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## Only the Workers can Prevent the War against the Chinese Revolution.

By Marcel Cachin (Paris).

There is taking place before our eyes a world-historical event which would have been regarded as impossible but a short time ago. The Revolution in China is marching with gigantic steps from victory to victory. As a result, not only the struggle for emancipation of the working class of the whole world, and in the first place the victorious proletariat of the Soviet Union, obtains a powerful ally, but this fight for freedom means at the same time the most annihilating blow that the leading imperialist Power, Great Britain, and with it the whole system of capitalist exploitation, has ever suffered.

The British bourgeoisie, whose rule over the proletariat in Great Britain itself was for many decades practically unshakable — this British bourgeoisie is only able to maintain its rule even in Great Britain — where at one time the very existence of the class struggle was obstinately denied by the leaders of the Trade Unions — by employing the most brutal means against the insurgent proletariat. At the same time its imperialist domination over the suppressed peoples is becoming shaky. China means the beginning of the end of British rule over India, Near Asia and Egypt, and signifies also the coming dissolution of the British Empire.

All this is realised not only by the ruling class in Great Britain, but also by the ruling classes in the other countries, who naturally fear that the collapse of British imperialism would mean the collapse of their own imperialist rule and the loss of their position of power to their own proletariat. In China the interests of the whole world bourgeoisie are at stake.

Whereas the bourgeoisie have a relatively clear insight into the matter, it must be said that, with the exception of the proletariat of the Soviet Union, the working class as a whole have no such insight. How otherwise would it have been possible that Blum, while uttering a few unctuous phrases regarding the national liberation of China, had no words to say against the campaign of incitement which is being carried on against Comrade Doriot who is fulfilling his proletarian duty by supporting the fighting Chinese revolutionaries on the spot in China itself? How otherwise would it have been possible that a MacDonald could venture to support the Chinese policy of Sir Austen Chamberlain and that a Breitscheid, in the German Reichstag, came forward openly as a henchman of British diplomacy?

The imperialist Powers are feverishly organising the war against the Chinese revolution. They are making a tremendous display of armed force in Shanghai.

Great Britain has already concentrated 20,000 men in this town, and further reinforcements are on the way.

Almost the whole of the Japanese navy is cruising in Chinese waters.

Six thousand American soldiers have been landed in Shanghai.

France, too, is not remaining behind the brutal imperialism of Great Britain, America and Japan. She is sending soldiers (including Annamite battalions), armoured cruisers and aircraft to China.

In the end it will mean brutal bloodshed. That can be predicted with mathematical certainty.

And what purpose is all this intended to serve?

The imperialists hypocritically declare that all these measures are necessary in order to safeguard the lives and the property of the few hundred foreigners who are scattered over the vast country.

Now the lives and the safety of these foreigners are in no way threatened. The Kuomintang has, not once but hundreds of times in the last few months, given proof that it is quite master of the situation and that foreigners have no need of the protection of the imperialists.

But, says Chamberlain, there is the "rabble of workers".

The rabble of workers! We know what this contemptuous word means in the mouth of the haughty jingo. Who can venture

to assert that the 500,000 revolutionary workers of Shanghai, in spite of the insolent acts and provocations on the part of the British and others, have not given sufficient proof of their coolness and disciplined behaviour? It is not for nothing that the imperialists are piling up tons of explosives in Shanghai. The British rulers are preparing quite openly for a decisive act of violence, by which they hope to win back their lost advantages and privileges. Let them cherish such mad hopes!

All preparations are being made in order to drown the Chinese revolution in a stream of blood.

Yet is it possible to crush a whole people, and a people numbering 450 million at that, who are determined to win their freedom? The Chinese people, which has begun to rise, will sweep all the imperialist powers, without distinction, into the sea. That will be the end, in spite of all the tanks and all the machine guns. It is true that before then, as the example of Nanking shows, the civilised robbers will execute tremendous slaughter.

The imperialist Powers will have to bear the full responsibility for the fresh massacres they are preparing.

Only the powerful movements of the masses of the people in Europe can force those in power to draw back before the blood baths that are being planned have been carried out. Only the action of the proletariat of all countries can enforce the immediate withdrawal of all troops from China and from Chinese waters.

Delays are dangerous. The proletarians have not a moment to lose!

## Text of the Note of the Soviet Government to the Peking Government.

Moscow, 11th April 1927.

On the 9th April the following Note signed by Comrade Litvinov dealing with the raid on the Soviet Embassy in Peking was handed to the Ambassador of the Peking government in Moscow, Tchen:

In connection with the raid by armed soldiers of the army of Chang Tso-lin and by the Peking police upon the rooms of the military attaché of the Soviet embassy in Peking and upon the living rooms of the employees of the embassy, I have the honour of requesting you to refer the following to the Peking cabinet:

1. Supplementing the note of the Ambassador of the Soviet Union in Peking, Tcherny of the 6th April of this year, informing the Peking cabinet of the shameful raid upon the rooms of the military attaché and upon the living rooms of the employees of the embassy, and of the fact that many of the employees were arrested, maltreated and their living rooms searched and plundered, it has since been ascertained upon the basis of the information at present in our hands that the living rooms and the bureau of the military attaché were searched, plundered and partly destroyed by fire, despite all protests. Similarly, the living rooms of the employees of the embassy were demolished and plundered. A number of employees were arrested, some of them were beaten and subjected to other violence and to derision. The names of all the arrested have not yet been ascertained as the armed police and soldiers permit no one to enter the court where the living rooms of the military attaché and the employees of the embassy are situated, and the police have up to the present not published any such list. At the moment, armed soldiers and police are still occupying all the rooms, both of the military attaché and of the employees of the embassy.

2. The raid carried out by the Peking authorities is an unheard of violation of the most elementary extra-territorial rights recognised by all nations. The original supposition put forward by the ambassador of the Peking government in Moscow, Tchen that the whole affair was a raid by common robbers and not a search carried out by the state police, has now been proved, by the receipt of the note of the foreign minister in Peking Wei Chiao-tu of the 8th April, to be incorrect. The Commissariat for Foreign Affairs was inclined to

accept the supposition of Tchen as being the most probable, for it could not assume that persons authorised to carry out the will of the Peking cabinet could commit such actions as those set out in the Note of the Ambassador of the Soviet Union, Tcherny and referred to above i. e. the arrest and maltreatment of employees of the Soviet embassy, the demolition of the bureaux of the military attaché, the searching and plundering of the Russian trade mission and of the greater part of the living rooms of the employees of the embassy situated next to the latter. It can now be stated definitely that the actions termed by Tchen a robber raid, were carried out by soldiers and by the Peking police upon the orders of the Peking government. Such violence is absolutely without precedence for two states maintaining official relations with each other.

3. If the Peking government supposed that it was carrying out a raid upon a building belonging directly, as stated in the Note of the Peking government, to the complex of the Soviet embassy, then it had not the right to do so without first informing the Soviet embassy. The police and the soldiers carrying out the raid did not merely refuse representatives of the embassy the right to enter the territory being searched and plundered, but even refused this right to the ambassador of the Soviet Union, Tcherny himself. Such an attitude can only be explained by a wish of the Peking cabinet for the violence and plundering of its agents to take place in the absence of any official personages. Only the completely improbable and unbelievable statement of the Peking government that weapons and documents were found during the course of the searches, proving that an insurrection was being prepared, explains why the raid upon the rooms of the military attaché and upon the rooms of the employees of the embassy took place under such extraordinary circumstances. For under such circumstances, when all possibility was removed of even the most elementary control and registration of the confiscated property, there is no guarantee whatever that the things allegedly 'found' and which can be utilised by hostile foreign powers who inspired and sanctioned the raid of the 6th April, were actually found in the rooms raided.

4. If the Peking cabinet had discovered that Chinese citizens were present upon the territory directly belonging to the Soviet embassy, Chinese citizens who in the opinion of the Peking

cabinet conducted an activity hostile to the interests of the latter, then it had the possibility and it was its duty to inform first of all the embassy of the Soviet Union. However, the Peking government considered it to be more correct in these circumstances, to direct itself to the Diplomatic Corps in Peking and, in agreement with the Dutch ambassador, Uden-deyk, to violate the extra-territorial rights of the military attaché, to use violence against employees of the embassy of the Soviet Union and to plunder and demolish their living rooms. The co-operation between the soldiers and police of the Peking government with the representatives of the Diplomatic Corps throws light upon the real motives of the unheard of violence and the violation of elementary extra-territorial rights and supplies the best evidence concerning those in whose interests this violence was committed.

The Soviet government emphatically protests against the above mentioned acts of violence and violation of normal rights and considers it necessary to insist upon the fulfilment of the following elementary demands:

- a) The Chinese military troops and police must be immediately withdrawn from the rooms of the military attaché, of the employees of the embassy and of the trade mission.
- b) All the arrested employees of the Soviet embassy and of the economic institutions of the Soviet Union must be immediately released.
- c) All documents removed from the rooms of the military attaché must be immediately returned.
- d) Personal effects, money, household goods, Books and other objects confiscated or stolen by the police and the military must be returned to their owners immediately.

The Soviet government considers it necessary as a sign of protest to recall its Ambassador Tcherny and the whole staff of the embassy from Peking and to leave only a staff necessary to carry out consular functions, until the above demands shall have been fulfilled.

The Soviet government limits itself to the above elementary demands which in no way are calculated to humiliate the Peking government. Every imperialist government whose representatives had been subjected to similar violence would have answered with the sharpest reprisals. The Soviet government which has sufficient means at its disposal to exercise reprisals, declares however that it has no intention whatever of taking such measures.

The Soviet government is well aware that irresponsible circles amongst the foreign imperialists wish to provoke the Soviet Union into a war. The Soviet government is well aware that the Peking cabinet was the instrument of foreign imperialist circles. However, in its policy, the Soviet government is guided only by the interests of the toilers of the whole world, including the interests of the masses of the Chinese people and the working class of all countries. In answer to the Peking provocation which was intended to worsen the international situation and to turn the de facto military operations already begun by certain imperialist powers against China, into a new world war, the Soviet government declares that it will permit itself to be provoked by no one and will fight for the cause of peace between the nations with all the means at its disposal. The Soviet government does not doubt for one moment that its efforts for peace will receive the unanimous support of the toilers in all countries including particularly the peoples of China and of the Soviet Union."

## A Monstrous Provocation.

### The Raid by the Tsarist and English White-Guardists on the Soviet Embassy in Peking.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of 8th April.

Moscow, 8th April 1927.

An unheard of crime has been committed which for deceit, outrage and provocation exceeds the worst performances of secret diplomacy.

With the approval of the diplomatic corps and the Chinese white-guardist clique, an armed attack has been made upon the employees of the Soviet Embassy in Peking, obviously with the assistance of Tsarist and British white-guardists. Searches have taken place and objects have been removed without any list having been taken. Employees of the Embassy have been arrested and maltreated.

At the same time the Soviet Consulate in Shanghai, which is situated on the territory of the international settlement, has been surrounded by British soldiers who even refused to permit the Chinese foreign commissar Kuo Tai-chi to pass through their cordon.

The whole world is therefore faced with a fact of the greatest significance. Even the "Vorwaerts" terms this "pacifist" action as "insane" and "insanity bordering on criminality". Almost the whole German press reacts with the sharpest disapproval to the undertaking of the diplomatic corps in Peking. The Peking correspondent of the "Berliner Tageblatt" declares that the Dutch Ambassador Uden-deyk who permitted the action was only the pawn of Great Britain.

The moderate organ of the British Labour Party, the "Daily Herald" declares that the events in Peking are a declaration of war by the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union. We need not mention that Kuo Tai-chi the foreign minister of the national government in the province of Kiangsu has expressed in his own name and in the name of the Commander in Chief, Chang-Kai-Shi the greatest indignation at the happenings.

These are the facts and their repercussion as far as they have been reported to us by wire.

The workers of the Soviet Union and of the whole world will answer this insolent provocation.

All lying attempts to cover up the traces of this act and to place the responsibility for it on the shoulders of the Chinese government in Peking will be in vain. The government in Peking is experiencing a sharp crisis and despite all the efforts of our foreign commissariat showing no signs of life... The police of Chang Tso-Lin would never have dared to attack the representatives of our State on their own initiative. They were given permission to do so. The doyen of the imperialist diplomatic corps, the pawn of Great Britain personally handed this permission to the white-guardist bands. After the bombardment of Nanking, so excellently carried out by the Christian agents of Anglo-Saxon capitalism, Great Britain has organised an attack upon the Soviet Embassy in order to provoke decisive steps on our part.

Now the real countenance of imperialism has been once again shown to the world. The imperialists are preparing a great conflagration by concentrating their warships in Chinese harbours, by placing their iron heel upon Chinese towns, by destroying Wanhhsien and Nanking while at the same time their most responsible politicians deliver oily pacifist speeches. The conservative British government which owes its accession to office to a forgery, is daily developing its numerous innate qualities. The working masses of Europe must carefully watch every step of "their" bourgeois governments which are playing with the fate of powerful peoples.

We send our greetings to the representatives and the employees of our State in Shanghai who watch over the interests of the toilers and the oppressed and who are now surrounded by bandits.

We appeal to all honest people to protest energetically against the deeds of the heroes of Nanking, Wanhhsien and Peking who are covered with blood and mud and the shame of their forgeries."

Moscow, 9th April 1927.

To-day's leading article in the "Pravda" points out that the raid upon the buildings of the Soviet embassy in Peking was sanctioned by the doyen of the diplomatic corps, Udendeyk, even instigated by him. The article declares that Udendeyk acted like the agent of the London Stock Exchange and that he is now trying to get rid of all traces of his action by declaring that the Chinese authorities "exceeded their authority". Such pharisaical phrases cannot conceal the plain fact that a mandate was handed to the Chinese authorities for their robber raid. The action of Udendeyk 24 hours after the end of the raid showed that he had deliberately waited until the robbers had concluded their handiwork, not wishing to interrupt them.

The "Pravda" declares that Chang Tso Lin has lost all feelings of political responsibility and is prepared to tread all normal diplomatic rights in the dust. He had committed an act which in the estimation of the Shanghai press was nothing less than an act of war. Chang Tso Lin's regime which was doomed to annihilation and which was in danger of being swept from the face of the earth by the waves of the Chinese revolution, is now degenerating to banditry. The power behind Chang Tso Lin had persuaded him to commit his wretched act in order to give the robber elements of imperialism a free hand in the struggle against China, to cause an unparalleled diplomatic confusion, to provoke the Soviet Union into war and thus to give the imperialist world gendarmerie concentrated in the Chinese harbours the possibility of interfering still more actively in Chinese affairs. The British press in China has already published a detailed plan for the preparation of a blockade of China to cut off coal, iron and food from the revolution, to abandon the Chinese population to death of starvation and to crush the revolutionary workers and students.

