the police Schweinitzer. A number of the accused were hanged in the air by their feet and when they became unconscious they were restored. With one of the accused, the police bound his left hand to his right foot so that he could not move. Then he was lifted up by the neck and flung down

onto the ground. Whips lay on the floor of the room and with these the accused were beaten bloody. When the accused had been so maltreated they were led to Schweinitzer. If the accused then refused to confess, Schweinitzer said to the accompanying detectives: "Take him outside again, he wants to think it over". Once in the ante-room, the tortures began again.

I was also beaten bloody, one half of my face is still swollen, declared the accused. "Confessions" extracted in such a manner have no value as proof.

Pohl then described how he became a communist. In Hungary there was a so-called consolidation, but in fact it was nothing but a cover for the terrible misery of the workers. "I became a communist because I saw that the workers in the brick kilns in Altofen worked 14 to 16 hours a day and then went home to live in holes. I know dozens of workers whose wives are consumptive and whose children are rachitic. I also saw what those workers in Altofen eat. This misery is general in Hungary. The country is nothing but a great cemetery for the working class. Infant mortality is tremendously great. The conditions in the factories are terrible.

The social democracy is no party of the working class. I became a communist because the Communist Party takes the emancipation of the workers seriously, because every communist is prepared to die for his convictions. From the moment that I became a communist I devoted my whole life to the cause of the working class and when I withdraw my confession made before the police, I do not do so because I am afraid of the gallows, but because it was extracted from me by inhuman tortures the marks of which are still on my body, and because it is not in accordance with the facts."

#### The accused Johann Koczis:

"I was uneducated and could neither read nor write. But my only desire was to know why the working class suffered such wrong and how it could free itself from its suffering. From the time I learned to read I have read those books which show the proletariat the way to its freedom. I admit proudly that I am a soldier of the III International.

"I lost one foot in the red war as a soldier of the red army. We communists are not like the irridentists who make propaganda with phrases. We are prepared to give our lives for our cause. During the dictatorship of the proletariat in Hungary I sacrificed a limb, like many of my comrades, and I would willingly have sacrificed my life. But for the aims of the irridentists, I would not even give the dirt under my finger nails. I was beaten ten days in succession in order to force me to recognise that the 'confession' made by Alexander Loevy was the truth. My statement to this effect was forced from me by torture and I now withdraw it completely."

#### The accused Alexander Szerenyi:

"Even if I am beaten to death for it I will still declare myself a communist. You will not succeed in beating out my thirst for knowledge or my enthusiasm although the police tried it. As far as my modest knowledge reaches, I am working in the interests of the revolution, no matter whether I shall now be executed for it or not. Should I ever regain my freedom then I shall continue to work for the revolution. I have organised communist nuclei. I have instructed my comrades. I have made communist propaganda. I have taken part in all this work, but before this class-court I will give no details of my work. I am only responsible to my Party and to my communist conscience and not to this bourgeois class court. I consider the illegal organisation to be correct and necessary.

For me every decision of the III International is an order, but it is nevertheless a naive error to declare that the communists work upon 'orders', for there is only a real co-operation and democracy in the Communist Party. Communist morality declares international solidarity to be the highest principle, and every communist acts according to this principle when he organises, teaches or works."

#### The accused Venezi:

"I am a metal worker. I have always worked for my living and always been hungry. It is a lie to say that I did what I have done for money. I do not fear the persecution of the present regime.

The continual treachery of the social democrats and particularly the treachery of the leaders of the Metal Workers Union led me into the ranks of the communists. I became convinced that the Communist Party could only then become strong when it became strongly rooted in the factories. Therefore I have devoted all my activity to the building up of the nucleus form of organisation. The police beat me bloody. I was hanged in the air by my hands. My right hand was tied to my left leg, sticks were thrust under my knees and I was beaten on the back with rubber clubs and when I fell forward I was beaten on the chest to make me fall backwards. I did not withdraw the 'confession' I finally made to the police when I came before the public prosecutor because every one knew that to withdraw a 'confession' made before the police meant to be handed over to the hands of the torturers once again as happened to comrade Rubin."

The accused was then interrupted by the president of the court who forbade him to speak further.

#### The accused Emmerich Glanz:

"A communist fears neither a bullet nor the gallows. I came to Hungary from my own conviction in order to help to strengthen the illegal organisation, for in Hungary it is only possible to build up a strong mass legal party with the aid of a strong illegal party.

I came from Moscow. The Soviet Union is the real home and the protection for all workers. The public prosecutor can abuse the Soviet Union as much as he likes. Whoever was in the Soviet Union considers it to be his ideal. There the workers and the working women are not beggars, but live well. In the Soviet Union the greatest social-political institutions in the whole world have been built. There there is a real culture, and not a pseudo, bourgeois, culture.

I was terribly beaten in order to extract the stupid admission that I came here at the order of Moscow and under the instructions of Bela Kun. My order was my own communist conviction. Moscow has only been drawn into this matter because at present an international campaign is being carried on with all means against the Soviet Union. Compare the Russian worker with the miserable and hungry Hungarian worker and you will realise immediately that an honest worker needs no order to fight the reactionary regime in Hungary to the death and to risk his own life in doing so, so that this regime may be finally overthrown."

#### The accused Stefan Rostas

described in detail the tortures applied to the prisoners by the police and how the latter tried to force him to make "confessions" concerning alleged orders from Moscow and Vienna. When he refused he was beaten daily into unconsciousness.

The accused declared that he would hold his communist belief upright even in the shadow of the gallows. He had taken part in the youth movement. In Hungary the youth are outside the law and defenceless. They are at the mercy of the bourgeoisie economically. The social democracy worked hand in hand with the bourgeoisie to prevent the organisation of the working class youth. Only the Communist Party, which took the cause of the social revolution seriously, realised what great forces there were in the young workers, even in the young workers and peasants of Hungary. "Therefore I am a member of this Party, body and soul!"

The president of the court then declared the morning session at an end (2. p. m.) and set the re-commencement of the proceedings for 4 p. m.

\* \* \*

Budapest, 13th April 1927.

During the course of the further examination of the accused in the afternoon session, all the prisoners with the exception of the communists Pap, Normai, Ilona Vamos, Josef Pipic, and Ladislaus Ehrenreich declared that they were members of the Socialist Labour Party and were not communists.

With the exception of one communist and two members of the Socialist Labour Party, all the accused declared that they had been inhumanly tortured for 14 days by the police. They were not merely hanged in the air and beaten into insensibility,



but the police introduced a new form of torture. The left hand was tied to the right foot of many of the accused and thus bound, they were compelled to kneel upon pointed sticks being brutally beaten the while.

