

**English Edition.**

**Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint**

# - INTERNATIONAL -

# PRESS

# CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 7. No. 51

1<sup>st</sup> September 1927

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

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## The Joint Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

By A. I. Rykov.

We commence below the publication of the text of the report given by Comrade Rykov at the functional meeting of the Moscow organisation of the C. P. S. U. held on 11th August 1927. Ed.

### The Tense Situation.

Comrades, since the XIV. Party Conference almost all Plenary Sessions of the C. C. have been held in an atmosphere of the utmost tension. It suffices to point to the July and October Plenums of last year, and the February and April Plenums of this. The causes of this tension are not to be attributed so much to the fact that our whole work has become

more complicated, as to the aggravation of the inner Party relations brought about by the continued action of the "new" and the "united" opposition.

The work of the last Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. have been, however, unique in character, both with regard to its tension, its duration, and also its political significance.

In what respect does the situation in which the Joint August Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. has been held differ from the situation of the previous Plenary Sessions of the C. C. since the XIV. Party Conference, and what are the special peculiarities of the questions which it had to solve?

The peculiarity of the present situation lies in the acuteness of international relations. The central point of all politics and all international relations today is the fresh campaign of hostility towards the Soviet Union, the question of the organisation and provocation of a war against the Soviet Union. This confronts us with the urgent task of determining our methods of home defence, and of strengthening our defensive powers. This necessity is inevitably reflected in the whole policy of the Party and in the whole of our economic work.

In such a situation the anti-Party and fractional actions of the united opposition, and their systematic work against the whole Party, are of special importance.

The question of the opposition was the fourth item on the agenda of the Plenum. In actual practice, however, the question of the ideological and organisational differences with the opposition came to the fore immediately after the opening of the Plenum. The opposition again attempted to raise a discussion on all the questions upon which differences of opinion exist between them and the Party, all questions which have already been decided upon by our Conferences, Party Congresses, and Plenary Sessions. Both before the meeting of the Plenum and at the Plenum itself the opposition have endeavoured to open up a discussion in the Party on questions all since settled, for instance the question of the actual character of our State, the establishment of socialism in one country, etc.

This fact throws considerable difficulties in the way of a report on the work of the Plenum. I shall attempt to concentrate the whole polemical discussion, the whole question of the opposition, upon the second part of my report and devote the first part of my report to the most important decisions of the Plenum in questions of international politics and economic — certainly not be able, in the course of a two hours' report, to deal in any detail with everything which has passed at the Plenum. I must make one reservation, and that is that I shall Plenum. It must be remembered that the Plenum sat for ten days, and that the shorthand protocol alone (apart from other material) is more than 1000 pages. I shall therefore be obliged to pass over without mention a considerable part of the contents of the published resolutions. I confine myself to a description of the most essential and important points characterising the events of the Plenum and throwing light upon the resolutions which it has passed.

#### What has the Party Expected from the Plenum?

What has the Party expected from the last Joint Plenum of the C.C. and the C.C.C.? I believe that the Party has expected decisions in the three following questions:

1. The general estimate to be formed of the international situation, and the directives for practical work towards increasing the defensive powers of the country, in view of the war danger.
2. An analysis of the economic situation, and directions for the further practical work in view of the commencement of the new economic year, and finally
3. The decision on the question of the inner Party opposition.

I begin with the first question, that of the war danger. With regard to the international situation, and to the war danger, the Plenum adopted a detailed resolution according due consideration to both the latest decisions of the Comintern and to the new factors which have arisen since the session of the VIII. Plenum of the E. C. C. I.

What changes have taken place in international relations, and what are the phenomena in the evolution of capitalism, which make war a very actual danger today?

#### The Stabilisation of Capitalism.

Our point of departure for an analysis of the international situation is the question of the extent and forms of capitalist stabilisation under the conditions given by the post-war disorganisation of world's economics, and by the changing relations between the classes in the separate countries.