It was already very clear that the chief threads of the events in Peking led to London. It would be difficult not to observe the connection between the raid upon the Soviet embassy in Peking and the hostile anti-soviet speech of Chamberlain in Birmingham on the 7th April, that is to say on the very day when the British agent Chang Tso-lin together with the other British agent Udendeyk handed over the Soviet embassy in Peking to rapine and destruction. Chamberlain obviously reckons with a sharpening of the relations with the Soviet Union. He was working obviously for a breach of diplomatic relations. The agents of the British government had lit a spark in Peking so that a terrible world conflagration might ensue, so that Peking might become a second Serajevo.

The "Pravda" expresses its conviction that the workers of the whole world and particularly the British proletariat are indignant at the insane irresponsibility of the British governmental policy which threatens the peoples with new sufferings. The workers of the Soviet Union who had striven for peace are now filled with anxiety. Their angry protests and their violent indignation at the events in Peking are growing from hour to hour. The proletarians of the Soviet Union possess great self-control, strong nerves and iron coolness, but at the same time the firm will to counter the insanity of those who were playing with fire.

Numerous factories in Moscow had held protest meetings against the raid on the Soviet embassy in Peking. The Moscow workers had expressed in their resolutions a decided protest against the insolent attitude of the Chinese militarists and against world imperialism which supported them. They demanded that the Soviet government make a sharp protest against the action of Chang Tso-lin and his bandits and appealed to the workers of all other countries to raise their voices in protest against the international bandits and murderers.

## Storm of Indignation in the Soviet Union at the Provocations of Peking and Shanghai.

Moscow, 11th April 1927.

A demonstration of protest in which hundreds of thousand of people took part, took place before the Great Theatre in Moscow to-day where the Soviet congress of the Soviet Union is being held. The demonstration was a protest against the provocative raids upon the Soviet embassy in Peking and upon other soviet institutions in China. The worker speakers declared that the attempt of the imperialists to involve the Soviet Union in a war must be defeated. The proletariat of the Soviet Union followed the line of Leninism under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and it would not leave this line. The proletariat approved completely of the Note of the Soviet government to the Peking government and of all the measures adopted by the Soviet government in

answer to the insolent attacks of the imperialists. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union would unanimously answer the first call of the Soviet government to defend the Soviet Union against the attacks of the capitalist robbers.

The chairman of the soviet congress, Comrade Kalinin answered in the name of the Presidium to the declaration of the workers that the congress did not doubt that the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, and in particular the workers of Moscow would hasten to the assistance of the Soviet Union against the outside world when the difficult hour approached to defend the real interests of the soviet state.

Demonstrations and mass-meetings have taken place in the Ukraine, in White-Russia and in other national republics against the imperialist provocation in China.

### HANDS OFF CHINA

#### Appeal of the Shanghai Trades Council to the International Proletariat.

A telegraphic summary of the following appeal appeared in our last number. Ed.

Shanghai, 4th April 1927.

Comrades, workers, oppressed of the whole world!

The imperialist Powers have oppressed the Chinese people for more than 80 years. During this period they have more than once drowned the movement of the people for their emancipation in mud and blood. The imperialists are exploiting 400 million Chinese. With the resultant extra-profit they buy the aristocracy of labour in their own countries, whose task is to cripple the movement of the workers all over the world for

freedom. Such an oppression of the Chinese people could not last for ever. The movement of the workers and peasants for emancipation, assisted by the international proletariat, has won great victories and has created an organised, revolutionary people's army. The decisive section of this army will support the struggle of the toiling masses until final victory.

During the course of six months — since the commencement of the Kwangtung expedition against the north — the national-revolutionary army, supported by the workers and peasants, has captured the whole of southern China up to the Yangtse river. The power of the national government extends over two thirds of the territory of China. The power of the Chinese militarists, these tools of imperialism, has been shaken to its very foundation. From the moment when the national government transferred its seat to Wuchang, the puppet government in Peking, a plaything in the hands of the militarists, ceased to play any role.

Now that the national-revolutionary army, the most powerful force of the revolution, has occupied Shanghai, we are near to obtaining finally this great support point of imperialism in

the Far East. By destroying this stronghold of imperialism we shall shake the power of imperialism in the whole world, for through Shanghai the imperialists are connected with a tremendous source of raw materials and markets and they have invested tremendous sums of foreign capital in undertakings in Shanghai.

There is panic amongst the imperialists, because they realise the significance of the loss of Shanghai. But we workers realise this significance also. In Shanghai there are 500,000 workers and over a million toilers, amongst these there are many revolutionaries who have a great influence upon the masses. This exploited and oppressed mass hates imperialism bitterly. Since a peaceful demonstration was mowed down with bullets on the 30th May 1925, the workers and all revolutionaries of Shanghai have conducted a persistent and unceasing struggle against imperialism. Despite many defeats and much bloodshed, the war is being continued with undiminished energy. These heroic efforts are being crowned with success: Shanghai has been conquered by the insurrection of armed workers.

In the moment when the national revolutionary army approached Shanghai and the army of the Mukden clique rallied itself to, a last struggle upon the territory in and around Shanghai, 800,000 workers and other toilers in Shanghai declared a general strike and disarmed the remnants of Chan Tsu Tchans troops after two days street fighting. During two days and one night, on the 21st and the 22nd March, four battles were fought with the militarists. Finally the army of the militarists was disarmed and compelled to submit. The whole of Shanghai, with the exception of the international and the French concessions, fell into the hands of the workers who quickly restored order. Order is being maintained at present by an armed militia. We have realised our own strength. Our working class has carried on the war splendidly. This war will be of the greatest significance in the history of the Chinese revolutionary struggles. We have now succeeded in establishing conditions in which our organisation can work legally. Together with the whole revolutionary people we have formed a government for the town whose members have been elected by the masses.

We have won a great victory, but it is only the first step on the way to final victory. The imperialists, our enemies are still firmly entrenched in Shanghai. They are sending naval and military forces to China in order to throttle the revolution by force of arms. At the same time the imperialists are trying to split the national revolutionary movement with the assistance of the right-wing elements. We must destroy all reactionary parties in China and consolidate the new Shanghai government which consists of the representatives of the populace of the town, and we must concentrate all revolutionary forces in order to drive the imperialist bandits out. We are faced with a hard struggle, but our victory will be tremendous. The Shanghai Trades Council is convinced that the international proletariat will assist the struggle of the Chinese people for emancipation with all its forces and, together with the freed Chinese people, will throw off the yoke of imperialism. The first blow must be delivered to the strike-breakers of the MacDonald type. Fight against the sending of troops to China! We must march together, shoulder to shoulder!

Workers of the world unite!

Long live the world revolution!

## Alliance between the Kuomintang and the C. P. of China.

Shanghai, 6th April 1927.

The following appeal to the members of the Kuomintang and to the members of the Chinese Communist Party, under-signed by Wang Chih-Wei as leader of the Kuomintang and Chen Tu-hsu as the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, has been published:

"The national revolution is winning, but a section of the enemy has not yet been defeated. An alliance between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party is necessary. The Communist Party of China recognises definitely that there is no reason whatever to doubt the necessity for the Kuomintang and its principles during the course of the revolution. Only those who do not believe in the progress of the Chinese revolution can believe in the overthrow of the Kuomintang. The Com-

munist Party of China will not fall into this error, nor will it cause its enemies this pleasure.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the maximum program of the Communist Parties in all countries. The dictatorship of the proletariat has been brought about in the Soviet Union. This question however cannot be treated scholastically, particularly not in the political and economic circumstances of the colonial and semi-colonial countries which are not in the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism. At the present time China needs a democratic dictatorship of all oppressed classes to suppress the counter-revolution.

The co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China can proceed in a number of ways. The chief condition is that the members of both parties approach one another with honesty and frankness for it is only on this basis that the spirit of co-operation can be maintained. All members of the Kuomintang who understand the revolutionary theory of the Communist Party of China and its position with regard to the Kuomintang, cannot doubt the correctness of the tactic of Sun-Yat-Sen, the tactic of alliance with the Communist Party.

The national revolution has reached the last basis of imperialism in China — Shanghai. The counter-revolutionaries both inside and outside China are spreading false reports in order to bring our two parties in opposition to each other. Some say that the Communist Party is preparing to form a workers government, to overthrow the Kuomintang and to recover the concessions by force of arms. Others say that the leaders of the Kuomintang intend to make war on the Communist Party, to suppress the labour unions and to dissolve the workers defence organisations.

Now is not the time to discuss the origin of these malicious rumours. The supreme organ of the Kuomintang declared at its last plenary session that it has not the least intention of attacking the Communist Party or of suppressing the labour unions. The military authorities in Shanghai have declared their complete allegiance to the Central Committee of the Kuomintang. If differences of opinion exist, they can be amicably settled. The Communist Party is striving to maintain order in the freed territories. It has already completely approved of the tactic of the national government not to attempt to force a return of the concessions by armed force. The trades council of Shanghai has also declared that it will make no attempt to enter the concession by violence. At the same time it declared that it fully approved of the co-operation between all oppressed classes through the formation of a local government. In face of these facts, there is no basis whatever for these malicious rumours."

## The Moscow Par Funktionaries on the Chinese Revolution.

Moscow, 6th April 1927.

Comrade Bukharin has delivered a speech in a meeting of the Moscow organisation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, dealing with the Chinese revolution. Comrades Stalin, Radek and others took part in the following discussion. The meeting unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"After listening to the speech of comrade Bukharin and the subsequent debate on the question, this meeting of 3,000 active officials of the Moscow organisation of the C. P. of the U. S. S. R. declares its complete agreement with the political line of the Central Committee.

The Chinese revolution is a national bourgeois-democratic revolution for emancipation and its activities are chiefly directed against imperialism, against feudalism and against the feudal-capitalist clique of China which is supported by foreign imperialism. This revolution whose main driving forces are the proletariat and the peasantry shows during its development a tendency to become a socialist revolution.

This meeting considers the demand that the Communist Party of China leave the Kuomintang to be equivalent to the isolation of the C. P. of China and the proletariat from the national movement for the emancipation of China and further considers this demand to be absolutely false and erroneous. The Chinese proletariat and the Communist Party of China clearly recognise their historical tasks. They must endeavour to lead the bourgeois-democratic revolution to a victorious conclusion

and adapt their tactics carefully to the whole internal and international situation, at the same time preparing in complete accord with the decisions of the plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International to guide the revolution into socialist channels."

## POLITICS

### India and British Policy towards the U. S. S. R.

By G. A. K. Luhani.

The Conservative Government of Great Britain is endeavouring unceasingly on the European terrain to create a coalition of Powers for the purposes of its policy of encirclement of the U.S.S.R. with a view to eventual intervention. The contradiction of interests among the European Powers and the gradual maturity of the forces of the class struggle within each European country — not the least in England itself — quite often neutralise or postpone the result of the activities of British diplomacy in this direction. These factors of the European situation are fairly well known.

But British policy towards the U.S.S.R. has another and, perhaps, a more sinister side — a side to which not enough attention has been paid up till now and which has gained in importance with new developments in the world situation.

The very difficulties which its diplomacy meets within Europe dictate to the Conservative Government in Great Britain the need to utilise to the utmost the possibilities within the British Empire itself for its policy of aggression against the U.S.S.R. Further, the doubtful allegiance — of which we have had a proof at the last Imperial Conference in London — of the British "dominions" towards "the ideal of Empire" circumscribes, in its turn, the particular area of the British Empire, outside England in which to concentrate the preparation of forces which will be deployed by Great Britain at the moment of the next world crisis.

The particular area in question is India.

In the past the colony of India stood to Great Britain in an economic relationship highly important for the latter for its development as a first class industrial power. In the present period, when capitalism in Great Britain is with difficulty postponing the inevitable process of decomposition, the economic importance of India to Great Britain is immensely greater. Correspondingly great is also its political importance, considering the development of social forces within India itself and its exceptional position as being practically synonymous with what is called the "British Empire".

Since 1870 — when Great Britain became officially an "Empire" — it has used the man-power and resources of India for purposes of its Imperialist expansion. It has made mercenary soldiers out of the exploited and starving Indian peasants and used them in the three continents of Asia, Africa and Europe as cannon fodder in its wars to extend its exploitation and oppression to other peoples of the East or to strike down its other imperialist rivals for colonial markets. The latest example is the presence of troops from the Punjab in Shanghai and Hong Kong. That there had been "troubles" among these troops and that a part of them had to be withdrawn from Shanghai is a significant symptom. It is the beginning of the end of something incalculably odious in the history of imperialist barbarism in the East.

The objective situation within India, without the contact with the world shaking events in China, has been and is revolutionary. As the social forces of revolution in India — held in check by severe repression — begin to organise themselves under the impact of Chinese events, the British foreign office will no doubt be preparing to send more diplomatic notes to the Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., perhaps in the same inconsequential style as the last one, but certainly with the same threat to break off diplomatic relations.

Any student of the Indian situation must be impressed, by the intense and ostentatious military preoccupations of the British Government in India. More than one-third of the entire revenue of India continues to be used every year for the military budget. It is well known that a very costly railway line

— built purely for the purpose of rapid transport of troops — has been pushed across the North-West frontier of India right up to Afghanistan. Along this frontier there have also been established strong aircraft bases, equipped with the best that the technique of British production of war materials can provide. One of the first duties which the present Viceroy performed on arrival in India was an extended tour of this frontier. A policy has been followed of late of occupying all the available territory, inhabited by mountain tribes, between the administrative frontier of India and Afghanistan. In view of this provocative policy of Great Britain on the north-west frontier of India, the Government of the U.S.S.R., it will be remembered, concluded last year a treaty of neutrality and non-aggression with Afghanistan.

As a sign of the general extension of military activities by the Government of India, may also be noted the despatch of an expeditionary force equipped with considerable artillery to another frontier of India, namely the north-eastern frontier between Burma and the Chinese province of Yunnan. With the naive hypocrisy habitual to the British Government, particularly in India, the expedition is announced to have been undertaken for the purpose of "liberating slave tribes" on the Sino-Burmese frontier.

It is well known that the British Government, by a policy of "protection" and special subsidies, has developed in India a technically well equipped iron and steel industry financed to a considerable extent by Indian capitalists. The products of this industry have begun successfully to compete with similar products of European and American manufacture. But it may not be generally known to what a great extent the very large productive forces represented in this industry have been diverted by the British Government for the purpose of its war policy. As a matter of fact however, the steel industry in India was called into being and helped to establish itself with the express purpose of providing a technical basis in India for British militarism.

How far this has been realised is remarkable. Giving evidence before an official commission last year, a representative of one of the Indian steel-producing firms said that his firm received "from time to time" orders from the ordnance (war materials) department of the Government of India "for various parts of gun mountings and other munitions" as "their plant was particularly well adapted for the manufacture of a large variety of casting for munition purposes". The same firm was also asked to undertake the "manufacture of aerial bombs weighing respectively 5 cwts., 1 cwt., and 20 lbs. The probable number required was stated to be 5000 or more per month. The representative of the firm further said "in the event of war, a vast quantity of special steel for manufacture of high explosive and shrapnel shells, gun-tubes and jackets, ribs, barrels etc. were certain to be required at very short notice. Their works could be turned on to this class with little or no delay".