The evidence of the landworker Anton Tisza of Szolnok created particular sensation. He declared that he was no communist, but that the Soviet Union was his ideal, for Lenin had created from an oppressed country of Mujhiks a country of free peasants. He commenced his evidence by declaring that he withdrew all the statements made by him to the police. These statements he said had been made because he had been beaten the whole way from Szolnok to Budapest and there tortured for ten days by the police who had compelled him to dance on pointed sticks, had drawn him into the air and beaten him on the soles of the feet and spat upon him.

The president: "Stop all that, you have been told to say it."

The accused Tisza: "That's not true. Every word I say is the pure truth."

The President: "But look, that can't be true for you made no confession. What do you want to withdraw?"

The accused Tisza: "I know very well what I was compelled to say."

The President: "I know better, I have everything written before my eyes."

The accused Tisza: "Show me what you have written there and I will read out what I said and if it is really not there, then I will withdraw what I have just said."

The President glanced through the papers before him and then said: "Excuse me, you are right. I have made an error."

The accused Tisza: "Yes I knew that, for they compelled me to admit everything, including things of which I knew nothing whatever, that about Borodin for instance."

During the course of the examination of the prisoners they declared unanimously that they had not withdrawn the evidence given by them to the police when they came before the public prosecutor because they had feared to be handed over once again to the police as had been the case with Rubin.

The President conducted the whole proceedings very coolly and deliberately, but as soon as any mention was made of Rubin he became nervous and attempted to prevent the accused speaking: "Be silent. That has nothing to do with us. Rubin is not accused."

At 7—30 p.m. the examination of all the accused was at an end. The President then ordered a pause of thirty minutes.

At a quarter past eight the court returned and the President read the following decision:

"The public prosecutor has charged the accused with 'conspiracy to insurrection' and the examination during the trial has brought no further evidence to light. Even if the prisoners had been guilty of this delinquency, their place is not before the extraordinary court, for only insurrection may be tried before the extraordinary court. Upon the basis of the Maintenance of Law and Order Bill 1921 III. G. A. the ordinary courts are competent for the offence with which the accused are charged."

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

### The Provisional Result of the Soviet Elections.

From the Report of Comrade A. Jenukidse, Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, addressed to the Presidium of the Central Executive Commission of the Soviet Union.

The information at the disposal of the Commission permits of a more or less detailed and exact description of the course taken by the Soviet elections. In regard to the elections of the village Soviets, the Commission possesses sufficiently accurate information from the R. S. F. S. R., the White Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, and the Usbekian Socialist Soviet Republic, besides provisional reports from Georgia and the Turcoman Socialist Soviet Republic. In respect of the urban Soviets, reports are to hand from 306 towns and boroughs of an urban character in the R. S. F. S. R. and from

ten circuit towns and 43 other towns in Ukraine. This material permits of a certain appreciation of the results of the electoral campaign in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

What is the most characteristic feature of the elections in this electoral campaign? Certainly the greater participation of the population in general, which finds its expression not only in the actually increased numbers of the participants but also in the social interest evinced in the Soviet elections both by the peasantry and by the urban population. We can undoubtedly establish the fact that the participation of the population has very materially increased over last year. In 1926 the participation in the urban Soviet elections, figured in the R. S. F. S. R. at 48.5, in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic at 62.7, and in Georgia at 55.7 per cent., while in the current year it stood in the R. S. F. S. R. at 55.4, in Ukraine at 57.9, and in Georgia at 65.7 per cent. In the elections for the rural Soviets the participation figures for 1926 were 47.2 per cent. for the R. S. F. S. R., 54 per cent. for Ukraine, 46.5 per cent. for the White Russian Soviet Republic, 45.7 per cent. for the Usbekian, and 36.8 for the Turcoman Soviet Republic. At the present elections, 47.4 per cent. took part in the R. S. F. S. R., 52.5 per cent. in the Ukrainian, 46.6 per cent. in the White Russian, 66.2 in the Usbekian, and 38.7 in the Turcoman Soviet Republic. In the majority of the Union republics, therefore, we have an average participation of the village population to the extent of 47 or 48 per cent.

In considering the participation of the electors in regard to sex, it results that in the village 70 per cent. of the male and 34 or 35 per cent. of the female population took part in the elections. This permits of the conclusion that as regards the male portion of the population the participation in the elections has very nearly reached the limit of possible participation. We must not forget that we have no bourgeois electoral system consisting of a mere handing in of election slips, but a Soviet electoral system which requires that every elector should appear at the polls and take an active part in the election. A further increase of participation will thus chiefly depend on a greater participation on the part of the female electors.

In the towns we have likewise an all-round increase of participation. The activity in this direction is most marked among the masses of the town population which are organised in the trade unions. But even the participation of the unorganised electors has increased since last year. At the elections in 112 urban Soviets in 1926, 54.5 per cent. of the trade union members, 39.9 per cent. of the non-organised electors, and 69.4 per cent. of the red soldiers took part; in 1927 the proportion in the case of the trade-union members rose to 63.3 per cent. and in the industrial centres even figured at 95 to 100 per cent., while the percentage of the non-organised electors increased to 44.1 and that of the red soldiers to 76.7. The number of female Soviet electors also augmented considerably. In 1926, from 35 to 48 per cent. of the female electors took part in the urban elections, while this time the proportion was between 42 and 60 per cent. (Returns for 112 urban Soviets in the R. S. F. S. R.)

This activity on the part of the urban and rural population may be explained by the following reasons: 1. In the course of the last year the population has advanced politically. 2. The economic prosperity of both town and country districts has improved. 3. The consolidation of the Soviets has increased the interest of the electors in the work of the urban and rural Soviets.

Data in regard to the composition of the urban and rural Soviets show an increase in the percentage of the Communists and Young-Communists, which is a direct continuation of the tendencies evinced on the occasion of last year's campaign. The increase in the quota of the Party in the composition of the Soviets doubtless shows a general improvement in their social composition altogether and a strengthening of the proletarian and indigent elements in the village Soviets in particular.

Similarly, there is a pronounced increase in the percentage of women in the Soviets. Not only the increase in the percentage of Party members but also the increase in the percentage of women in the Soviets is a phenomenon which is based on the growth of the influence exercised by the Party on the broad non-party masses of workers.