What new factor has been introduced by the process of capitalist stabilisation? The stabilisation taking place under the conditions of post-war economic disorganisation — a dis-

organisation which capitalism cannot overcome — has been of a reconstructive nature up to the present, and can now only be continued if both home and foreign markets can be expanded.

a) **The economic stabilisation.** The process of stabilisation has developed along two lines; the economic and the political line. From the economic standpoint the characteristic feature of the stabilisation process is the fact that during the last few years capitalism has not only surpassed its pre-war level, but has created a new technical basis for its production. Comrade Bukharin has shown this, in his report, by means of numerous examples. I give a few instances:

In all capitalist countries, with the exception of England, there is a considerable growth of industry. In 1926 the mines of the United States attained an output equal to 150 per cent of the pre-war production in this industry, whilst manufacturing industry reached 139.8% of its pre-war figure. In France industry reached 124% of the pre-war level, in Germany 112%. At the present time England has fallen behind in this respect, and by 1926 it had not yet regained its pre-war level (only 99.1 per cent).

Besides the growth of industry in the capitalist countries, there are great changes observable in the technics and organisation of production. The means of production have been re-constructed to a great extent, and at the present time the original capital of the industrial undertakings accomplishes more than before the war.

The achievements of technical improvement are sufficiently demonstrated by glance at the figures showing the comparative producing capacity of the iron works. In 1923 the average output of an iron works in Germany was 4.5 thousand tons monthly. By August 1926 the output was 10.1 thousand tons. The corresponding figures for the United States show 13 thousand tons in 1924 and 15 thousand in August 1925.

In Germany the number of workers employed in the steel industry fell in one single year, from August 1925 till August 1926, by 9 per cent. Meanwhile steel production increased by 26 per cent, and the work done by the worker daily increased by 44 per cent.

Before the war only 5 per cent of the undertakings of the coal industry were mechanised. Today 50 per cent. The productivity of labour has increased by 15 to 20 per cent since before the war.

In connection with the new technics, new kinds of raw materials play an increasingly important part. In 1925 the production of artificial silk was 556 per cent higher than before the war, that of caoutchouc 283 per cent, of aluminium 187 per cent, of naphtha 187 per cent, etc.

All this is accompanied by the rise of new organisational forms of capitalist undertakings, brought about by the extreme concentration of capital, the trustification of industry, and the growth of the monopolist tendencies.

b) **The political stabilisation.** The characteristic feature of the political stabilisation is the considerable strengthening of the power of the bourgeoisie in various countries. The blocs formerly existing between the big bourgeoisie and the middle and social democratic parties have been dissolved. We see striking examples of the increased strength of the Right and reactionary groups of the bourgeoisie in such countries as England — the Conservative government, more and more under the influence of the Diehards; France — the Poincaré government; Germany — the election of Hindenburg as president and the coalition of the Centre Party with the Nationalists; Italy — Fascism, etc.

But all this is no proof that capitalism has overcome the post-war crisis; on the contrary, it is leading to a strengthening of the capitalist society, and to an intensification of the capitalist crisis.

#### Fresh Contradictions on the Basis of Stabilisation.

The process of stabilisation is going on amidst the post-war disorganisation of international economics, amidst the Balkanisation of Europe, the steady growth of commercial and industrial protectionism in a number of countries, the struggle of the colonies for their emancipation from the power of imperialism, and the expanding economic power of the Soviet Union.

The growing productive capacity of capitalism has encountered a frightful shortage of markets, caused to a great extent by the miserable poverty of the masses of the people. Germany, in spite of its lack of sufficient home resources, is obliged to increase its exports in order to pay the reparations imposed on it by Versailles. The antipode of Germany's situation is represented by the United States, which is suffering from hypertrophy of capital. While Germany requires an expansion of its foreign markets in order to be able to increase its goods exports, the United States is seeking to export both capital and goods. Where it succeeds in this first (capital export), the United States renders more difficult the solution of the second task (goods export), and at the same time increases the contradictions among the large number of capitalist states fighting for the markets.