It is difficult to see to what military purposes within India there can be applied "the five thousand or more per month" of aerial bombs, manufactured at one factory alone. The output is certainly too much for the ordinary "civil" purposes of British administration in India, which habitually massacres workers and peasants by bombing them from aeroplanes. The reason for this vast accumulation of war materials must be sought outside India; it is vitally connected with the direction in which British foreign policy is moving. And we know sufficiently well the master-idea behind British foreign policy since the consolidation of the U.S.S.R. as the historic and irresistible centre of the world revolution.

In this connection it is important to note the repercussion in India of the recent British Note to the U.S.S.R. The repercussion closely follows the present line of division in the Indian nationalist movement. The upper sections of the Indian bourgeoisie have for some time past made common cause with British imperialism and have been co-operating with the latter in the administration of India under the so-called constitutional reforms of 1919. As the real issues of the revolutionary struggle in India become more apparent, these bourgeois elements lean more and more on British imperialism, which they go out of their way to identify themselves with on the basis of a common interest in the exploitation of the masses of India.

We see, for instance, that a principal organ of the reformist bourgeois Party which has accepted ministerial posts

in the Bengal Government, strikes a note in its comment on the Chamberlain letter which comes very near to justifying the attitude of the British government towards the U. S. S. R.

"With their burning faith in Marxian Communism", this paper says, "the representatives of the Soviet Government were rash in having undertaken not to spread discontent in the British Empire. The recent British Note to the Soviet Government justly reminds the latter that it did make that promise in June 1923 and should not break it".

Coming now to the middle class, petty-bourgeois and intellectual elements which constitute the vast majority of the nationalist movement and which are now at last orienting towards an alliance with the exploited masses of workers and peasants, we find quite another attitude with regard to the British Note to the U. S. S. R. In the circles of the **Swaraj Party**, the Indian National Congress (more particularly its Left wing), the British Note is unhesitatingly condemned and it is maintained that the British Government had no case to put up.

For example, the "**Bombay Chronicle**" (Congress Centre) describes the British note as "pompous and petulant". It refers to the "seriousness of the Chinese situation and the increasing labour discontent" in England as having "unhinged" the mentality of the conservative party.

"Let the die-hard Tories of England understand", the paper continues, "once for all that if the Communists of Russia talk of the revolt of the East and economic revolution throughout the world, it is not because they are inspired by special hatred towards England, but because their hearts and minds are set on the extreme yet logical doctrines of equality and fraternity which cut at the very root of all the old systems so dear to Britishers."

The "**Indian National Herald**" of Bombay (Congress Left wing) says "The British Note... reveals the denseness of the Tory mentality... The impetus to national freedom and economic emancipation has no doubt come from the achievements of Russia... but imperialists cannot successfully resist the tide of economic freedom whether in England or China or India". The paper reminds the Tories of the "overt acts they themselves committed against Russia by the fomenting of internal disturbances. Under the inspiration of Mr. Churchill, about 100 millions were squandered towards the overthrow of the Russian Government." "Yet the British Note laments confirmed belief of Russia that the British Empire or at any rate the British Government epitomises the spirit and tendencies of revolt within Russia's borders and outside her immediate frontier".

The "**Swarajya**" the organ of the Swaraj Party in Madras, characterises as "wanton" "the spirit of provocation behind the British note". It says: "The Soviet reply has returned cold reason for intemperate criticism". "The fundamental fallacy of the British Note", according to the "**Swarajya**", "consists in the assumption implied in it that what is right when done by British officials is wrong if done by Russian, and that when international disputes arise, the British Empire is to be judged by one standard, and all others by another. It is obvious that only British Imperialists and none other will acquiesce in a distinction so monstrous and one-sided".

"**Forward**", the Swarajist organ in Bengal, considers the British Note as a step in the development of the British policy of intervention against the U. S. S. R. It says: "The force of circumstances which are too strong at the present moment for British imperialism has compelled it to put on the war paint. The clash of interests on the shores of the Pacific in China has become too crude, and Britain cannot possibly conceal the mailed fist too long in the velvet glove". "It is but natural", the paper continues, "that Britain should see red everywhere in her numerous dependencies and spheres of influence... The seed of discontent is there in the chained population, and it is only the easiest thing to connect the two and explain the results as those of Soviet intrigue!"

"**Forward**" concludes: "The Soviet idea has persisted. It seems to bear a charmed life... The conflict between imperialism and Sovietism is eternal... Sovietism, if it is of the genuine brand, is bound to be at war with imperialism at all points."

## Italy's Policy in the Balkans and the Danger of War.

From a Resolution of the Political Bureau of the Italian Communist Party.

The characteristics of the active Italian policy in the Balkans, which is directed towards the formation of a Balkan front against the Soviet Union and at the same time aims at Italy's own expansion in the Balkan peninsula, may be summed up as follows:

Italian imperialism is made to serve as a means of **connection for imperialism** in the Balkans, but cannot acquire a large share of the surplus value unless the political regime in the Balkan countries is and remains a Fascist regime, rendering possible a monstrous exploitation of the peasants and workers, for the joint benefit of the native capitalists and the Italian and British bankers. Italy must support the Fascist regime in the Balkans and act, so to speak, as its ideological and political leader. The establishment of Italo-Albanian and Italo-Roumanian banks, and quite recently, it would appear, of an Italo-Bulgarian bank, are expressions of the close relations which are being knit between Italy on the one hand and the Balkan countries on the other.

By the **Treaty of Tirana** Italy guarantees the status quo in Albania, which means the Fascist regime of Achmed Zogu. By virtue of this treaty, Italy can at any given moment intervene in the Balkans and kindle a war there, i. e., whenever a rising on the part of the Albanian people threatens the rule of the "beys", or big landowners. In the past, Achmed Zogu was the confidant of Serbia, and it was against him that Mussolini supported the national rising under Fan Noli. The latter, wedged in between control by Italy and Great Britain and the menace of Yugoslavia, was unable to conduct a national policy. When he attempted to take up an independent line of policy and entered into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, Great Britain, Italy, and Yugoslavia agreed upon his deposition. The man then selected to succeed to power in Albania was Achmed Zogu, the pro-Serbian.

Italy did not agree to Achmed Zogu being placed in power, but finally came to the conclusion that acquiescence in this connection would appear outwardly as a sign of reconciliation with Yugoslavia, and therefore commenced a policy aiming at buying Achmed Zogu. This policy succeeded, though the new regime had necessarily to be safeguarded against the intrigues of the Serbian "White Hand" (officers' league) and against revolts on the part of the Albanian people, who desire an independent Albanian Government and the downfall of the "beys" with the introduction of agrarian reform. Thus the **Treaty of Tirana** came about, making Albania little more than an Italian colony and the outpost of Italian imperialism in the Balkans. The position of Italy in Albania is shown by the intervention of Italian capital, albeit still on a small scale, in the exploitation of the petroleum wells, the founding of the Italo-Albanian Bank (a branch of the *Credito Italiano*), and the penetration of the Albanian army by Italian commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

The Italian recognition of the annexation of Bessarabia by Roumania is a pronounced act of hostility towards the Soviet Union, especially in view of the moment chosen for its effectuation, i. e. during a session of the League of Nations and simultaneously with the open assumption by Chamberlain of the rôle of an organiser of the international anti-Soviet front. This act, however, did not take place until after the conclusion of a treaty of friendship between Roumania and Italy in 1926, after the visit of General Badoglio to Roumania and Bessarabia (on which occasion the Italian commander-in-chief delivered a pronouncedly anti-Soviet speech), and, indeed, not until Italy and Roumania had settled the question of the Italian holders of shares in the insolvent Italo-Roumanian Bank and Roumania had been granted a loan of 200 million lire. The rapprochement between Italy and Roumania threatens to put an end to the **Little Entente**.

Friendly relations between Italy and Greece are favoured by Great Britain. Recently a diplomatic document was published, from which it appears that, inter alia, Great Britain has recommended Greece (and for "recommend" we may here read "command"), to take no interest in the Treaty of Tirana, to seek friendly relations with Bulgaria, and not to enter into

negotiations with Yugoslavia. Finally, the prospect is held out of a renewed consideration of the question of the Dodecanese (a group of islands in the Egean, forming an object of dispute between Italy and Greece). These directives are clearly in keeping with the general trend of the policy of Italy and Great Britain in the Balkans. It is especially interesting to notice the promise made in regard to a reconsideration of the Dodecanese problem, which Mussolini had already solemnly declared to be settled. Presumably it was in return for being given a "free hand", that Mussolini was obliged by Great Britain to submit to some obligation in this connection.

By its approach to Hungary, Italy aims at accentuating the isolation of Yugoslavia, at strengthening the Fascist reactionary anti-Soviet bloc, and at recruiting all anti-French forces in its Balkan policy. Naturally Italy and Great Britain must make concessions to Hungary. The Fascist press in Italy recently initiated a Magyarophile campaign. The visit to Rome of Count Bethlen and of the Hungarian Minister of Education is intended to lead to the conclusion of treaties between the two countries. Apparently, Italy favours the restoration of the monarchy in Hungary.

As regards the relations between Italy and Bulgaria, negotiations are in progress for the conclusion of a treaty between these two countries and for the establishment of an Italo-Bulgarian bank.

The head of the Little Entente, that is to say the leader of that policy which aims at defending the state of affairs created in the Danubian and Balkan countries by the "peace" treaties, is undoubtedly Czechoslovakia, which country thus also represents the policy of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Central and Eastern Europe. The policy of the Little Entente, led by Czechoslovakia, is in opposition to that of Fascist Italy, which aspires to a revision of the "unjust" treaties of 1919 and 1920.

The development of the imperialist plans of Italy in the Balkans also collides with the hegemonist tendencies of Yugoslavia, for the reason that the Italian plans contemplate the complete control of Fiume and Dalmatia. Mussolini once attempted to play off the Croatian autonomists against the Serbs, or in other words to undermine the somewhat insecure unity of Yugoslavia. This unity, indeed, is based upon the common fight against Italy, but there can be no doubt that Mussolini aspires to dismember "Greater Serbia" and possibly even to restore Montenegro, whereby Italy would secure the undisputed rule of the Adriatic.

The Communist Party of Italy must increase its propaganda and agitation against war and use every opportunity to bring home to the working masses the imminent danger of war. The masses must be shown that the occupation of Albania may not only lead to another European war in quite a short time, but also represents a step forward in the imperialist manoeuvres for the encirclement of the Soviet Union. International Fascism is busy creating a front against the revolution of the peasants and the workers.

## The Austrian Elections.

By Willi Schlämm (Vienna).

The little Republic of Austria, named and famed throughout the world as representing the "most Left" democracy in existence, is experiencing stirring times. During the last few months, the atmosphere has grown tense, class differences have been accentuated, and with unwonted frankness every one admits the possibility of a Fascist coup. This growing acuteness of the situation is reflected in the premature dissolution of Parliament and the fact that on April 24th there will be simultaneous elections for Parliament, the Vienna Municipal Council, and some of the provincial diets.

The economic root of this political tension is the deliberate action of the bourgeoisie to place Austria "on a sound economic basis". Since the League of Nations control and its measures, the economic life of Austria has been involved in a chronic crisis. The most striking expression of this crisis is the figure regarding unemployment, which amounts to over 300,000 and which, therefore, including the families of the unemployed, involves over a million persons, i. e. one sixth of the total population and one third of the industrial population.

Now the bourgeoisie wishes to continue the process of "economic restoration". Among other things, there is contemplated a tremendous increase in the import duties in the interests of the home industries. The export industry is to be rendered capable of competing abroad, by the restriction and worsening of social legislation (eight hours' day, factory council law, unemployment insurance etc.) and the cutting down of wages. Any branch of industry failing to yield a profit in spite of all these measures will be systematically and ruthlessly scrapped. Austria is to be agrarianised. The big landed proprietors and the agricultural wholesale dealers are receiving every possible favour.

The Austrian bourgeoisie, which knows very well that it is up against a powerful proletariat, which, in spite of its Social Democratic leadership, will not submit without a fight, is steering a course towards fascism.

The premature elections are taking place under the shadow of a second "economic restoration" and of a very pronounced menace of Fascism, aggravated by the close connection between the Austrian Fascists and the Hungarian and Italian Governments, a connection fostered and protected by Great Britain.

At the outset it appeared as though the bourgeoisie were inclined to go into the coming elections with a uniform list, a united bourgeois bloc. This plan, which emanated from Seipel, has been frustrated, for alongside the big united Christian-Socialist and Pan-German parties, a number of other small bourgeois groups are taking part in the elections. The zealously advocated "united anti-Marxist front" has not materialised.

The Christian Socialist Party is engaged in a furious election struggle with the Austrian social democracy, that masterpiece of the Second International. To put the matter shortly, with the coming elections, this party, which has hitherto managed to retain the support of 90 per cent. of the Austrian working class and to organise 600,000 members, or 12 per cent. of the population, in its ranks, is about to enter on the down grade.

The "Austromarxists" have at all times understood the art of masking their reformist or even counter-revolutionary deeds with Left phrases. What did the Austrian Social Democracy do to oppose the Geneva "economic restoration", of which it has always proclaimed itself to be the bitterest enemy? The Geneva agreements, which as they involve changes in the Austrian constitution and, therefore, cannot become law without a fully qualified majority, might have been prevented by the Social Democrats even by purely Parliamentary means. On November 26th, 1923, however, the Social Democratic Parliamentary fraction voted in favour of the Geneva agreement!

The Austrian Social Democratic Party poses as a radical opponent of the corruption prevailing in Austria, but at the same time it tolerates in its ranks, leaders who have been convicted of the greatest intimacy with some of the most infamous among the corrupt elements in question. The Austrian Social Democratic Party poses as a determined adversary of Fascism; as a matter of fact, however, it permits one worker after another to be murdered without retribution and regards it as its sole task merely to exhort the workers to "keep calm". While constantly declaring itself the protector of the unemployed, the Austrian Social Democratic Party in the course of a few years permitted 19 amendments to the respective law to be passed, each one of which meant a worsening of the position of the unemployed workers. Abroad, by means of the widest advertisement, the Austrian Social Democracy makes a great boast of its wonderful Vienna Municipal policy. In Vienna the Social Democrats have a two-thirds majority and can therefore do just as they please. In the very municipal enterprises, however, hundreds of thousands of hours of overtime work are performed instead of the unemployed being engaged for the surplus work; here two thirds of the tax revenue is squeezed out of the working population, as are also the costs of the celebrated construction of tenement buildings; the Municipal Council of Vienna conducts a wages policy which serves as an example to the employers associations. The constant "defenders" of the tenants' protection laws still partially in force in Austria, permitted the most important of these enactments, that referring to the requisitioning of dwellings, to be repealed on December 31st, 1925: in "Red" Vienna thousands of workers' families have lost their homes, so that there are more than 10,000 persons without a roof over their heads! By his slogan of "sacrifices by all classes alike", Otto Bauer encouraged the



bourgeoisie to shift the entire burden of taxation onto the shoulders of the working class. The Social Democratic trade union leaders look on inactively at the constant sinking of actual wages and the continual whittling away of social-political legislation. Indeed, on April 1st, the Social Democrats supported a Government Bill for old-age insurance representing a shameful caricature of this long-standing demand, since it places the workers in a still worse position than under the regulations obtaining hitherto. The fight against the powerful clericalism in Austria has been completely abandoned by the Social Democrats. As regards the growing danger of war, they adopt an attitude of hypocritical pacifism which is no less anti-Soviet in its effects than that of the whole Second International. Officially in the Parliamentary Opposition for several years, the Austrian Social Democratic Party is in reality a governing party; it has definitely and pronouncedly developed out of a class party into a "popular" party pursuing a coalition policy.