The present electoral campaign was accompanied in the villages by a more pronounced and more vehement class struggle. This accentuation of class differences was caused not only by a certain economic strengthening of the class of big peasants

in the villages, but also by a marked increase in the unity and class-consciousness of the poorer elements and by an enhancement of the cultural, economic, and administrative importance of the Soviets. The accentuation of the struggle was fostered by a stricter and more accurate application of the elections laws in comparison with the preceding electoral campaign. The fight for the suffrage on the part of those who had been deprived thereof by the election laws and the fight put up by the parasitical portion of the village population for the purpose of gaining influence on the Soviets, assumed various forms, such as the violent dispersion of election meetings, bribery, enforced drunkenness, economic pressure on the poorer and middling class of peasants.

This year the middle peasant in general made common cause with the poorer peasant class and separated from the kulak. A similar collaboration with the poor elements in the villages was also noticeable among the working intellectuals. The village intellectuals (doctors, school-teachers, agriculturists, etc.), not to speak of the urban intellectuals, were to be found altogether on the side of the poor and middle peasants.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### A Challenge to the British Workers.

A Magna Charta for Blacklegs.

By F. Wheeler.

The Conservative government of Great Britain is preparing to aim a decisive blow at the British proletariat. It has submitted a bill to the House of Commons which will render the trade unions perfectly impotent as fighting organisations.

This bill represents a desperate attempt on the part of the die-hards to confirm their power and to deal a heavy blow at their chief enemy. They have two aims in view:

1. To continue the policy of imperialist expansion. After Chamberlain has succeeded in setting up a firmly-welded anti-Soviet front in Europe, extending from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, Great Britain is launching an attack upon China, where the conflict is becoming more threatening and acute every day.

2. To place capitalist rule in Great Britain on a firmer footing.

In order to achieve these aims it is necessary for Baldwin to break the resistance of the workers. He knew that it would be an easy job to deal with MacDonald, Henderson, Clynes etc. He knew that "His Majesty's Loyal opposition" would be prepared at any time to give precedence to "the interests of the country" over the interests of the proletariat. But the general strike and the miners' struggle had shown the powers that be, that the masses do not show that same understanding for the interests of the British robber imperialists as do many of their loyal leaders. And it is quite certain that the British workers, over the heads of these leaders, would have stayed the arm of Mr. Baldwin, if he had ventured to make war against the Soviet Union. The Conservatives knew that perfectly well, and therefore the most important fighting organ of the workers — the trade unions — had to be annihilated.

It is not the first time that the British government has attempted to pass laws against the trade unions. Already during the war, and later in the year 1925 attempts were made, but without success. This time the ground was better prepared. For months long, attempts were made throughout the country to produce a mood of panic among the petty bourgeoisie. "The agents of Moscow wish to plunge the country into ruin", that is the present note of Baldwin and his press, in which respect he has the support of the liberal press and he hopes once again to win these masses for his purposes.

It was under these conditions that the new anti-trade union bill was drafted. Its provisions represent the sharpest offensive which the British employers have undertaken against the working class for years past. Sympathetic strikes and political strikes are no longer permitted. Picketing is to be rendered impossible; strike breakers can no longer be expelled from the trade unions. If in spite of this they are still expelled, they must be accepted again if the court so orders, or they can lay claim

to financial compensation. Officials and civil servants are only allowed to belong to such trade unions in which officials only are organised. The political levy is to be abolished, that is to say this contribution must no longer be paid in collectively, but only be paid in for those members who make an express statement in writing that they wish to pay the levy.

These are the characteristic provisions of this bill whose outspokenly one-sided class character finds further expression in the fact that none of the limitations which are imposed on the workers is imposed on the employers. In the case of a railway strike, for example, the coal barons could straight away lock out the miners and thus support their class colleagues; while on the other hand it would be a penal offence if, for example, the miners, in the event of a transport workers strike, endeavoured to proclaim their class solidarity by a sympathetic strike.

"Blacklegs' Charter" is how the English labour press describes the bill. That this bill represents the most serious threat to the working class is recognised by the entire working class of Great Britain, and even the Right wing members of the Labour Party are driven by necessity to proclaim an "energetic fight" against the bill. The Communist Party of Great Britain, which in spite of its numerical weakness exercises a considerable influence upon the British working class, is calling for the fiercest struggle against the bill. In all parts of the country mass meetings and demonstrations are being organised. The Party replies to the challenge with the slogan: Resignation of the Tory government and the formation of a real labour government.

The British proletariat, who up to the time of the war enjoyed a certain amount of comfort, has long since experienced to his own cost the methods of exploitation of the capitalists. He has already taken his place in the front of the class struggle, and is quite aware that that which he wishes to achieve can only be gained through inexorable struggle. No beautiful words and no compromise will avert the danger for the working class of Great Britain which lies in this bill, but only the sharpest struggle, a struggle not only against this bill, but against the Baldwin government and the whole system which this government embodies.

## RESCUE SACCO AND VANZETTI

### Judicial Murder of Sacco and Vanzetti to be Carried out!

The American bourgeoisie is about to carry out the judicial murder of the two revolutionary workers Sacco and Vanzetti. The Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts has rejected the appeal of the accused and thereby finally confirmed the death sentence. The execution is fixed for the 10th of July.

That Sacco and Vanzetti are perfectly innocent of the murder of which they are accused is clear to the whole world. The American bourgeoisie knows that just as well as the international working class, as all honest men who have followed this trial, the monstrosity of which stands unsurpassed even in the history of bourgeois class justice. But the American bourgeoisie is not concerned about that! Sacco and Vanzetti are not to be "got out of the way" because they are "robbers and murderers", but because they are revolutionaries, because in the State of Massachusetts they were among the most active organisers of the labour movement. This is the reason why they have already spent six years in prison with the Damocles sword of death hanging over their heads. Judge Webster Thayer admitted this himself, when he declared:

"It is possible that Sacco and Vanzetti did not commit the murder of which they are accused; they are however morally responsible for the crime as they are enemies of the existing order."

The fate of Sacco and Vanzetti now lies in the hands of the governor of Massachusetts, Mr. Fuller, who can pardon them. This "pardon" must be enforced by the powerful and increased protest movement of the workers all countries.

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### Oil on the Flames.

The Second International and Amsterdam upon the Danger of War.

By H. Günther.

The Second International has summoned up sufficient courage to discuss again with Amsterdam in Paris the danger of war. To us, it does not appear to be a coincidence that the discussion should take place in Paris, above all places, where only a few days ago the Socialist Party, at the head of the jubilant bourgeoisie, helped in getting passed in Parliament the law for the militarisation of France.

The Social Democrats are obliged to take up some attitude in regard to the danger of war. They must tell the workers something, and they are trying with the utmost complacency to thrust the responsibility for the danger of war chiefly upon the puppets and not upon the parties who are really guilty. They address themselves to the League of Nations.

What is the League of Nations at the present time and what is the League of Nations doing? Is there a single Social Democrat, is there still a worker, who believes that this organisation would be capable of preventing war? It is still possible. But it is certain that all those who were gathered together in Paris knew perfectly well that the League of Nations will not and cannot do anything to prevent the war which is threatening. The League of Nations is informed about the conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia. It knows of the treaties and agreements enumerated with childish scrupulosity in relation to the fate of Albania. Why then do the gentlemen, some of whom are permanent delegates to the League of Nations, not tell these stories directly to the League of Nations instead of to the workers? Why do they try to create by means of this resolution the impression that it is their desire to do something against war?

We Communists regard the attitude of Amsterdam and of the Second International as a mockery of the genuine desire for peace entertained by the international working class; we regard the fact that the resolution in regard to the events in Nanking was limited to talk of solidarity, as frank sabotage of active solidarity.

To us, the fight against the danger of war is much too serious. We have not forgotten what the year 1914, what the years of war meant for the international proletariat. We know quite well that the workers of the whole world have not forgotten it and that large sections of the international working class, in view of the treachery on the part of the Second International and of Amsterdam, will be prepared to participate in the work of the Comintern to prevent a second 1914.

Amsterdam passes resolutions — we must and shall propose fighting measures to the workers of all countries; we must show them what the Russian Bolsheviks did before and during 1914 in their fight against war. The fact that Amsterdam and the Second International recognise the danger of war, even though they try to hide it, must be made use of by the Communist Parties of all countries so that they may approach the Social Democratic masses in regard to their enlistment in the ranks of the fighters against war.

We must take every opportunity of laying before the trade unions of every country and before all the Amsterdam organisations the question as to what they are doing or preparing to do against war; what they are doing to prevent the transport of munitions and arms to China, what they are doing to organise the sabotage of the preparation being made in industry for war, and what they are doing to drive out of the heads of the workers pacifist ideology and League-of-Nations illusions.

Whoever appeals to the League of Nations at the present time to prevent war is not laying the foundations of peace but merely adding oil to the flames. How can the England which organised the mass murders in Nanking and prepared the provocation of the national revolutionary troops of China, that England which initiated the action of Italy against Yugoslavia, how can the France which has multiplied its armaments by means of the new conscription law and, finally, how shall the Germany of reaction and of the black militia, the Hindenburg

country, together with all the little robber states, resolve to guarantee peace?

The League of Nations failed in the war in Morocco, it was silent about Syria and it looked on at the occupation of Nicaragua without raising objection. The League of Nations will remain silent if Italy annexes Albania, unless this runs counter to the interests of one of the leading States of the League of Nations.

We see a division of labour. The Second International appeals to the League of Nations and the French Socialists prepare the defence of their native country. The two belong to one another and are inseparable from the ideology of present day Social Democracy.

We Communists do not wish the army of millions of the organised working class of Europe to march blindly into a fresh mass murder, and we declare war upon all those elements who try to lull the workers with the lying assertion that it is possible to settle imperial conflicts peaceably through the League of Nations. The united front of the international proletariat in the fight against the danger of war must and shall be built up in spite of the resolutions and in spite of the paper proclamations of the Second International and its ally, Amsterdam.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

### Co-operative Delegations.

By E. Varjas (Moscow).

The campaign carried on during the last few years by the leaders of the West European co-operatives against the co-operatives of the Soviet Union is a matter which none of us has yet forgotten. It is well known that the "old" Russian co-operatives which had fled abroad, attacked the co-operative movement in the Soviet Union with lies and calumnies, which remained unrefuted, since the press and the rostra are exclusively at the disposal of the adversaries of Soviet Russia.

The best proof of the injustice of the attacks made on the co-operatives of the Soviet Union, was the invitation issued by the *Centrosojus* (Central of Co-operatives of the Soviet Union) to the *International Co-operative Alliance* to acquaint themselves with the state of affairs in the Soviet Union and to convince themselves of the untruthfulness of the reports dispersed about them abroad.

The delegates of the Co-operative Alliance visited the Soviet Union in March 1922. This visit was followed by a whole series of similar delegations from almost all countries, generally composed of the leaders of West European co-operatives.

The result of their investigations was a complete refutation of the calumnies spread abroad against the co-operatives of the Soviet Union; the delegations themselves contradicted the untruthful reports which had been circulating in foreign countries. Save for the German co-operative press and the *International Labour Office*, the co-operative press of West Europe has more or less abandoned its campaign against the co-operatives of the Soviet Union.

The success achieved by the co-operatives of the Soviet Union during the last few years, the growth of their membership (from 5.4 millions in 1923 to 11.8 millions in 1926) and the rôle of the co-operatives as an inland market (the participation of the co-operatives in the total turnover of goods rising from 28.2 per cent. in the year 1923/24 to 41 per cent. in the year 1925/26, in a period of time during which the share of private trade sank from 40.8 to 27 per cent.) effectively silenced the Western co-operative press which was hostile to the co-operatives of the Soviet Union.

The renewed attacks lately made are of altogether different origin; they come from the "Ultra-Left" fraction which was excluded from the Communist Party of Germany and have since then attempted by means of a number of fictitious statements and untruthful arguments to imbue the working masses of the West with false conceptions of the co-operatives and the entire economic structure of the Soviet Union.

Such men as Katz, Maslow, and their friends, have been ably seconded by the Social Democratic press in general and the "Vorwärts" in particular. They misquote passages from the

Soviet press criticising the Soviet co-operatives and think they can thus prove that the co-operative movement in the Soviet Union is on the verge of bankruptcy as a result of extravagance and of the abuses practised by the employees, that lack of means has made the co-operatives altogether dependent on the charity of the Soviet Government and absolutely incapable of existing without State credits, and that the co-operatives have netted tremendous profits by means of usurious prices.

On the occasion of the XVII session of the Council of the Co-operative Central, and with a view to the strengthening of connections and the wider publication of the achievements of the Soviet Union co-operatives, the delegates of the following co-operative organisations are to be invited to Russia for the coming summer: the English Co-operative Wholesale Society, the Scotch Co-operative Wholesale Society, the English Union of Co-operatives, English Women's Co-operative Guilds, the Central Union of Czechoslovakian Co-operatives, the National Union of French Co-operatives, the Central Union of the Workers' Co-operatives of Belgium, the Central Union of the Austrian Co-operatives, the Co-operative League of America.