The masterpiece of the "Austro-Marxists", the trump card in the hands of the "Left" reformists, was the famous dictum in regard to the 350,000 votes still wanting to the attainment of a Parliamentary majority. Thousands of Social Democratic workers, who agree with our Party in all essential questions of the fight and also in their criticism of reformist tactics, were kept in subservience to their treacherous leaders simply and solely by the illusion that it is necessary to stick to the Social Democratic Party until the next elections, and obtain for it the majority which is almost within its grasp.

The above points have been taken into due consideration by the Communist Party of Austria in its present entrance into the election contest. Our Party refused to permit the diversion, striven for by the Social Democratic leaders, from the question of what the fight is to be for, to the question of a "majority for its own sake". We therefore approached the Social Democratic Party with the following proposal: The Communists are prepared, without demanding mandates or any other *quid-pro-quo*, to vote for the Social Democratic list, provided the Social Democratic leaders will pledge themselves that, in case they obtain a majority, to fulfil a number of clearly formulated and vitally essential demands of the working class, demands which are felt to be urgently necessary by every worker. By this step our Party really raised the concrete question as to whether a Social Democratic majority government would really be a Workers' Government.

The Social Democratic leaders flatly refused to consider our proposal! The exceedingly great sensation created by our offer in all bourgeois circles, made it obvious to the leaders of the Austrian Social Democratic Party that any co-operation with the Communists would cost them the bourgeois sympathies and votes, upon which the entire policy of the Austrian Social Democratic Party is based.

The refusal of our proposal came as a serious disappointment to the Social Democratic workers, all the more so as the Social Democratic Party, which had been held together for years by the hope of a majority, now abandoned this plank altogether at the decisive moment.

The political presumptions under which our Party thus enters the election campaign are satisfactory, and that notwithstanding the fact that a certain Frey, who was expelled from the Communist Party, is co-operating with Social Democratic functionaries and using Social Democratic funds in an agitation for the purpose of getting the Communists to vote for the Social Democratic list. Even among other non-Communist workers, this miserable renegade only meets with the contempt he deserves.

It is with the greatest zeal and the most sober optimism that the Austrian Communist Party has commenced its work among the masses after overcoming all fractional differences. Our Party knows that the coming elections mean the loosening and breaking up of the bonds by which the Austrian Socialist Party has held the masses in check. And on the other hand ever widening circles of workers know — mainly as a result of the policy adopted by our Party at the elections — that the small but rising Communist Party of Austria is the crystalizing point for the class struggle of the Austrian proletariat, abandoned as it has been by the Social Democratic coalitionists.

## THE BALKANS

### Fascism in Bulgaria and the Exploitation of the Working Masses.

By Chr. Kabakchieff.

The example of Bulgaria furnishes the most striking proof that the rule of fascism rapidly leads to increased exploitation as well as to large-scale plundering and impoverishment of the working masses. Now, when the economic consequences of the coup d'état of 9th of June 1923 have become plainly evident, everyone can clearly see what the bourgeoisie was aiming at when it brought about the violent overthrow of the former agrarian government, and whither the defeat of the workers and peasants organisations has led.

The peasant government succeeded in carrying out certain reforms, whereby the interests of the bourgeoisie and of the big landowners were somewhat severely hit, while at the same time protection was afforded for the small and especially for the middle peasants.

The first act of the bourgeoisie after seizing power was to abolish the reforms instituted by the peasant government. The big landowners took back the land which had been divided among the peasants. The bankers and the big dealers, including Italian, French and other capitalists, bought up the tobacco of the small producers for almost nothing, and by means of this monopoly alone managed in the course of three years to rake in more than 4 milliard Leva profits (one dollar equal 38 Leva). The owners of the sugar factories, the greater part of whom are Belgian and other foreign capitalists, forced down the price of beet which is produced by the small peasants, but on the other hand increased the price of sugar and thereby also made profits amounting to many millions. In addition, the fascist government abolished the tenants' protection act, thus enabling the house owners to raise rents enormously and to increase still further the misery of the working masses in the towns.

The fascist government destroyed the workers' and peasants' co-operatives, while on the other hand the State banks granted credits amounting to milliards to the bankers, big capitalists and merchants, who used these credits in order to create a monopoly of the trade in agricultural and other indispensable products, to bring about a further increase in prices and to make enormous profits at the expense of the broad working masses. Capitalist companies, both Bulgarian and foreign, demanded and obtained from the State "compensation" amounting in value to hundreds of millions of Levas. The government of 9th of June granted an enormous remission of taxation to the bourgeoisie, but on the other hand increased the land taxes of the peasantry and especially the indirect taxes. The expenditure for the criminal and political police and also on military and war debts was increased, but hundreds of hospitals and schools were closed, thousands of teachers discharged and Bulgaria was converted into a military spy State. The same government flung open the State treasury to the big speculators and profiteers and squandered hundreds of millions in support of fascist organisations and hired bands of murderers by means of which it actually came to power.

Under the protection of the fascist regime, the bourgeoisie succeeded in sweeping aside and destroying all the achievements and improvements which the working class had previously gained. The eight-hour day which was introduced in the year 1919 by a government decision, has been abolished and the working day increased indefinitely. Wages are fearfully low, not only relatively (through the continually increasing prices) but also according to their real value. The position of the clerks and workers employed by the State, who receive the most wretched wages and many thousands of whom are being discharged by the fascist government in order to be able to "balance" the overburdened State budget, is particularly miserable and desolate.

Unemployment is increasing more and more throughout the country. In the past winter the number of the unemployed amounted to about 100,000. Not a single one of the laws for the protection of labour is carried out. Strikes are forcibly suppressed. The workers are completely without rights; they are

not permitted to organise in the defence of their own interests and are exploited beyond all measure.

After the 9th of Jung, the bourgeoisie was able partially to stabilise its shaken economic rule at the cost of the peasant and working masses, to reduce the deficit in the trade balance and to strengthen its banking and commercial undertakings. It did not, however, succeed in restoring the weak industry to its pre-war standard. The strongest industries — flour and textiles — lost their most important markets in Turkey and Asia Minor; the tobacco industry declined tremendously as a result of the continual oscillations of the tobacco market. In these industries as well as in the better developed industries capital still managed to secure its profits by prolonging the working hours and reducing wages. The main object of capital, however, is not industry but commerce and speculation. All this explains the great unemployment, which in turn renders still worse the position of the workers who are still employed.

In no country has the relative stabilisation of capital been bound up with such a robbery and boundless exploitation of the workers and peasants as in Bulgaria under the protection of the fascist government. On the other hand, however, the stabilisation of capital in Bulgaria and in the Balkans generally, where it is based on the white terror, will be of the shortest duration. The bourgeoisie is fully aware that the overthrow of the fascist regime would mean the drying up of the sources of extraordinary profits and that its class rule would thereby be finally shaken. For this reason it is supporting with all means this regime of white terror and cannot do enough in the way of cruelty in order to stifle the growing discontent and hinder the struggle of the workers and peasants which is becoming more and more intense.

The bloody example of Bulgaria is an alarm signal for the international proletariat. It is at the same time a warning to the workers and peasants of all countries that only by combining all forces in a united front and by the determined revolutionary mass struggle can the bloody wave of fascism be beaten back and the backbone of the white terror in Bulgaria broken.

## THE WHITE TERROR

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

Victory of the Proletarian Solidarity Action.

Extraordinary Court Declares itself to be Incompetent.

Budapest, 12th of April 1927.

At 9 o'clock this morning there commenced in the big hall of the Budapest Court of Justice the extraordinary proceedings against 31 arrested communists and socialists. The chief accused are Zolta Szanto and Stefan Vagi. Two women, Ilona Vamos and Maria Mata are also in the dock.

The chairman of the Extraordinary Court is Dr. Geza Töreky, who is acting in his capacity as President of the Hungarian Criminal Court. The fact that Töreky is President increases the danger that the death sentence will be pronounced on the accused. Töreky is a prominent supporter of fascist secret organisations and is also known to be a member of the notorious secret society "Bloodhound of the Double Cross".

The Prosecution is in the hands of the Public Prosecutor Dr. August Miskolczi who is a member of "Awakening Hungary" and a prominent fascist.

The building of the Criminal Court in the Marko Gasse is occupied by strong police forces. The police are posted not only in the building itself but also in the neighbouring houses. The streets leading to the Court are barred by strong cordons of police. In spite of this, early this morning groups of workers assembled before the court building and also in the adjacent streets and loudly demanded admittance to the proceedings. When this was refused the crowd broke out into loud hooting and booing against the Extraordinary Court. The police were compelled to disperse the crowd of workers with force.

Already on the first day of the proceedings there was a gruesome sensation. It was found that one of the 31 accused, a young worker, named Eduard Rubin, who was among the

first to be arrested, was missing. Rubin had already been terribly tortured by the police. Two weeks later he, along with the rest of the accused, was brought from the police prison to the Public Prosecutor. Rubin however was again sent back to the police for "further examination". Since then there has been absolutely no trace of him. When the defence made inquiries of the Public Prosecutor regarding him, the Public Prosecutor declared that Rubin had escaped. The truth is that Rubin, after being handed over to the police authorities for the second time, was killed by the latter.

It is significant that a considerable portion of the indictment is based upon alleged "confessions" by Eduard Rubin. It is certain that these confessions were fabricated by the police after Rubin had been killed.

Before the commencement of the proceedings there arrived the executioner with his assistant as well as the priests in order to be ready in the event of the death sentence being pronounced.

Immediately after the commencement of the proceedings it became obvious that the President intended to throttle the defence at all costs in order to be able to pronounce the death sentence within the prescribed three days. The Public Prosecutor submitted his statement in writing, in which he demanded the carrying out of the extraordinary court proceedings against the 31 accused whom he charges with "conspiring to riot", and demands as punishment death by hanging.

When the Defender, Professor Vambéry rose to speak and raised objection against the unlawful proceedings, the president refused to allow him to proceed, which action called forth strong protest from the rest of the defenders. It was only when the Public Prosecutor had finished speaking that Professor Vambéry could begin his speech.

He showed by the most convincing arguments that there were absolutely no juridical grounds for extraordinary court proceedings. He stated in conclusion: The accused have done nothing else than what is quite normal and common in other countries. They wished to organise a Communist Party. This, however, cannot be regarded as rioting. On the basis of this argument it must be said that extraordinary court proceedings are unlawful and that it is a legal form of murder.

After Professor Vambéry, Defending Counsel, Dr. Zoltan Lengyel (who was the Defender of Comrade Rakosi) wished to speak. The President refused however to allow him to speak, giving as a reason that "we have no time". This aroused a tremendous tumult. The Defence indignantly protested against the ruling of the President. There were cries: "The President is terrorising!" "We protest against the violation of the liberty of the Defence!" "We are not going to conduct the proceedings in this manner."

There followed the speeches of the accused. The first to be called was

Comrade Szanto:

"I am a convinced communist and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Hungary. I came to Hungary in order to organise the Communist Party and to build up its organisations. It was my task to lead the work of the organisation, and I admit that I exerted all my powers in order to carry out this work properly. I have been in Hungary for nine months. During this time I have endeavoured to build up the fundamental organisations of the Communist Party, the factory nuclei. Of course I have also organised actions. I am convinced that in Hungary it is only the Communist Party that is fighting earnestly for the working class. Therefore, it is in the elementary interest of the Hungarian working class that there should be built up a strong Communist Party, steered in fighting. The organisation work of the Communist Party, therefore, was carried on in the interest of the Hungarian working class.

"In Hungary the misery of the workers is more terrible than anywhere else in the whole world; and the ruling classes are again preparing for a fresh war. The Communist Party is fighting against it. My sole object in life is the fight for a new, victorious dictatorship of the proletariat.

"I will not deny any of my acts, but I will die rather than say anything regarding my comrades. I declare that I did not say anything to the police regarding my comrades. As, however, the police protocol is full of forgeries, I withdraw my confession made before the police. I have seen with my own eyes how people are beaten to death by the police. That was

the case with Eduard Rubin. I will only speak of Rubin, who was my assistant and was one of the chief accused. He was tortured by the police, beaten until blood flowed in order to force him to divulge my address. He was half dead when he was confronted with the other accused in order to say in their presence that which the police had dictated to him. When he withdrew his statement before the Public Prosecutor he was again handed over to the police. What happened with him there has been shown by today's proceedings. Where is Rubin? I demand, if he is alive that he be brought here!"

Tremendous excitement among the Defence and the Public. Many cry out: "He was beaten to death!" The excitement continues for a long time, with continual disturbance. The President, pale and stuttering, declares that he has no knowledge of this matter. Thereupon he suddenly turns to Szanto: "Are you a member of the Third International and do you recognise its decisions?"

Szanto, with head erect, "Yes".

President: "Then sit down!"

The Defending Counsel protest against this violation of the right of the accused to speak. The President, however, calls upon the next accused, Stefan Vagi.

**Stefan Vagi:**

"The statements in the protocol are lies or distortions or confessions which have been extorted under duress. If I were a member of the Communist Party I would say so, for I consider the Communists as my brothers. But I am not a member of the Communist Party. I am the leading secretary of the Socialist Labour Party. I cannot imagine the emancipation of the Hungarian proletariat except by means of revolution. I resigned from the Social Democratic Party because this Party has betrayed the class struggle. I am persecuted because, even under the shadow of the gallows, I will not betray the class struggle and because I proclaim and shall continue to proclaim in this unhappy country, that this system which has caused the misery of the working class and of the poor peasants can only be overthrown by consistent class struggle."

**Alexander Löwi (leader of the Young Communist Movement in Hungary):**

"I was in the hands of the police for ten days. Every day I was beaten until blood flowed. I was hung up four times. I was placed in the middle of a ring of detectives who struck me from every side, and when I fell unconscious, cold water was thrown over me. While in a semi-conscious condition confessions were extorted from me. I withdraw the confessions so extorted. I am a Communist heart and soul. I am a member of the Communist Party of Hungary. I led the Youth Movement. I do not deny that which I have done from Communist conviction."

The President refuses to allow him to speak further.

After the hearing of the other accused the Extraordinary Court retired for consultation. After the consultation it pronounced its decision in which it declared itself to be incompetent to try the case and referred the matter to the Ordinary Court.

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

Berlin, 5th April 1927.