These invitations are the reply to the attacks of the International Labour Office and of Katz, Ruth Fischer, Maslow, and the German Social Democrats. This is the reply to the mendacious reports about — in the face of complete ignorance of — the co-operative movement in the Soviet Union, to the lack of understanding and appreciation of the fact that in the Soviet Union the co-operative movement is an essential factor of Socialist construction and that the development of the co-operatives is an important item in the programme of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party.

The visit of the West European co-operative delegations to the co-operatives of the Soviet Union is at the same time intended to strengthen the business relations between the co-operatives of West Europe on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### A. Shapovalov: "An the Way to Marxism" (\*).

By A. Komiat.

Shapovalov calls his book: "Reminiscences of a Revolutionary worker". It is, however, not merely the description of the individual development of a single proletarian to class consciousness, but beyond that, a valuable contribution to the history of the political development of the Russian Labour movement from the theory and practice of the Narodovolzes to revolutionary Marxism.

Shapovalov describes his life from his childhood onwards. Little Sasha had to work when he was only eight years old. Later, as an apprentice, he entered the large railway workshops in St. Petersburg where, in his own person, he experienced the methods of exploitation of the capitalists. His daily wage for 15½ hours amounted to 30 kopeks. The desire for knowledge awoke in him; he visited a workers' evening school. The clever boy attracted the attention of a Pope, and he took him in hand. For a time, Shapovalov fell a victim to the opium of religion. The hard reality however, the contradiction between the commands of the Bible and the deeds of the "religious" exploiters and of the Popes in their service, roused him from the fog of mysticism.

The soil was prepared to receive the ideas of socialism. Through the medium of Michael Tulupov, Shapovalov, in 1892, made the acquaintance of a few adherents of the "Narodnaia Volja". It was not until 1894 however that he succeeded in obtaining admission to the group. A new world opened itself before him, a world full of heroic work for the cause of the people. He worked with the greatest devotion in the illegal movement of the Narodovolzes. Thus he became one of the most zealous and reliable collaborators in the famous secret printing works in Lachta, in which Lenin's brochure "Explana-

\*) A. Shapovalov: "Auf dem Wege zum Marxismus". Edition for Literature and Politics, Vienna, and Berlin, pp. 337, bound 6 marks, paper 4.50 marks.

tion of the Law Respecting the Punishment of Workers in the Factories and Works" was printed at the beginning of December 1895. Another brochure by Lenin: "On Strikes" was to have been produced in the Lachta printing works, but the manuscript got lost and has never since been found.

Before long, doubts rose in Shapovalov's mind as to whether the doctrines of the Narodovolzes were right. He saw that the Narodovolzes allotted a very modest rôle to the working class, that their whole interest was centred in the peasantry although they described the masses altogether as conservative and inert. Shapovalov sought and found connection with the Marxists, the members of the "Fighting League". He did not yet, it is true, break off his connection with the organisation of the Narodovolzes, but ideologically he already belonged to the Marxists. This ideological development from the doctrine of the Narodovolzes to Marxism, at that time embraced wide strata of the working classes. In 1895, Shapovalov went over to the "Fighting League".

In 1896, he took part as an out and out class-conscious fighter in the great weavers' strike in St. Petersburg, which was a brilliant practical confirmation of the theory of Marxism.

In the same year, Shapovalov was arrested. After two years' imprisonment in the fortress of Peter and Paul, he was exiled to Siberia, where the exiles forged new theoretical weapons for the continuation of their fight. In Minussinsk he met Lenin, who even at that time was regarded by the Russian workers as the leading force of the revolutionary movement.

At their first meeting, Lenin discussed with Shapovalov how the printing press of an illegal printing works should be constructed. On another occasion, Shapovalov took part in a conference of exiles in which Lenin violently opposed the economists who wanted to lead the Labour movement on to the narrow path of a purely economic fight, and also opposed Bernsteinianism. Even at that time, Lenin described it as the duty of the Russian revolutionary Marxists to create an independent, political revolutionary party of the working class whose duty it should be to seize the political power so as to make the socialist order a reality. Even at that time, Lenin pointed out that the millions of suppressed and ruined peasants are the most weighty allies of the party of the working class in their fight against autocracy. Even at that time, from the point of view of dialectics, Lenin saw the question of the tactics of revolutionary Marxism, the tactics of the economic and political fight of the working class in the right light. The correctness of the most important points of the resolution proposed by Lenin at this Conference, was completely confirmed by the further development of the Labour movement.

Shapovalov's reminiscences come to an end in 1901, the year of his return from exile. He hurried back into the great fight which, 16 years later, culminated in the victorious October revolution.

All workers should read this book, which is written in the simple language of the proletarian. They can learn from it readiness for sacrifice, devotion to the cause of the oppressed, revolutionary discipline and endurance. They will recognise in the book their own life and the way to their own liberation.

It is to be hoped that this work will soon be made available to English readers by means of a translation.

## TEN YEARS AGO

### The Political Parties of Russia and the Tasks of the Proletariat.

By N. Lenin.

(Written in April 1917).

The following represents an attempt to formulate first of all the essential and then the less essential questions and answers which characterise the present political situation in Russia and the estimate made of this situation by the various parties.

1. What are the chief groups of the political parties in Russia?

A. (On the Right of the Cadets). The parties and groups on the Right of the Cadets.

B. (Cadets). The party of Constitutional Democracy (Cadets<sup>1</sup>), party of the people's freedom, and the groups with an affinity for them.

C. (Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries). Social Democrats, Social Revolutionaries and the groups with an affinity for them.

D. ("Bolsheviki"). The party which was to be called the Communist party and is now called the "Russian Social Democratic Labour party united by the CC." or, in short "Bolsheviki".

2. Which classes do these parties represent? Of which classes do they express the standpoint?

A. (On the Right of the Cadets): The feudal landed proprietors and the backward strata of the bourgeoisie (of the capitalists).

B. (Cadets). The whole bourgeoisie, i. e. the class of the capitalists and the landed proprietors who are developing into bourgeoisie and are becoming capitalists.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): The small farmers, the small and middle peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and even sections of the workers who are under the influence of the bourgeoisie.

D. (The Bolsheviki): The class-conscious proletariat, wage-earners and the poor peasants who make common cause with them (semi-proletarians).

3. What attitude do they take to socialism?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): Definitely hostile, for socialism endangers the profits of the capitalists and landed proprietors.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): Are in favour of socialism but consider it premature to think about it and to take immediate, practical steps towards its realisation.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): Are in favour of socialism. They consider it necessary for the Soviets of the Workers' Delegates to take at once all the practical steps possible for the realisation of socialism<sup>2</sup>.