The postmen of the Parcel Post Office in Berlin have sent a telegram to the Hungarian Prime Minister Count Bethlen protesting sharply against the plan to place Zoltan Szanto, Stefan Vagi and their fellow-accused before an extraordinary court. They have also sent the following telegram to the social democratic parliamentary fraction in Budapest addressed to the chairman of the fraction Stefan Farkas:

"The postmen of the Parcel Post Office in Berlin request you to raise a sharp protest in the National Assembly against the placing of 52 workers before an extraordinary court, as we have already done in a telegram to the Prime Minister Bethlen."

Berlin, 5th April 1927.

The Union of German Elementary School Teachers, Berlin District, has sent a telegram of protest to Count Bethlen and decided to request its national centre to raise a similar protest against the persecution of workers in Hungary.

Berlin, April 8th, 1927.

The Torgelov branch of the A. D. G. B. (German Trade Union Federation) has sent the following telegrams of protest to Hungary:

"1. To the Prime Minister Bethlen, Budapest.

We protest with indignation against the application of hangmen's justice to the Hungarian working class.

signed A. D. G. B., Communist Party,  
Social Democratic Party,  
Sportkartell Torgelov."

"2. To the Hungarian Trade Union Council Budapest.

We expect the Hungarian Trade Union Council to support our struggle against Horthy's blood justice against Szanto, Vagi and their comrades.

(signed) A. D. G. B., C. P., S. D. P.,  
Sportkartell Torgelov."

This second telegram was not delivered by the Budapest telegraph office which informed the Torgelov branch of the A. D. G. B. by telegraph that it refused to deliver the telegram under article seven of the Petrograd convention (on account of insulting contents).

Amsterdam, 9th April 1927.

The Communist Party of Holland has sent a telegram of protest to Count Apponyi, an ex-Hungarian Minister who held a lecture in Amsterdam. The telegram which protests against the persecution of workers in Hungary, reads as follows:

"In the name of the working class of the Netherlands we request you to forward our protest against the torturing of political prisoners in Hungary, to your government. We energetically demand the immediate abolition of the shameful process before an extraordinary court against Zoltan Szanto, Stefan Vagi and their comrades, and the immediate release.

Signed on behalf of the Communist Party of Holland  
P. Bergsma, Secretary."

New York, 10th April 1927.

A strongly attended united front meeting held on 9th April and participated in by representatives of the Anti-Fascist League, the Anti-Horthy League, the Workers International Relief and members of the Socialist Labour Party, decided to send telegrams to Horthy and to the President of the United States protesting against the hangmen's justice in Hungary.

Dresden, 11th April 1927.

In the Dresden Municipal Council a comrade brought forward a motion calling upon the Lord Mayor, Blüher to send back to the Hungarian government the decoration which he had received from the latter. The motion was adopted by 35 votes against 34. In support of his motion our Comrade declared, that no decoration can be accepted from a government which seeks to hand over perfectly innocent workers to the Hangman.

Berlin, 10th April 1927.

A meeting of the workers of the big power works Stralau Rummelsburg decided to send the following protest telegram to the Hungarian Prime Minister, Count Bethlen:

"We emphatically protest against the Extraordinary Court Proceeding against Zoltan Szanto and his comrades, and demand the immediate release of all the arrested."

The meeting further decided to send the following telegram to the Social Democratic Party of Hungary:

"The Workers in the Big Power Works, Stralau Rummelsburg emphatically protest against the Extraordinary Court against Zoltan Szanto and Comrades, and demand that your party immediately intervene to secure the immediate release of all the arrested."

London, 12th April 1927.

The following telegram has been sent by the British Independent Labour Party to Count Bethlen:

"The British Independent Labour Party views with disquietude the trial of Szanto and his fellow-prisoners. Its members would be outraged by the threatened death sentence.  
Fenner Brockway."

## The Hunger Strike of the Roumanian Political Prisoners.

By Trojan Codrianu.

In the past month a new wave of terror has swept over Roumania. Fresh arrests, mishandlings and fascist outrages against Roumanian workers have been carried out. As a result the political prisoners have entered on a new hunger strike. Recently fresh hundreds of condemned workers have been conveyed to the Roumanian bastilles of Jilava, Vacaresti, Dofitana and to the salt mines of Ocnen, which are filled with class conscious workers who are condemned, some to long years of and some to life-long imprisonment. Some of the prisoners have not even been tried by court martial, because the government has no grounds on which it could condemn them.

This is the case with the leader of the Roumanian working class, Boris Stefanov, who has already been waiting a year for his trial. When the Roumanian oligarchy attempted to bring him to trial, the leader of the French Communist Party, Marcel Cachin, wished to attend the proceedings as a witness. He was not allowed to cross the frontier. The workers who waited for him at the Bukarest railway station were attacked by fascists. Of the workers who were thus attacked, 17 received heavy sentences, although all witnesses were able to prove that the fascists were the originators of the disturbance. But the Roumanian oligarchy has gone even further. Five days later, i. e. on the 21st of February, it prohibited, for the third time, the Congress of the Unitarian Trade Unions. Also 12 members of the Central Committee of the Unitarian Trade Unions were arrested, each of whom was condemned to six months imprisonment.

In the provinces however, the terror assumed even greater forms. The fascist gangs of Professor Cuza systematically, and with the support of the government, scour the whole country and terrorise it. Roumanian workers are deprived of any possibility of defence. As soon as any protest is raised, the Siguranza (Political Police) immediately begins to work. In the catacombs of the Siguranza there take place indescribable mishandlings by which declarations are extorted from the workers, and upon which there are built up the greatest political trials and persecutions of the workers. The regime in the prisons is by no means better. Those prisoners who have not been shot while "attempting to escape" are here slowly tortured to death. The political prisoners are completely isolated, exposed to systematic hunger and subject to unbearable hygienic conditions. In addition to this the prisoners are kept in darkness, beaten etc. The prison staff is so brutal that even mothers who come to the prison to visit their sons are ill-treated. The organ of the Roumanian Peasant Party, "Aurora" wrote the following in its issue of 7th April:

"From this news it follows that the prison diet is bad and inadequate, that mothers who visit their children are also mishandled and that the regime is such that the worker who is discharged from prison is no longer capable of work."

This is how the bourgeois press writes. But it is not permitted in Roumania to write the whole truth. Newspapers and appeals of the trade unions which deal with these questions are confiscated and the authors condemned. The only weapon of the political prisoners, is the hunger strike, which has been systematically employed in Roumania for the past ten years.

The recent arrests and sentences and the further worsening of the regime in the prisons has called forth a fresh hunger strike in almost all the Roumanian prisons. It is impossible to ascertain exactly how far this hunger strike has extended because the Roumanian press is not allowed to publish any reports concerning it. It is known that in Cluj (Transylvania), seven workers went on hunger strike on the 28th March. In Vacaresti two women, B. Robinson, a student, and Julietta Holzmann, a working woman, both of whom are kept under

arrest under extraordinary bad conditions, have entered on a hunger strike. The strike has also extended to the prisons of Dofitana, Jilava, Craiova and the salt mines of Ocnen. The Roumanian oligarchy calmly allows the prisoners on hunger strike to die, as it did in the case of Comrade Max Goldstein, who died after 54 days hunger strike. The prisoners on hunger strike are mishandled even more severely than the other prisoners.

The Roumanian workers have not the possibility of supporting their imprisoned comrades. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that the international working class and the humanitarian organisations raise their voice against this tyrannical regime and demand a complete amnesty for the prisoners and freedom for the labour organisations in Roumania.

## RESCUE SACCO AND VANZETTI

### The Lives of Sacco and Vanzetti are again in Danger.

The Supreme Court of the State of Massachusetts has refused the appeal in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti, so that a fresh trial is now out of question.

According to the legal regulations, only an act of pardon by the governor of Massachusetts can now save the lives of the two comrades who are under sentence of death.

The innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti has not only been proved by their own alibi, but also by the recent confession of one of those who participated in the murder on account of which the two revolutionary fighters have been wrongly condemned.

In spite of this the bourgeoisie of the United States is determined to carry out the judicial murder of the two innocent workers, who have already spent six years in prison.

In order to weaken the reviving campaign for the release of Sacco and Vanzetti, the news has been spread that the death sentence is not likely to be carried out until some months time. This news, which is intended to come as a surprise, should not mislead anybody.

The powerful protest movement of the international working class and many thousands right-thinking people in the United States and throughout the whole world enforced the reopening of the case which will now be concluded by the decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. There must be a fresh storm of indignation in the whole world in order to compel the governor of Massachusetts to set Sacco and Vanzetti free.

## REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE COLONIES

### The Situation in Indonesia.

#### 1. The Economic Situation.

In judging the economic situation in Indonesia, we must distinguish between two parts of the whole district:

1. Java with its 40 million inhabitants.
2. The other islands, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes etc. which are usually called the "External Possessions", with their about 15 million inhabitants.

Owing to its large population, Java is now the most progressive of the Indonesian islands as regards industry. In area, Java is only a thirteenth part of Indonesia; the agricultural export of the capitalist undertakings on Java, however, amounted in 1924 to three times that of the capitalist undertakings of all the other islands together. The increasing predominance of large capital in Java is expressed in the fact that, whereas the agricultural export of the population of Java amounted in 1913 to 15.7% of the total agricultural export, it sank in 1924 to 12%. In the "External Possessions" on the other hand, the same export of the population has increased from 44% in 1913 to 52% in 1924. This shows that in the external possessions, capital has not penetrated so far as in Java, the reason for this being that in them there is a great lack of workers. In the external possessions, small farming still predominates.

The rapid advance of foreign capital in Java is bringing about a rapid pauperisation of the masses of the people and a disintegration of the native petty bourgeois strata. As consumers of European goods, the population of Java is more and more losing its significance. The "Hamburger Nachrichten", which is interested in the import trade of Java, writes as follows about the economic situation of the population of Java (taken from the semi-official Government paper "Javabode"):

"The Commission (van Ginkel), which has had official instructions to investigate the economic position of the population of the Dutch Indies (Java) has made a report which is nothing more nor less than an accusation against the Government of the Dutch Indies. All attempts to show things in a better light in the report, are destroyed by the official data of the incomes of the population. According to these figures, the average income of a Javanese family of five in the most prosperous districts amounts to 225 gulden a year, 10% of which is taken by the Government in taxes. Even if we take into consideration that the Javanese require little clothing, very simple household utensils and furniture, this income is disgracefully low; in Serang (West Java), the average income amounts to 185 gulden and in Djokdja (Central Java) to 21.16 gulden per head annually or 1.75 (less than 3 shillings) per month. Out of this, taxes, rent, food and clothing must be met. In the thickly populated district of Surakarta, where there are 2 million inhabitants, the average annual income amounts to 39 gulden."

Another representative of the import trade of Indonesia, H. L. Haigton, writes in the "Handelsnachrichten" as follows, about the imports into Indonesia:

"In order to account for the unfavourable conditions of the imports, we must bear in mind the very low purchasing power of the natives, who, on the plantations, earn a daily wage which is about equal to the hourly wage of workers in this country (Holland). What the natives of Java own in the form of capital, is of no significance, except in very few cases. The standard of life of the Javanese can well be described by the expression "living from hand to mouth", and even that very precariously.

The Javanese is by no means a business man, he is much rather a peasant. The reason of this is not only that the whole trade of the middlemen is in the hands of the Chinese, Arabs and other foreign Orientals, but also that the Javanese have no capital.

In the external possessions, where the intensive cultivation of the land has not yet been taken in hand and where many plantations are still the property of the natives, there is much more general, individual prosperity among them. On these plantations, the natives themselves have the profits, and these are sometimes extraordinarily large, as was the case recently when the price of rubber rose so enormously."

The result of this pauperisation in Java is emigration on a large scale; about 100,000 Javanese emigrate every year. Owing to the fermentation among the masses, the Government was compelled in 1927 to abolish the so-called poll-tax, which was regarded by the population as the most unjust tax. The Government however will make up its loss by increasing the indirect taxation.

The extraordinary profits in the rubber trade at first raised the hopes of many people that a strong, native petty bourgeois stratum would develop in Indonesia, especially in Sumatra and Borneo. The production in Indonesia in 1925 represented 40% of the whole production of the world, half of that being produced by the native population. It is calculated for the year 1931 that the use of rubber by the population will increase by more than 30%. The capitalist producers are afraid of the competition of the rubber produced by the natives, and their desire to acquire a rubber monopoly in Indonesia has led to the issue of regulations which are intended to suppress and finally to abolish the production of rubber by the natives.

The fact that in a period of 12 years from 1913 to 1925, the capital invested in East Sumatra has been more than doubled (from 207 million to 440 million gulden) shows how strong is the advance of Dutch and other foreign capital in Indonesia. Of this, about 52.21% is Dutch, and 47.79% other foreign capital. Great Britain has the largest share, especially in the production of rubber, where English capital predominates.

The fermentation amongst the peasants in the "External Possessions", which is due to the fact that they are not only

obliged to render unpaid work in laying out and maintaining the roads, but must also pay heavy taxes, has induced the Government to start an investigation into the position of the population.

In the last few years, the big undertakings have made large profits, most of which find their way into other countries, leaving the population in distress.

## 2. The Political Situation.

The spirit of non-cooperation (refusal to work together) is constantly gaining influence among the native intelligentsia. The leaders of this non-cooperation movement are ex-members of the Indonesian Association in Holland, an association of Indonesian students. This association is in strong opposition to the Government, so that its members in Holland, and later, when they have finished their studies, have many difficulties to contend with.

By its brutal measures against the Communist movement, the Government has made itself still more abhorred by the masses of the people than it already was. By the considerable increase of taxation it has roused the peasants and petty bourgeois against it, and by its attitude in strikes it has earned the hatred of the working class. In this way, the Government has made itself unpopular in almost all strata of the population. Efforts are now being made on many sides to regain the confidence which is said to have been lost.

The speech made by Dr. de Graeff, the new Governor General, when he took over office at the beginning of September 1926, shows with what anxiety the Dutch Government regards the development of the popular movement. The very man, who said that he could not present any Government programme, because he was still too unfamiliar with many of the problems, said, among other things, the following:

"With regard to one point however, I felt it my duty to give a short and precise explanation at once, i. e. with regard to the standpoint of the Government respecting the subversive manoeuvres of the Extremists. Although I look with benevolence and appreciation on the wishes and ideals of any political group, whatever may be its name, I cannot recognise as a political group a movement which is directed not only against the existing order of things but against any order whatever, and the endeavours of which are purely destructive and in no way constructive.

Such a movement is a danger to the State; it must be combated by every government and will be combated by me with all legal means at my disposal, although the application of them does not harmonize with my personal feelings. I am however deeply convinced that these forcible measures are only suitable for exceptional cases and should therefore only be applied in such exceptional cases, especially against those persons against whom they have already been repeatedly directed. I shall therefore take care that this method of fighting does not degenerate into systematic hounding of the so-called Extremists. It is my deep conviction, that we must not be satisfied to apply measures of force in combating irresponsible and usually subterranean propaganda. The first thing that is necessary is the restoration of the confidence of the population in the just endeavours of the Government..."

This amounts to an acknowledgement of the overwhelming influence of the Communist movement on the masses of the people.

At the end of 1925, a beginning was made with the introduction of State reforms. The intention is that they should be completed by 1927. The Government is trying, by means of these measures of State reform, which make practically no change in the situation of the people, to win back the lost confidence — if it ever existed — and not only the confidence of the intelligentsia but also that of the masses of the people. This attempt however will suffer shipwreck. Even now, the influential native intellectuals do not care a straw for the reforms, and the masses themselves are still trying to improve their situation by their own force.

## 3. The Communist Party of Indonesia.

Since the party is illegal, we cannot report much about its activities. The above quoted speech of the new Governor General shows that the workers are not intimidated by the intensified measures of the Government.

According to the Dutch newspapers, secret assemblies are being held everywhere in Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Ternate etc., which lead to wholesale arrests.

On May 1st 1926, when two new paragraphs of the law came into force, the issue of our party organs was stopped in order to avoid unnecessary persecutions, for several editors have already been sentenced.

The fact that in Bandung in August 1926 a Unity Committee was formed with the national revolutionary intelligentsia, is important for the further development of the popular movement, for it shows that the native intelligentsia is no longer afraid to co-operate with Communists. This Unity Committee intends to establish a uniform people's movement in Indonesia in co-operation with the national movement of the coloured peoples. The Dutch newspapers are now starting an agitation against the revolutionary intelligentsia. We must wait and see how far the Government will dare to persecute this intelligentsia. The Government representatives have often said that they only wish to suppress the Communist movement and that no obstacles will be put in the way of "sound" national movements.

According to the Indonesian papers, unity committees have been formed in other places also.

The influence of the Communist Party is dreaded by the imperialist circles because, since the end of 1924, it has had a great influence on the Indonesian popular movement. The trade unions of the most important branches of industry such as transport, post, telephone and telegraph, sugar workers, workers in the printing trade etc. are friendly disposed to the Communists. The result of the disintegration of the native petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry is that broad strata of them also are sympathising with our Party.

The Chinese in Indonesia do not take a hostile attitude towards our Party, which is also true of almost all the Chinese papers in Indonesia. Our Party also seems to have adherents among the soldiers and police, for the Dutch newspapers often report the arrest and dismissal of soldiers and policemen on the grounds that they belong to the Communist Party.

Our Party is however losing a large number of valuable members through the innumerable arrests, sentences and banishments of comrades experienced in the movement, so that many young comrades are forced into the foreground to carry on the work of the Party. This increases the danger of many mistakes being made.

The geographical isolation of the Indonesian group of islands also involves a certain spiritual isolation of the Communist Party, so that it cannot sufficiently make use of the experiences of the other brother parties. The international orientation of many comrades is restricted in this way.

Theoretical communist literature only exists to a limited extent, because our Party has not enough intellectual members who would be able to translate Marxist literature into the languages of the country and to popularise it. The result of the persecution of the Communist Party and its organs, the Red trade unions and other revolutionary associations is that the theoretical education of the masses cannot be undertaken in the way the Party would wish. It is clear that this increases the danger of a wrong interpretation of the Marxist theory.

The impoverished petty bourgeoisie see no other way out of their difficulties but that of individual acts of terror. In recent times, such acts have been on the order of the day. Incendiarism and attempts on life are being practised both in Java and Sumatra. In Java, bombs are frequently used. In the present situation, there is a great danger of the young comrades being influenced by this individualist petty bourgeois tendency. The Party must therefore keep a closer watch than ever that this petty bourgeois tendency does not confuse the Communist ranks.

The base of the Communist movement is Java, with its dense population, where large capital has its undertakings everywhere. The fact that the bourgeois "Nieuwe Courant" in the Hague and the "Indische Courant" the organ of the European employees in Indonesia, have compared the present situation in Indonesia with that of pre-revolutionary Russia, proves that the opponents of the Communist Party take the situation in Java very seriously.

Another remarkable fact is that, in spite of all the endeavours of the Dutch Social Democrats in Indonesia, they have not been able to gain the slightest influence either on the masses or on the native intelligentsia.

The next task of the Communist Party is to re-conquer its legality, so that it can once more carry on its propaganda openly.

The victories of the Canton army in China will rouse great enthusiasm among the Chinese in Indonesia, and this enthusiasm will reflect on the native masses and will considerably increase their resistance to imperialist oppression. For this reason we may anticipate a flourishing development of the popular movement in Indonesia in the immediate future.

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### French Imperialism Preparing to Mobilise.

By A. Treint.

French imperialism, under the leadership of Poincaré, the Prime Minister of the Government of National Unity, has again rallied together its forces. It has, at least for the moment, restored order in its finances; it has raised the value of the currency and then stabilised it. It is also endeavouring, at the cost of an economic crisis, which is not yet ended by a long way, to secure these results by an immediate and furious offensive against the working class.

At the same time in which French imperialism is becoming stronger at home, its efforts at expansion are again increasing. It had been compelled to withdraw from the Ruhr district and to abandon, for the time being, its dream of European hegemony. It had been compelled to confine itself again to its own colonies. Hence the war in Morocco and in Syria. Today, French imperialism is again appearing upon the great European and the world stage.

By means of provisional agreements French imperialism is postponing the final settlement of its war debts with America and England. It comes into collision with England in the Balkans, where it is inciting Yugoslavia against the robber greed of fascist Italy. It collides directly with Mussolini, and at the same time defends its right to suppress and exploit the peoples in North Africa and in the Near East.

It disputes with England and Italy over the hegemony in the Mediterranean whilst, with certain reservations, it is preparing to proceed jointly with these powers and the United States against the revolutionary China. It offers a sop to Germany but allies itself with the latter only under the condition that it plays the leading role in this alliance. At the same time French imperialism surreptitiously favours the intrigues and the attacks of England against the Soviet Union.

In order to carry out this imperialist policy, French capital requires a suitable military instrument.

This instrument has been furnished by the Chamber of Deputies, which has passed the "law for the organisation of the nation in time of war".

This law mobilises in the event of war everybody and everything persons, without distinction of age or sex, associations of every kind, workers trade unions as well as employers' associations, children, old men and women, in fact everybody, no matter he or she is unable to fight or help make cannons, munitions and poison gas, is mobilised in order to maintain the "good spirit of the country" in time of war.

All undertakings are also mobilised: the factories, mines, the means of transport, the great commercial concerns. The State will requisition them and pay their owners the interest on the requisitioned capital, the amortisation of the material, premiums on output and various compensations. M. Loucheur declared during the discussion in the Chamber, that under this regime the industrialists would have even greater advantages than they had during the last war; and he ought to know. Whilst occupying the post of Under Secretary for Munitions during the period from 1914 to 1918, M. Loucheur, as an industrialist, made millions of francs in profit out of the slaughter.

French imperialism had to be prepared to encounter great resistance even in parliament in passing this bill. Whenever French imperialism is in difficulties it always finds the reformist leaders ready to help it. It was the Socialist Paul Boncour who submitted this outrageous bill to the Chamber, who defended it and secured its passage. The socialist parliamentary fraction voted for the bill along with the reactionaries, the radicals and the radical socialists. The reformist Trade

Union Federation, which for the sake of its "independence" opposes the establishment of trade union unity with the revolutionaries and the communists, did not raise the slightest protest against this legal mobilisation of the trade unions in the event of war.

Thus the reformist leaders, as regards the next imperialist war, have legalised the holy alliance with the bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party of France put up a stiff resistance in parliament to the outrageous law of Paul Boncour and, along with the C. G. T. U., is conducting an energetic campaign against it in the whole of France. Nevertheless it is necessary that this struggle be carried on on an international scale. For French imperialism has shown the way which the other imperialist Powers will follow. They will organise the future war according to the model of Paul Boncour.

The Communists will reply to the mobilising of all forces for the imperialist war with the mobilising of all the revolutionary forces of the workers and peasants and, together with the Soviet Union and China, conduct the fight against all imperialist Powers.

## TEN YEARS AGO

### Ebert "Congratulates" the Russian Revolution.

Berlin, March 29th.

The President of the German Social Democratic party has sent the following telegram to Stauning, the Social Democratic Minister in Copenhagen:

The Russian Socialists in Copenhagen have sent us a proclamation of peace in which they express the hope that we shall vehemently combat any interference in the development of the Russian revolution.

German Social Democracy is in entire agreement with this proclamation; during the last discussions in the "Reichstag" it took decisive action in this sense. The other parties also and the Imperial Government have declared, with all energy in the "Reichstag", that they are opposed to any interference in the internal affairs of Russia.

At the same time, German Social Democracy congratulates the Russian proletariat on its successful advance along the path of political freedom. It expresses the sincere wish that the political progress of the Russian people will help to ensure peace to the world before long, the peace for which social democracy has fought since the outbreak of the war.

We request that this communication be published in the "Social Democrat" and telegraphed on to Tcheidse, Duma, Petrograd.

President of the party,

Ebert.

### A Letter to Comrade Ganetzky.

By N. Lenin.

Zürich, March 30th, 1917.

Dear comrade,

Many thanks for the trouble you have taken and for your help! I cannot of course accept services from people who are in touch with the editor of "Die Glocke" (Parvus. — Editor). I telegraphed to you to-day that the only hope of getting away from here is through the exchange of Swiss emigrants for interned Germans. England will not, at any price, permit me nor internationalists in general, neither Martov and his friends nor Natanson and his friends, to pass through the country. Tchernov was sent back to France by the English although he had all the papers necessary for the journey! It is clear that the English imperialists are the bitterest enemy of the Russian proletarian revolution. It is clear that Miljukov (& Co), the Russian imperialist and accomplice of Anglo-French imperialist capital, is capable of agreeing to anything, to deceit, to treachery, to anything whatever, in order to prevent the internationalists returning to Russia; it would be absolutely fatal to the Labour movement and to our Party to place the faintest confidence in this respect, in Miljukov or Kerensky (a spouter and, in his objective function, an agent of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie), it would be bordering on a betrayal of internationalism.

Without exaggeration, our only hope of getting to Russia is that a reliable man be sent to Russia as quickly as possible to persuade the "Soviet of Workers' Delegates" to use pressure on the Government so as to force it to exchange all Swiss emigrants for interned Germans. We must act with the greatest energy, every step must be registered, no expense must be spared in telegrams, all documents must be collected against Miljukov (and comrades), who want to postpone the matter, we must work at them with promises, beguile them, etc. You can imagine what a torture it is for me to stick here at a time like this.

Further; it is still more important, for reasons of principle, that a reliable man be sent to Russia. The latest news in the foreign papers shows more and more clearly that, with the help of Kerensky and thanks to the (to put it mildly) unpardonably vacillations of Tcheidse, the Government is actually deceiving the workers, is even deceiving them successfully, by declaring the imperialist war to be "a war of defence". According to a telegram of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency of March 30th 1917, Tcheidse has been completely caught by this slogan and even — if we can trust this source which is of course unreliable — even the "Soviet of Workers' Delegates" has accepted it. In any case, even if this news is untrue, the danger of such a deception is very great. All the forces of the party must be concentrated on the fight against this deception. Our party would dishonour itself eternally, would commit political suicide if it consented to such a fraud. According to one report, Muranov has returned from Kronstadt with Skobelev. If Muranov went there under the instructions of the Provisional Government of Gutchkov and Miljukov (this was not the case. — Ed.). I beg you to let my opinion be known (by means of some reliable person) and have it printed that I absolutely condemn it, and to emphasise my deep conviction that it would be injurious, dangerous and inadmissible for the working class if any approach were made to Tcheidse & Co. who are inclined towards social patriotism and who take an attitude which is fundamentally wrong, extremely dangerous, social pacifist and Kautskyan.

I hope you have received my "Letters from Afar" Nos. 1 to 4, in which I have developed the theoretical and political foundations of this point of view. Should these letters have got lost, please telegraph me and I will send copies.

Undoubtedly there are, in the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies many — they seem indeed to form the majority — 1. adherents of Kerensky, the most dangerous agent of the imperialist bourgeoisie, who advocates imperialism, i. e. the protection and the justification of the predatory war of conquest on the part of Russia, under the cloak of attractive phrases and empty promises; 2. Adherents of Tcheidse who, in an irresponsible way, tends to social patriotism, who shares all the bad taste, all the nonsense of Kautskyanism. It is the duty of our party to carry on an obstinate, persevering and merciless fight against both tendencies. I personally do not hesitate for a moment to declare, and even to declare in writing, that I should prefer an immediate breach with any member whatsoever of our party, to making concessions to the social patriotism of Kerensky and his comrades or to the social pacifism and Kautskyanism of Tcheidse & Co.

To prevent this coming to pass, I must request that the "Social Democrat" appearing here, as well as Lenin's and Zinoviev's brochures about war and socialism, the "Communist" and the review of the "Social Democrat", — even though under the title of "From the History of the last Years of Tsarism" — be re-published in Petrograd. Above all it is imperative to re-publish the theses from No. 47 of the "Social Democrat" (of October 13th 1915). These theses are now extremely important.

These theses say straight out, clearly and precisely, how we should behave in the revolution in Russia, these theses proclaimed it eighteen months before the revolution!

It is remarkable that these theses have been confirmed word for word by the revolution.

The war on the part of Russia has not ceased and cannot cease to be an imperialist war as long as 1. the landed proprietors and capitalists, the representatives of the bourgeois class are in power; 2. open agents and servants of that bourgeoisie, such as Kerensky and other social patriots are in power; 3. as long as the treaties between Tsarism and Anglo-French imperialism remain in force (the Gutchkov-Miljukov Government has openly stated abroad. — I do not know whether it has done so in Russia — that it will be loyal to these

treaties). These are robber-treaties regarding the annexation of Galicia, Armenia, Constantinople etc.; 4. as long as these treaties are not published and not revoked; 5. until, in general, any alliance between Russia and Anglo-French bourgeois imperialist Governments is broken off; 6. until the power of the State in Russia passes from the imperialist bourgeoisie (mere promises and "pacifist" statements, however much those idiots Kautsky, Tcheidse & Co. believe in them, do not turn the bourgeoisie into a non-bourgeoisie) into the hands of the proletariat which, supported by the poor peasants, is alone able to break with the interests of capital and with imperialist policy, not in words but in deeds, to break with the spoliation of other countries, to liberate completely the peoples oppressed by the Great Russians, to withdraw the army from Armenia, Galicia etc. at once and so on; 7. the proletariat alone, when it has freed itself from the pressure of its national bourgeoisie, is able to inspire the proletariat of all the hostile countries with genuine confidence in one another and to enter into peace negotiations with them; 8. these proletarian conditions for peace are precisely and clearly laid down both in No. 47 of the "Social Democrat" and in my letter No. 4.

It is clear from this that the slogan that we are now defending the Republic in Russia, that we are now carrying on a "war of defence", that we are going to fight against William, to overthrow him, is a great illusion, is a great fraud practised on the workers! For Gutchkov, Lwow, Miljukov & Co. are in essentials landowners and capitalists, representatives of the class landowners and capitalists, are imperialists who are fighting for the same predatory ends on the basis of the same predatory treaties of Tsarism, in alliance with the same imperialist predatory bourgeoisie of England, France and Italy.