4. What form of Government do they want at the present time?

A. (Right of the Cadets): A constitutional monarchy, supreme power for the officials and the police.

B. (Cadets): A bourgeois parliamentary republic, i. e. consolidation of the rule of the capitalists and retention of the old officials and police.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): A bourgeois parliamentary republic with reforms for the workers and peasants.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): The Republic of the Soviets of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates. The dissolution of the standing army and of the police; in its place arming of the people; the officials should be subject not only to election but to dismissal; no higher wages for officials than for a well-paid worker.

5. What is their attitude towards the restoration of the Romanov dynasty?

A. (Right of the Cadets): They are in favour of it, but they work secretly and cautiously, being afraid of the people.

B. (Cadets): When the Gutchkovs seemed strong, the Cadets were in favour of placing Nicholas' brother or son on the throne, but when the people seemed strong, the Cadets were against the plan.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.) and D. ("Bolsheviki"): Are absolutely opposed to any restoration of the Monarchy.

6. What is their attitude towards the question of the seizure of power? What do they call order and what anarchy?

A. (Right of the Cadets): If the Tsar or an efficient general seizes the power, it is from God, it is order. Everything else is anarchy.

B. (Cadets): If the capitalists seize the power, even if by force, it is order. To seize the power against the capitalists, would be anarchy.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): If the Soviets of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates alone seize all the power, anarchy threatens. Let the capitalists keep the power for the time being, and the Soviets have the "Liaison Commission".

D. ("Bolsheviki"): All power to the Soviets of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates; the whole propaganda, agitation and organisation of the millions and millions must be directed towards this end<sup>3</sup>.

7. Should the present Government be supported?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): It must absolutely be supported, for, at the present moment, it is the only possible Government for the protection of the interests of the capitalists.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): It should be supported but on condition that it unites with the Soviets of the Workers' Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates and admits of the "Liaison Commission".

D. (Bolsheviki): No. Let the capitalists support it. We must prepare the whole people for the sole power and sole rule of the Soviets of the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants.

8. For sole rule or joint rule?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): For the sole rule of the landed proprietors and capitalists.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): For joint rule; "control" of the Provisional Government by the Soviets of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates. It is harmful to consider whether control is possible at all without power.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): For the sole rule of the Soviets of the Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates throughout the country, from top to bottom.

9. Shall the Constituent Assembly be summoned?

A. (Right of the Cadets): No, for it might injure the landed proprietors. The moment is unsuitable, for the peasants will resolve in the Constituent Assembly that the whole of the land shall be taken from the landowners.

B. (Cadets). Yes, but the date should not yet be fixed. Negotiations must be entered into with regard to it with the professorial lawyers, for 1. Bebel has already said that the lawyers are the most reactionary people in the world; 2. Experience of the whole revolution has taught that the cause of the people's freedom is submerged as soon as it is entrusted to the professors.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): The Constituent Assembly should be called as soon as possible. The date must be fixed, we have already spoken of it 200 times in the Liaison Commission and at the 201st time, we shall speak of it finally.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): The Constituent Assembly should be summoned as soon as possible. The only guarantee for its being called and for its success, however, is an increase of the number, and the strengthening of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Delegates; the organisation and arming of the masses of workers — that is the only guarantee.

10. Does the State need a police force of the usual kind and a standing army?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): It needs it absolutely and without doubt, for it is the only certain guarantee for the rule of the capitalists and, in case of need, it facilitates the transition from the revolution back to monarchy, as the experience of all countries teaches.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): On the one hand it is not necessary. On the other hand: is it not premature to proceed with the introduction of such fundamental changes? We will speak of it in the Liaison Commission.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): They are absolutely unnecessary. It is imperative that the general arming of the people be carried out throughout the country at once, and that the armed people be organised into a militia and an army; the capitalists must pay the workers for the days they serve in the militia.

11. Does the State need an officialdom of the usual kind?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): Undoubtedly; 90% of officials are the sons and brothers of landowners and

<sup>3</sup> Anarchy is the denial of any power of the State; but the Soviets themselves are a power of the State.

<sup>1</sup> From the abbreviation of Constitutional Democrats (CD = Cade).

<sup>2</sup> For information as to what steps these are, see questions 20 and 22.

capitalists, they must remain a privileged group of persons who cannot be dismissed.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): This question, which was put practically by the Paris Commune, should not be put all at once.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): Officialdom is not necessary. It is necessary that all officials and delegates should be subject not only to election but also to dismissal at any time. They should not be paid more than a well-paid worker; they should be gradually replaced by the people's militia and its troops.

12. Is it necessary for the officers to be elected by the soldiers?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): No, this is harmful for the landowners and the capitalists. If it is not possible to establish order among the soldiers in any other way, this reform must be promised to them for the time being, and then withdrawn as soon as possible.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): Necessary.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): It is necessary not only that the officers be elected, but their every step must be supervised by specially elected, confidential representatives of the soldiers.

13. Is it desirable that the powers that be should be arbitrarily removed by the soldiers?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): Absolutely harmful. This was even forbidden by Gutchov. He has already threatened to resort to measures of force. Gutchkov must be supported.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): It is useful but it is still uncertain whether we should first remove the powers that be and then join the Liaison Commission or vice versa.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): Useful and necessary in all circumstances. The soldiers only obey and only respect the authorities elected by themselves.

14. For or against the present war?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): Are absolutely in favour of it, for this war brings unprecedented profits to the capitalists and promises the consolidation of their power, thanks to the disunion among the workers and the stirring up of one section of the workers against the other. We will deceive the workers by calling this war a war of defence, which is only carried on to overthrow William.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): In general we are against imperialist war, but we are prepared to allow ourselves to be deceived and to designate as "revolutionary self-defence" the support of the imperialist war of the openly imperialist Government of Gutchkov and Miljukov.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): Absolutely against imperialist war altogether; against any bourgeois Government which carries it on, therefore against our Provisional Government; absolutely opposed to "revolutionary self-defence" in Russia.

15. For or against the international robber treaties (regarding the throttling of Persia and the dividing up of China, Turkey and Austria etc.) concluded by the Tsar with England, France and other Powers?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): Absolutely and wholly in favour of it. The publication of the treaties is not possible, firstly because Anglo-French imperialist capital and its Governments would not consent to it, and secondly because Russian capital cannot reveal its unsavoury business to the public.

C. (Soc. Dem. and SR.): Opposed to it, but we still hope to be able to influence the capitalist Government by means of the Liaison Commission and a mass campaign.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): Opposed to it. Our whole task is to enlighten the masses as to the absolute hopelessness of the capitalist Governments doing anything in this respect, and as to the necessity of the power passing into the hands of the proletariat and the poor peasants.