If the bourgeois, imperialist Russian Republic calls to the Germans; "Overthrow William!", it is a repetition of the popular slogan of the French Social Democrats, of those traitors to socialism, Jules Guesde, Sembat & Co.

It should be explained to the workers and soldiers in a very popular and very clear way, without scientific words, that not only William, but the English and Italian Kings also should be overthrown. That first of all. Secondly, and that is the most important, the bourgeois Governments must be overthrown, first in Russia — otherwise we shall never arrive at peace. It is possible that we cannot overthrow the Gutchkov, Miljukov Government at once. Perhaps it is so! That is no reason however for telling an untruth! We must tell the workers the truth! We must tell them that the workers and peasants must first of all (now or after the elections to the Constituent Assembly, provided that the people are not deceived and that the elections are not postponed till after the war) place the whole power of the State in the hands of the working class, for that is the enemy of capital, of the imperialist war, and only then have we the right to call for the overthrow of all kings and all bourgeois Governments.

Make every effort to pass this on to Petrograd, to the "Pravda", to Muranov and Kamenev and the others. For Heaven's sake, exert all your force to send this by the most reliable person. The best would be if a reliable, reasonable fellow, as for instance Kuba\*) were to go (he would render great service to the Labour movement of the whole world) and were to support our Petrograd friends! I hope, you will do it! Do whatever is possible.

The conditions in Petrograd are extremely difficult. The patriotic republicans are exerting all their forces. They want to bespatter our party with mud (the Tchernomazov "affair" — I am sending you a document about that) etc. etc.

We must put no faith in either Tcheidse & Co. or Suchanov or Steklow and the others. No approaching other parties — nor anyone! No vestige of confidence in and support of the Gutchkov-Miljukov Government! The most implacable propaganda for internationalism, for the fight against republican chauvinism and social chauvinism, everywhere — in the Press and within the Soviet of the Workers' Delegates, the organising of our party — these are the essentials. Kamenev must understand that a world historical responsibility rests on him.

Try to establish communications between Petrograd and Stockholm without considering the questions of money!

\*) Kuba was the pseudonym of Comrade Ganetzky.

Dear comrade, I beg you to let me know of the receipt of this letter by telegram, and in general, to keep me supplied with up-to-date information about events. I hope that the Swedish comrades will also help.

With a warm hand-shake

yours

Lenin.

## Lenin' Return to Russia.

### Negotiations between Comrade Platten and the German Government.

On April 4th 1917, Comrade Fritz Platten — at that time secretary of the Swiss Socialist party — proposed to the German Government the following conditions for Russian emigrants living in Switzerland to be permitted to pass through Germany.

1. I, Fritz Platten will, at my own risk and on my own responsibility, accompany the coach of political emigrants who wish to return to Russia via Germany.
2. Platten alone will have dealings with the German authorities and officials. No one will have the right to enter the coach without his permission.
3. The waggon will be granted the right of extraterritoriality. No control of persons shall be made either on entering or leaving Germany.
4. The travellers will be accepted in the coach without any consideration of their views or their standpoint in the question of war and peace.
5. Platten pledges himself to pay the fares of the passengers on the basis of the normal tariff.
6. As far as is possible, the train shall run without interruption. No one shall have the right to leave the coach at his own wish. No stop shall be made unless there is technical necessity.
7. The permit for the transit will only be granted on the basis of an exchange with German or Austrian prisoners of war or interned persons.
8. The passengers pledge themselves personally to the working class to make every endeavour to carry out Point 7.
9. The journey from the Swiss to the Swedish frontiers can be undertaken as quickly as possible, and the technical details taken in hand at once. (Translated from the Russian text. — Ed.)

\* \* \*

The conditions were accepted by the German Government on April 6th.

### A Declaration of West European and Scandinavian Internationalists with Regard to the Passage of Russian Emigrants through Germany.

The difficulties which are being made by the Entente Governments for the return of Russian Internationalists to their own country and the conditions accepted by the German Government regarding the passage of the returning emigrants, are known to the undersigned. They are perfectly well aware that the German Government is only permitting the transit of the Russian Internationalists in order to increase the anti-war movement in Russia. The undersigned declare:

The Russian Internationalists who, during the war, have fought indefatigably and with all their power against imperialism in general and the German in particular, are returning to Russia to work in the interest of the revolution. In this way they are helping the proletariat of all countries, especially the proletariat of Germany and Austria, to embark on a fight against their own Governments. The example of the heroic struggle of the Russian proletariat is the best and strongest impulse for such a fight. From these considerations, the undersigned Internationalists from Switzerland, France, Germany, Poland, Sweden and Norway have arrived at the point of view that their Russian comrades not only have the right but that it is their duty to make use of the opportunity offered them for returning to Russia. At the same time, we wish them every success in their campaign against the imperialist policy of the Russian bourgeoisie, which is a component part of the fight of the whole proletariat for the social revolution.

Paul Hartstein (Paul Levi) (Germany); Henry Guilbeaux (France); F. Loriot (France); Bronski (Poland); Fritz Platten (Switzerland); Lindhagen, Burgomaster of Stockholm (Sweden);



Ström, deputy and Secretary of the Swedish Socialist Party (Sweden); Karlson, deputy and chairman of the Accident Insurance Society (Sweden); M. Nermann, editor of the "Politiken" (Sweden); Kilboom, editor of the "Stormklooken" (Sweden); Hansen (Norway).

Declaration signed by the participants in the Passage through Germany.

I hereby declare:

1. That the negotiations carried on between Platten and the German Embassy have been communicated to me.
2. That I will submit to all the regulations made by Platten, the conductor of the party.
3. That I am aware of the communication in the "Petit Parisien" to the effect that the Russian Provisional Government will regard as traitors to the State any who take part in the passage through Germany.
4. That I take upon myself the whole political responsibility for this journey.
5. That Platten only guarantees my journey as far as Stockholm.

Berne, Zurich, April 9th, 1917.

29 signatures, headed by:

Lenin, Krupskaya, Georges Safarov etc.

## From Emigration to Petrograd.

By N. Krupskaja.

The last winter (1916—1917) we spent in Zurich. We did not enjoy life. The connection with Russia was broken off; we got no letters and no one came from there. According to our old-established custom, we had kept somewhat aloof from the emigrant colony which, by the bye, was very small at that time in Zurich. Grisha Usievitch was the only one who ran up to us every day when we came out of the emigrant restaurant; he was a dear young comrade, who later on fell at the front. "Cousin Zemliatchko", a Bolshevik, whom continued hunger had driven out of his mind, came regularly, almost every morning. He went about in such rags and so dirty that he was no longer admitted to the Swiss library. He was always trying to get hold of Iljitch, to discuss something with him, some fundamental question or other, and came before 9 o'clock, before Iljitch went to the library.

As these interviews with the lunatic usually caused "everything in the world" to hurt, as a girl of our acquaintance expressed it, we began to go out earlier in the morning and took a walk by the lake until the library opened. We took a room in the Swiss working-class quarter. The room was not exactly what we wanted. It was a gloomy, old house, which was certainly built in the 16th century; we could only open the window at night, for there was a sausage factory in the court and a horrible smell of bad sausage. We could, of course, have got a much better room for the same money, but we had made friends with our landlord's family. They were true workers, they hated capitalism and instinctively condemned the imperialist war. The flat was truly "international"; the landlord and his family, a carpenter, and a shoemaker lived in two rooms; in another lived some Italian, in a third, Austrian actors with a strange, red cat and in the fourth, we Russians. There was no trace of chauvinism there. One day, when we and our hostess were each cooking our scrap of meat in the kitchen, our hostess called out passionately: "The soldiers must turn their weapons against their own Governments!" From that day onwards, Iljitch would not hear of changing rooms and greeted the landlady with special friendliness.

The Swiss Socialists unfortunately took a less revolutionary attitude than this working woman. For a time, Vladimir Iljitch had tried to guide the work in an international measure. In a small café, "Zum Adler", in a neighbouring street, a few Russian and Polish Bolsheviks, Swiss Socialists and some young Germans and Italians used to meet. About forty persons came to the first meeting. Iljitch expounded his standpoint with regard to war, the necessity of condemning the leaders who had betrayed the cause of the proletariat, and developed a programme of work. His foreign audience, although they had come there as Internationalists, were alarmed at Iljitch's deter-

mination. I recall the speech of one of the representatives of the youth of Switzerland who spoke of its being no use running our heads against the wall. It is a fact that our meetings gradually melted away, and at the fourth meeting only the Russians and Poles appeared. They made jokes and went home. This, by the bye, was the time when we got into closer touch with Fritz Platten and Willy Münzenberg.

I recall a scene which occurred shortly afterwards. One day we went for a walk in a superior part of Zurich and unexpectedly met Nobs, the editor of the Zurich Socialist paper, who, at that time, had leanings towards the Left. When Nobs caught sight of Iljitch he pretended to be getting into a tram. Iljitch seized him, button-holed him and began to expound his point of view as to the inevitability of the world revolution. He cut a comic figure, Nobs, the Left opportunist, standing there and not knowing how to get rid of the tempestuous Russian; but the figure of Iljitch, convulsively holding Nobs by the button and trying to convince him, struck me as tragic. No outlet for this enormous energy, it is wasting itself unrecognised, his infinite devotion to the working masses, in vain the clear recognition of historical events. He called to my mind the white Siberian wolf whom I had seen with Iljitch in the London Zoo, where we had stood before his cage for a long time. "All wild animals get accustomed to their cage in time", said the keeper, "the bear, the tiger, the lion. The white wolf from North Russia is the only one who never gets used to confinement; day and night he rages against the iron bars of his prison." Was not the attempt to convince Nobs also fighting against the iron bars of a cage?

We were about to enter the library, when Comrade Bronski came and told us of the February revolution. Iljitch was beside himself. When Bronski had left us, and we had recovered our composure, we went to the lake where all the Swiss papers are daily posted on a wall. The telegrams did indeed speak of a revolution in Russia.

Iljitch was overjoyed. He begged Bronski to find out whether it was not possible to get across Germany to Russia with the help of a smuggler. It soon transpired that the smuggler could only get him as far as Berlin. Furthermore, this smuggler was somehow or other connected with Parvus, and Vladimir Iljitch would have nothing to do with Parvus who had enriched himself through the war and had become a Social chauvinist. Another way had to be found. How? It might be possible to cross in an aeroplane, but one might be shot down. And where is this fabulous aeroplane which might take us to revolutionary Russia? Iljitch did not sleep for several nights. Once he said during the night: "I tell you what, I could travel on the passport of a dumb Swede." I laughed. "That is no good. You might betray yourself in a dream. You would dream of the Cadets and call out in your sleep: Villains, rascals! And then they would know that you are no Swede!" Anyhow, the plan of travelling with a passport of a dumb Swede was more feasible than flying with an aeroplane. Iljitch wrote about his plan to Ganetzky in Sweden, but of course nothing came of it.

When it became evident that it was possible to get a permit to pass through Germany with the help of the Swiss comrades, Iljitch immediately set about organising things in such a way that it did not in the least partake of the character of an agreement with the German Government nor with the German Social chauvinists, and tried to formulate the matter juridically. It was a bold step, not only because it was risking calumny, being accused of treachery to the country, but also because there was no guarantee that Germany would really let us through and would not intern the Bolsheviks. After the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks followed the same route and other groups of emigrants, but no one dared to take the first step. When news came from Berne that it was all fixed up and that we could enter Germany from there, Iljitch said: "We will go by the next train. I hesitated. We had to dissolve our whole "household", to return the books to the library, to pay our landlord etc." "Go alone, I will follow to-morrow." "No, we will both go." The "household" was dissolved, the books packed, letters destroyed, we took a few clothes and the most necessary things and we went by the next train. We could not get on so quickly, for it was just Easter, and this caused various delays.

The travellers collected at the Town Hall in Berne; besides us, the group included Zinoviev, Usievitch, Inessa Armand,

Charnitonov, Sokolnikov, Mechi Zchakaja and others. There was one woman, a member of the "League" with a curly-headed boy, called Robert, who understood no Russian but only French. Radek travelled with us as a Russian. Platten accompanied us.

During the whole journey we did not speak to a single German; near Berlin, some German Social Democrats sat in a special compartment, but not one of us began a conversation with them, only Robert peeped into their compartment and asked: "Le conducteur, qu'est ce qu'il fait?" I do not know whether the Germans told Robert what the conductor was doing, but at any rate they had no opportunity of putting questions to the Bolsheviki. We looked out of the windows and were surprised to see almost no men; only women, young people and children were to be seen both in town and country. Food was brought to us in the train, outlets with peas. They evidently wanted to show us that everyone in Germany was still living in luxury. We got through successfully.

In Stockholm, we were received with speeches; in the waiting room a red flag was hanging and a meeting was organised. I do not remember much of Stockholm, my thoughts were already in Russia. Finnish drivers took us over the frontier. There everything was dear to our hearts, familiar and homely; the bad third-class railway carriages, the Russian soldiers. It was terribly fine. Robert was soon in the arms of an old soldier, clinging round his neck, whispering to him in French and eating the Easter bread with which the soldier fed him. We all thronged to the windows. On the platforms of the stations through which we passed, stood groups of soldiers. Usievitch leant out of the window and called out: "Long live the world revolution!" The soldiers looked at us without comprehension. A pale lieutenant walked past our compartment a few times and when, with Iljitch, we moved into the empty coach next to ours, he came and sat with us and entered into conversation. The lieutenant was a defender of the fatherland. Iljitch supported his point of view and was also very pale. Gradually however, soldiers collected in our coach, and very soon it was full. The soldiers crowded round so as to be better able to hear and see the man who spoke so sensibly against the predatory war. Their interest grew from minute to minute and the expression on their faces became more tense.

In Bieloostov we met Maria Iljitchna, Shliapnikov, Stalij and others. There were some women workers. Stalij tried all the time to persuade me to address the women, but no words came into my mind and I could not say anything. The comrades sat with us and began to tell us what was happening. We were soon in Petrograd.

The masses of workers, soldiers and sailors in Petrograd welcomed their leader. How did they know he was coming? I have no idea. We were surrounded by a sea of people.

Those who did not experience the revolution, cannot imagine its solemn, magnificent beauty.

Red flags, a guard of honour of the Kronstadt sailors, the reflectors of the fortress of Peter and Paul illuminating the way from the Finland station to Kshesinski's house, a chain of workers of both sexes guarding Iljitch's route. He was then lifted on to an armoured car. He said a few words. And round him, what he valued more than all the world, the masses of the people.

The revolutionary people welcomed their leader with as much ceremony as they bore him to the grave.

## The Effect of the Russian Revolution Abroad.

William makes himself heard.

Official. Berlin, April 7th. His Majesty the Emperor and King has addressed the following decree to Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor and the President of the Ministry of State:

"...The reformation of the Prussian Landtag and the liberation of our whole internal political life from this question is a matter of special concern to me. After the gigantic achievements of the whole people in this terrible war, class franchise is, according to our conviction, out of place in Prussia. The Bill will further have to provide for direct and secret election of the deputies.

No King of Prussia will fail to recognise the merits of the Upper Chamber and its brilliant significance for the State. The Upper Chamber will however be better able to do justice to the vast demands of future times if it unites in its midst, to a wider and more uniform extent than hitherto, men from the various circles and callings of the people, who are distinguished by the respect of their fellow-citizens.

I am acting according to the tradition of My great ancestors, when, in nominating important sections of Our firmly welded and storm-tested State, I place in a loyal, brave, efficient and highly developed people, the confidence it deserves.

I commission you to promulgate this decree at once."

Chief head-quarters, April 7th, 1917.

### And Social Democracy?

In reference to William's decree, "Vorwärts" writes on April 8th 1917 under the title: "Prussia's Resurrection":

"...In view of the present announcement we may look with more hope and greater confidence at the future of Prussia. It is impossible for this announcement to sink back into the unsubstantial nothingness of words which have died away and of dust-covered documents. Three important factors promise this: their solemn earnestness, the circumstances of the time in which they reach us and the inner spirit which speaks through them.

Let us first look at the form. The monarch himself advocates a new orientation in Prussia. The possible objection to the announcements made hitherto by the Prime Minister, was that they were only binding for his person, that his successor might repudiate them and shake them off. This objection no longer applies; for, in that the authority which decides as to whether a Minister remains in office or is replaced, has taken over the guarantee for the carrying through of the new orientation, it has pledged itself, in case of a change of Minister, to entrust no man with the control of the affairs of State of Prussia who would not carry on internal reform in the same measure as von Bethmann-Hollweg would have done..." And so on in perfect ecstasy.

## Lenin's Arrival — a Turning-Point.

By W. Molotov.

Before Lenin's arrival, the Party had indeed taken up a quite definite attitude of opposition to the war, to the bourgeois Provisional Government of Lvov, Miljukov and Kerensky, to the policy of the holy alliance of the petty bourgeois parties; but, to speak straight out, it did not show the clearness and decision which the revolutionary moment demanded. This was to be attributed to the fact that an exactly circumscribed perspective of the socialist revolution was lacking. There was no solid foundation for the whole revolutionary practice and the agitation of the Party, which on the whole was carried on correctly; for it had not yet drawn the bold conclusions as to the necessity of an immediate fight for socialism, for the socialist revolution.

Hardly had Lenin arrived at the "Finland Station" in Petrograd, hardly had he left the platform, when he made those extraordinary speeches about the problems of the Russian revolution and about the tasks of the proletariat. An armoured car, which had been brought to the station by a detachment of soldiers, served as a platform for the orator. This was the platform from which Lenin spoke about the prospects of the socialist world revolution to an enormous mass of workers who had come to welcome their leader. In view of the masses of workers flooding round him, Lenin was forced several times during the drive from the station to the Kshessinskaja Palace, which at that time was famous in Petrograd, to address the crowd, and, standing erect in the armoured car, in the dark of night, illuminated by a search-light, he made powerful speeches to the masses. Indefatigably, Vladimir Iljitch repeated his fundamental slogan: "Long live the socialist revolution!"

From that moment onwards, a living spirit seemed to us to have been breathed into the slogan of the socialist revolution. Lenin had spoken the slogan and given expression to the idea to which the revolutionary events had led us, the Bolsheviki and the advanced workers.

The short speeches which echoed from the armoured car and proclaimed the socialist revolution, threw a bright light

on the essential tasks of our Party. This moment remains especially memorable for us, for those who were present at this extraordinary and, in a certain sense providential, meeting with Iljitch. It was as though we had suddenly been given wings; we felt in ourselves an incredible influx of revolutionary energy and power of faith. The battle-cry of the leader produced a no less mighty, joyful enthusiasm in the hearts of the Petrograd workers, who were ready for any sacrifice.

These appeals, however, still had to be poured into concrete and definite moulds. The slogan of the socialist revolution demanded that the working masses, the proletariat, be shown the path, they ought to take. Lenin did not let us wait for this.

Only a few days elapsed before the famous theses appeared in the "Pravda", forged in the indestructible metal of ideas, those theses which contained the slogan which has become most precious to the workers of all countries: "All power to the Soviets of the Workers' Deputies!"

"Not a parliamentary republic — a return to it from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step — but a republic of the Soviets of Deputies of Workers, Agricultural Labourers and Peasants, starting at the bottom, which embraces the whole country" — this is how Lenin translated the slogan of the socialist revolution into the language of the Russian revolution.

Still more. At the same time he found a key with which to realise this revolution and to give it flesh and blood. The slogan of the socialist revolution became a demand which was absolutely comprehensible and accessible to the broadest masses of workers with hand and brain. At a flash, the mists seemed to part, and the aim of the revolution, which they had hidden, was revealed.

## Lenin's April Theses.

(Written on April 17th, 1917.)

Having only arrived in Petrograd during the night of April 3rd (April 16th new style — Ed.), it was of course only in my own name and while expressly pointing out my comparatively insufficient preparation, that I could appear before the public at the meeting on April 4th (April 17th) with a speech on the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat.

All that I could do to facilitate matters for myself — and for conscientious opponents — was to work out theses formulated in writing. I read them to the meeting and handed the text to Comrade Zeretelli. I read them twice and very slowly, first at the meeting of the Bolsheviks and then at the meeting of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in common.

I now publish these, my personal theses with very short explanatory remarks which I developed much more extensively in my speech.

### Theses.

1. As regards our attitude towards the war which, in view of the capitalist character of the Government of Lwow & Co. is still, under this new Government, the same predatory imperialist war as it was as far as Russia is concerned, absolutely no concession should be made to the "revolutionary defence of the country".

The class conscious proletariat can only give its consent to a revolutionary war which would really justify a revolutionary defence of the country, under the following conditions: a) The transference of the power into the hands of the proletariat and of the poorest strata of the peasantry which are on its side; b) the renouncement of all annexations in deeds and not merely in words; and c) a complete and actual break with everything that serves the interests of capitalism.

In consideration of the undoubtedly honest conviction of broad strata of mass representatives of the "revolutionary defence of the country", of those strata which admit of war only when it is compelled by force and not for the sake of conquest, in consideration of the fact that they are fooled by the bourgeoisie, we must enlighten them especially thoroughly, obstinately and perseveringly as to their error, we must explain to them the indissoluble connection between capitalism and the imperialist war, we must make it clear to them that without the overthrow of capital war cannot be ended by a truly democratic peace — not one of force.

The most extensive propaganda of this view should be organised among the armies on active service.

Fraternalisation.

2. The peculiarity of the present situation in Russia consists in the transition from the first stage of revolution which, in consequence of the insufficient class consciousness and defective organisation of the proletariat, played the power into the hands of the bourgeoisie, to the second stage, which ought to place the power in the hands of the proletariat and of the poorest strata of the peasants.

This transition is characterised on the one hand by the maximum of legality (Russia is, at the moment, the freest of all the belligerent countries) and, on the other hand, by the absence of any power to rule the masses and finally by their unconsciously confiding attitude towards the government of the capitalists — the worst enemy of peace and socialism.

This peculiarity demands of us the capability of adapting ourselves to the special conditions of Party work in an environment of tremendous masses of the proletariat, who are only just awakening to political life.

3. No support of the Provisional Government, revelation of the whole mendacity of its promises, especially with regard to the renunciation of annexations. Instead of demanding that this Government, the Government of the capitalists, should cease to be imperialist, a "demand" which is inadmissible and only fosters illusions, the Government should be unmasked.

4. Recognition of the fact that in most of the Soviets of the Workers' Deputies our Party is in the minority, for the time being, even in a weak minority as against the block of all the petty bourgeois, opportunist elements which are under the influence of the bourgeoisie and make its influence felt among the proletariat, from the National Socialists and Social Revolutionaries to the Organisation Committee (Tcheidse, Zeretelli and others) of Steklov and others.

Enlightenment of the masses with regard to the fact that the Soviets of the Workers' Deputies are the only possible form of revolutionary government and that therefore, as long as this Government is under the influence of the bourgeoisie, our only task can be that of persistently, systematically and obstinately throwing light on its mistakes and tactics, with special adaptation to the practical needs of the masses.

As long as we are in the minority, we effect the work of criticism and enlightenment by preaching the necessity of the transference of the whole power of the State into the hands of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, so that the masses can rid themselves of their mistakes by their own experience.

5. Not a parliamentary republic — a return to it from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step — but — a republic of the Soviets of deputies of workers, agricultural labourers and peasants, starting at the bottom, which embraces the whole country.

Abolition of the police and of officialdom\*).

The pay of officials should not exceed the average wage of a good worker and they should be liable to election and dismissal at any time.

6. In the agrarian programme, the chief importance should be transferred to the Soviets of the Agricultural Workers' Deputies.

Expropriation of all landed property.

Nationalisation of the whole of the landed property in the country. Transference of the right of disposal over it to the local Soviets of the agricultural workers' and peasants' deputies. Selection of Soviets of deputies from among the poorest peasants. The formation of model farms on all large estates (of an area of about 100 to 300 dessjatines, whilst considering local and other conditions and according to the estimate of local institutions), under the supervision of the deputies of the agricultural workers and at the public cost.

7. Immediate fusion of all banks in the country into one general, national bank and the transference of the control over it to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

8. No "introduction" of socialism as our immediate task, but simply the immediate taking over of the control of social production and distribution of all products by the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

9. The tasks of the Party.

a) The Party Conference should be summoned without delay;

\* This means the replacement of the standing army by a general arming of the people.

- b) The Party programme should be changed, above all
1. with regard to imperialism and the imperialist war,
  2. as to our relation to the State and our demand for a "Commune" State\*);
  3. Improvement of the obsolete minimum programme;
  - c) the name of the Party should be changed\*\*).
  10. Renewal of the International.

The initiative for the formation of a revolutionary International, an International against the social chauvinists and the "Centre"\*\*\*).

So that the reader may understand why I was compelled especially to bring into relief, as a rare exception, the "case" of a conscientious opponent, I would ask him to compare the above theses with the following objection of Goldenberg: "Lenin has planted the banner of civil war in the midst of revolutionary democracy." (Quoted in the "Jedinstvo" of Plechanov, No. 5).

Is not this a gem?

I write, read and inwardly digest:

"In consideration of the undoubtedly honest conviction of broad strata of mass representatives of the revolutionary defence of the country... in consideration of the fact that they are fooled by the bourgeoisie, we must enlighten them especially thoroughly, obstinately and perseveringly as to their error..."

The gentlemen of the bourgeoisie, however, who call themselves social democrats but who belong neither to the broad strata nor to the mass representatives of the defence of the country, have the insolence to repeat my views with the words: "Has planted (!) the banner (!) of civil war" (there is no word of this in the theses nor in my speech) "in the midst (!) of revolutionary democracy..."

What does this mean? In what way does this differ from the "Russkaja Wolja"?

I write, read and inwardly digest:

"The Soviets of the Workers' Deputies are the only possible form of revolutionary Government, and therefore our only task can be that of persistently, systematically and obstinately throwing light on its mistakes and tactics with special adaptation to the practical needs of the masses..."

The opponents of a certain sort on the other hand, represent my views as a call to "civil war in the midst of revolutionary democracy"!!!

I attacked the Provisional Government because it has not fixed a date for summoning the Constituent Assembly either in the near future or at any time and has beaten about the bush with vague promises. I proved that without the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the summoning of the Constituent Assembly is not guaranteed and that nothing can result from its being summoned.

They try to impute to me the view of being opposed to the immediate summoning of the Constituent Assembly!!!

I should be inclined to describe this as "delirium", had not many years of political fighting taught me to regard conscientiousness in opponents as a rare exception.

G. Plechanov, in his paper, has described my speech as "delirium". Very good, Mr. Plechanov! But how awkward, embarrassed and slow in the uptake you are in your polemics! If, in my speech, I was delirious for two whole hours, why did an audience of hundreds listen to my "delirium"? Further, why does your paper devote a whole column to reproducing my "delirium"? You have indeed made a bad shot in this matter!

\* I. e. of a State on the pattern of the Paris Commune.

\*\* Instead of "Social Democracy", the official leaders of which throughout the world, have betrayed socialism by going over to the bourgeoisie (the "defence of the country" and the vacillating Kautskyans) we must call ourselves the "Communist Party".

\*\*\*) What is called the "Centre" in international social democracy, is the group which swings to and fro between the chauvinists (partisans of the "defence of the country") and the internationalists: Kautsky & Co. in Germany, Longuet & Co. in France, Tcheidse & Co. in Russia, Turati & Co. in Italy, Macdonald & Co. in England etc.

It is of course much easier to shout, to scold and to rave than to make an attempt to relate, to explain, to remember how Marx and Engels judged of the experiences of the Paris Commune in 1871, 1872 and 1875 and what kind of a State it is that the proletariat needs.

Plechanov, an ex-Marxist, does not apparently care to be reminded of Marxism.

I quote the words of Rosa Luxemburg who, on August 4th 1914 called German social democracy a "stinking corpse". Plechanov, Goldenberg & Co. however feel themselves "offended"... for whom — for the Germans whom I called chauvinists!

The poor Russian social chauvinists have got quite entangled, these socialists in words and chauvinists in deeds.

## Chronicle of Events.

March 31st.

The Foreign Bureau of the C. C. of the Bolsheviki associates itself with the plan of taking steps to arrange for the return of the political emigrants to Russia via Germany, in exchange for the German and Austrians interned in Russia.

The Labour section of the Petrograd Soviet states that the number of Labour conflicts is increasing from day to day.

Resolution of the Soviets of Moscow and Odessa with regard to the introduction of the eight hours' day.

April 1st.

Great demonstration of women in Petrograd under the slogan: "The working women demand the franchise for the Constituent Assembly."

The Provisional Government empowers the commanders of the army to remove the following persons from the arena of military operations:

a) persons suspected of espionage; b) persons who agitate for the conclusion of a separate peace; c) illegal vendors of spirituous liquors and d) prostitutes.

April 2nd.

Abolition of all legal restrictions of rights on account of nationality or religion, which had hitherto prevailed.

The Petrograd Soviet concerns itself with the question of a general increase of wages.

April 3rd.

Defeat of the Russian army on the river Stochod (35,000 prisoners).

Appeal of the Provisional Government to the workers in the metal works of South Russia to the effect that the production of armaments must be increased.

Issue of a 5% "Liberty Loan" with a redemption period of 49 years.

April 4th.

In substitution for Robert Grimm, Comrade Platten resumes the negotiations with the German Government regarding the conditions for the return of the political emigrants to Russia.

At a meeting, the soldiers of the 185th Reserve Regiment in Moscow pass the following resolution: 1. They will not go to the front unless a resolution to that effect is passed by the Soldiers' Soviet; 2. Russia must be defended, not only against William but also against the Russian bourgeoisie and the landed proprietors; 3. the first to be sent to the front shall be the police and the other defenders of the old regime; 4. At the shortest possible notice, a conference should be called in Russia of the representatives of the workers of all countries in order to restore peace.

April 5th.

Ceremonious funeral of those who had fallen fighting for the revolution in Petrograd. News of unrest amongst the peasants arrives from all parts of Russia.