16. For or against annexations?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): If the annexations are to be made by the German capitalists and their robber leader William, then we are opposed to them; if by the English, we are not opposed to them, for they are "our" allies; if the people, subjugated by the Tsar, are to be kept by force within

the frontier of Russia by the capitalists, we are in favour of it, we do not call that annexation.

C. (Soc. Dem. and S. R.): We are opposed to annexations, but we still hope that it will be possible to persuade the capitalist Government to "promise" to renounce annexations.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): Against annexations. All the promises of capitalist Governments that they will renounce annexations are pure delusions. There is only means of unmasking this — to demand the liberation of the peoples oppressed by their own capitalists.

17. For or against the "Freedom Loan"?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): Absolutely in favour of it, for it facilitates the carrying on of the imperialist war, i. e. of the war which is to decide which capitalist group shall rule the world.

C. (Soc. Dem. and S. R.): In favour of it, for the incorrect standpoint of our "revolutionary self-defence" compels us to put a distance between ourselves and internationalism.

D. (Bolsheviki): Against it, for the war remains an imperialist war, it is carried on by capitalists, in alliance with capitalists and in the interest of capitalists.

18. In favour of or opposed to the Capitalist Governments expressing the Will for Peace of the Peoples?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): In favour of it, for the experience of the French, republican chauvinists proves that the people can be deceived in this way; say what you will, in reality we stick to the booty which we have stolen from the Germans (their colonies), but we take from them the booty which those robbers stole.

C. (Soc. Dem. and S. R.): We are in favour of it but we have not yet lost the many unfounded hopes which the petty bourgeoisie placed in the capitalists.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): We are against it, for the class-conscious workers place no hopes in the capitalists, and our task is to enlighten the masses as to the lack of foundation for such hopes.

19. Should all Monarchs be dethroned?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): No, there is no need to dethrone the English and Italian monarchs and those allied with them, only the German, Austrian, Turkish and Bulgarian ones, for a victory over them will multiply our profits tenfold.

C. (Soc. Dem. and S. R.): We must establish a "sequence" and begin with William; the allied monarchs can wait.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): It is not possible to establish a sequence of revolutions. The only thing is actively to support the revolutionaries alone, and to dethrone the monarchs in all countries.

20. Shall the Peasants take the whole Land from the landed Proprietors at once?

A. (On the Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): Under no circumstances. We must wait for the Constituent Assembly. Even Shingariov said: If the capitalists wrest the power from the Tsar, it is a great and glorious revolution, but if the peasants take the land from the land owners, it is called arbitrary action. Compromise committees must be formed in which landowners and peasants are represented in equal numbers, but the president must be an official, i. e. must belong to the capitalists and landowners.

C. (Soc. Dem. and S. R.): It is better for the peasants to wait for the Constituent Assembly.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): The whole land must immediately be taken from the landed proprietors. The strictest order must be established by the Soviets of the Peasants' Delegates; the distribution of bread and meat must be extended, the soldiers must be better fed. Injury to cattle or agricultural implements is prohibited.

21. Is it possible to restrict the Disposal of landed Property and of all Rural Affairs to the Soviets of the Peasants' Delegates alone?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): The landowners and capitalists are altogether opposed to the sole rule of the Peasants' Soviets in the country. If however the Soviets cannot be avoided, it is of course better to restrict ourselves to them, as the rich peasants are also capitalists.

C. (Soc. Dem. and S. R.): For the time being, we can restrict ourselves to them, although "on principle" Social Democracy does not deny the necessity of a special organisation of agricultural labourers.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): We cannot restrict ourselves to the general Peasants' Soviets, for the rich peasants are at the same time capitalists, who are always inclined to act to the detriment of the poor peasants and to deceive them. It is necessary at once to create special organisations of these latter strata of the rural population, even within the Peasants' Soviets and also, as special Soviets of the Delegates of agricultural labourers.

22. Shall the People take into their own Hands the most important and strongest monopolist Organisations of the Capitalists, the Banks, Syndicates, Factories etc.?

A. (Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): Under no circumstances, for it might injure the capitalists and landowners.

C. (Soc. Dem. and S. R.): On the whole we are in favour of such organisations passing into the hands of the people, but it is still too early to speak or think about it.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): The Soviets of Workers' Delegates and the Soviets of Bank Clerks must immediately be prepared so that they can undertake all steps which are practically possible and which can be completely carried through, first for amalgamating all banks into one national bank, then to introduce the control of banks and syndicates by the Soviets, and then for nationalising them, i. e. for handing them over into the possession of the whole people.

23. What kind of a Socialist International, the leader and champion of the fraternal alliance of the workers of all countries, do the peoples now need?

A. (On the Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): In general, any socialist International is injurious to the capitalists and landowners; but, if the German Plechanov, i. e. Scheidemann were to join with the Russian Scheidemann, i. e. Plechanov, and if they were mutually to abandon any trace of socialist consciousness, then we capitalists would welcome such an International of such socialists who would place themselves on the side of their Governments.

C. (Soc. Dem. and S. R.): What is necessary, is a Socialist International which unites all groups; both the Scheidemanns and Plechanovs and the people of the "Centre", i. e. those who vacillate between the Social chauvinists and the Internationalists. The bigger the mixture, the better the "unity". Long live the great, socialist unity!

D. ("Bolsheviki"): The peoples only need an International which unites the really revolutionary workers, who are capable of putting an end to the terrible and criminal slaughter of the peoples, who are capable of liberating mankind from the yoke of capital. Only such people (groups, parties etc.), as Karl Liebknecht, the German Socialist who is in prison, only persons who fight with determination against their own Government, against their own bourgeoisie, against their social chauvinists, against their "Centre", can and must immediately create the International which the peoples need.

24. Is it necessary to promote the Fraternisation of the Soldiers facing one another on the Fronts?

A. (On the Right of the Cadets) and B. (Cadets): No, it is detrimental to the interests of the capitalists and landowners, for it may accelerate the liberation of mankind from oppression.

C. (Soc. Dem. and S. R.): Yes, it is beneficial, but we are not firmly convinced that such a promotion of fraternisation should immediately be undertaken between all the countries at war.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): Yes, it is beneficial and necessary. It is absolutely necessary to promote an immediate attempt at fraternisation between the soldiers of both fighting groups in all the countries at war.

25. A Flag of what Colour would correspond with the Nature and Character of the various political Parties?

A. (On the Right of the Cadets): Black, for they are the real "Black Hundred".

B. (Cadets): Yellow, for that is the international flag of the workers who gladly serve capital.

C. (Soc. Dem. and S. R.): Pink, for its policy is a rose-water policy.

D. ("Bolsheviki"): Red, for that is the flag of the proletarian world revolution.

## Chronicle of Events.

April 6th.

The German Government accepts the conditions proposed by Platten for the return of the political emigrants to Russia.

A large mass meeting of the workers and sailors in Kronstadt demands: 1. The immediate surrender of the whole land to the people; 2. women shall immediately be placed on an equality with men and 3. the immediate publication of the conditions under which the Provisional Government is prepared to conclude peace without annexations and without contributions.

April 7th.

Resolution of the Government to introduce a "grain monopoly".

A meeting of workers and soldiers in Gatchina demands that the land be immediately handed over to the working peasantry.

Opening of the Congress of the Cadet party. The speaker treats the question: monarchy or republic, not as a matter of principle but as a tactical question. Ten years ago it would have been unsuitable to speak of a republic, to-day it would be unsuitable to restore the monarchy.

Opening of the National Co-operative Congress.

The District Conference of the Moscow Soviet passes the following resolution:

"The Provisional Government, in view of the present relation of forces and under the pressure of the Democracy which is organising itself, is entering on the path of abolishing the old order. The working class, the revolutionary army and the working peasantry are controlling the activities of the Provisional Government and unmasking any attempt to arrest the further development of the revolution in the interest of the ruling class, are organising all the democratic forces, consolidating and deepening the achievements of the revolution and reconstructing the whole country on a consistent, democratic basis. In this way they are isolating the counter-revolution by steering towards the aim of the necessary continuation of the revolution until the undivided rule of the people is established."

April 8th.

Resolution of the C. C. of the Bolsheviki: "The Provisional Government, which is linked up with Anglo-French capital, is incapable of fulfilling the tasks brought up by the revolution... Our task is therefore to rally our forces round the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet as the nucleus of a revolutionary power which alone is capable of frustrating the intentions of the Tsarist and bourgeois counter-revolution, of satisfying the demands of revolutionary democracy and unmasking the true class character of the present Government. The most immediate and important task of the Soviets is the general arming of the people and especially the formation of a Red Workers' Guard throughout the country".

At its second sitting, the District Conference of the Moscow Soviet passes the following measures: 1. The establishment of Worker, Peasant and Soldier Soviets in all places; 2. the rallying of all socialist forces and the co-ordination of their action with other democratic revolutionary organisations; 3. the substitution of local executive committees on democratic lines for the administrative apparatus of the old Power; 4. the establishment of a people's militia; 5. acceleration of the elections for the urban and rural administrative bodies on the basis of a general, secret franchise; 6. propaganda on a large scale for the tasks of the revolution, the Constituent Assembly and the Democratic Republic; 7. Regulation of the food question.

April 9th.

Prohibition of the production and sale of strong, spirituous liquors.

Resolution of the Congress of the Cadet party against the "danger of a division of power". According to them, the only executive and legislative power in the country is the Provisional Government, and no other institution should take these functions upon itself.

Resolution demanding the immediate termination of the war and the sole rule of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet are passed in several large Moscow factories.

April 10th.

In Petrograd, the situation with regard to food is getting worse. The "Pravda" writes that the food crisis is assuming the proportions of a national catastrophe.

April 11th.

The Bolshevik fraction of the National Conference of the Workers' and Peasants' Councils publishes the following resolution passed by the Central Bureau of the C. C. of the Bolsheviks:

The Provisional Government, which was established by the moderate bourgeois strata of society, and whose interests are bound up with those of Anglo-French capital, is incapable of solving the tasks of the revolution. The centre-point for rallying the revolutionary forces must be formed by: in the towns by the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets, in the villages, by the Soviets of peasants and agricultural labourers as nuclei of a revolutionary power which, in its further course, may, at a given moment of the development of the revolution, make a reality of the power of the proletariat in alliance with revolutionary Democracy, in order completely to carry out the demands of the insurgent people. Even to-day, the Soviets must keep a strict watch on all the functions of the Provisional Government and its agents...

The tasks of the day are therefore to rally the forces round the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets and to give enlightenment on the true class character of the present Government.

The immediate and most important task of the Soviets is the general arming of the people and the immediate creation of a Red Workers Guard throughout the country.

Opening of the National Conference of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets in Petrograd. On the agenda are: our attitude to war and to the Provisional Government; questions of organisation; organisation of the revolutionary forces; preparations for the Constituent Assembly; food questions; the land question and other questions of rural life; the Labour question; questions concerning the life of the soldiers in peace and war, etc. On the first day, the question of war is discussed. The

Menshevist Zeretelli gave a report in the name of the Executive Committee. He stated that the question of peace could not be settled by the efforts of the Russian people alone. Until the peace movement finds sufficient support in other countries, we must fight with the same intrepidity and energy against the external pressure of the imperialists as we have fought against the internal forces.

Comrade Kamenev expounds the point of view of the Bolshevik fraction, which is that there is only one way to peace, and that is the way of the transformation of the Russian national revolution into a prologue for the revolt of the peoples of all the belligerent countries against the Moloch of imperialism, of war. We not only call upon all those who are oppressed and enslaved, all the victims of world imperialism to revolt against their slavery, against the imperialist classes, but we say in the name of the revolutionary Russian people, that we will not allow another drop of blood to be shed in the interest of our own bourgeoisie or that of other countries. A time will come when we shall say: Let us create a revolutionary army, let us arm the whole people, let us declare a revolutionary war; that will be at the moment when the working classes of society seize the power and defend the beginnings of an order in which there will be neither wars nor classes.

April 12th.

Second day of the National Conference of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets. After long discussions, a vote is taken in the question of our attitude to war. The Menshevist resolution of Zeretelli received 325 votes, the resolution proposed by Comrade Kamenev received 57, twenty persons refraining from voting.

April 13th.

Third day of the National Conference of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets. Discussion on the question of government.

Plechanov arrives in Russia after almost forty years of exile.

Arrival of the French and English Socialist delegations.

#### TO OUR READERS!

The monthly subscription rates for the "Inprecorr" are as follows:

England . . . . .	2 sh.
America . . . . .	50 cents
Germany . . . . .	1,50 marks
Austria . . . . .	2 (Austrian) Schillings
Norway . . . . .	1,50 crowns
Sweden . . . . .	1,50 crowns
Denmark . . . . .	1,50 crowns
U. S. S. R. . . . .	1 rouble.

The subscription rate for other countries is three dollars (or equivalent in local currency) for six months.

These subscriptions include all Special Numbers besides the Regular Number.