Japan is suffering from this same difficulty of finding markets. During the war Japan was able to dispose of its goods with comparative ease, thanks to the absence of the competition of the European countries, but up to now it has not succeeded in adapting itself to the acuter post-war competition in the world market.

England is most severely hit by the impossibility of the restoration and expansion of the world market, for England's industries are almost entirely dependent on the export of goods, and on the status of the world's trade.

### Stabilisation and new Wars.

What conclusions are to be drawn from the analysis of the present situation of world economy, and from the analysis of the process of stabilisation? Capitalism, on the basis of the stabilisation, has caught up with and passed its pre-war level. The whole of the passing period of stabilisation, which may be conditionally designated as a period of restoration, brought with it at the same time various new elements in the sphere of technics and organisatory forms. The new factor is the acute necessity of increased foreign markets. From the political aspect, this situation creates and strengthens the imperialist tendencies present in many countries, intensifies the antagonisms between the various imperialist states, and raises the question of a redivision of the world, of a new war. The stabilisation, therefore, is one of the factors accelerating the possibility of military conflicts.

It is for this reason that such imperialist countries as England, whose prosperity is dependent on the exploitation of the colonies, the semi-colonies, and the backward countries, are the instigators and organisers of a new war, and of a ruthless fight against the working class.

The stabilisation, whilst strengthening imperialist tendencies, increases at the same time the imperialist contradictions. This must inevitably give rise to new crises in the world's economics. It is characteristic of the present epoch that capitalism has laid aside the pacifist cloak which it found so necessary during the first period of the stabilisation, but which has now become a hindrance to its further development. Although this movement, until recently, has been directed chiefly against England, it is threatening the interests of other countries to an increasing extent.

The events in China hamper the development of the stabilisation, not only because they threaten to remove the imperialist yoke from the Chinese people and to set a limit to the possibilities of China as a market for foreign capitalist productions, but because they are a factor exercising profound influence over the development of the revolutionary and national emancipation movements in other colonial countries (Indo-China, the Dutch colonies, Java, etc.). It is precisely for this reason that imperialism is endeavouring to suppress this movement at all costs and by every available means, from intervention to the undermining of the national emancipation movement.

Another factor, again showing the existence of profound crises within the capitalist system, is the aggravation of class antagonisms within the capitalist countries as a result of the stabilisation. It suffices to call to mind such facts as the general strike in England, the repeated strikes in France, the rising of the Vienna workers. The inevitable sharpening of class antagonisms called forth by the capitalist stabilisation is one of the main factors demonstrating the uncertainty and temporary nature of the stabilisation. The attempt at stabilisation being made by capitalism leads to an aggravation of class

antagonism, and this acuter class antagonism leads in turn to the radicalisation of the movement among the working masses, causing the bourgeoisie to strive to suppress this movement by every possible means. This means that fresh class conflicts are unavoidable in the near future. The bourgeoisie realises that they are unavoidable, and is taking all possible steps for their suppression. This explains the attempts being made in many countries to worsen the legal position of the working class (England, Italy, in part in France), and the increasing frequency of the employment of armed forces against striking workers. At the same time the bourgeoisie is trying (and not without success) to corrupt the topmost stratum of the working class, to buy over the labour leaders, in order to utilise the labour organisations themselves as instruments of the capitalist class.

### The Stabilisation of Capitalism and the Soviet Union.

The existence of the Soviet Union is one of the main factors preventing capitalism from achieving its aims in the struggle against the workers and against the national emancipation movement. The mere existence of a proletarian dictatorship in such a gigantic country, and the moral and material support given by the Soviet Union to all oppressed classes and nations, have an immense revolutionary influence, and are among the main organisatory forces of both the labour movement and the national emancipation movement. Hence the so-called "Russian question", the "Chinese question", and the fight against the revolutionary movement, are combined in the policy of the imperialist countries into one collective antagonism, leading to an increased aggressiveness of the capitalist world towards the Soviet Union.

Our economic progress again contributes to the increased tension in the relations between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union. The energetic course pursued towards the industrialisation of the country, combined with the maintenance of the foreign trade monopoly, has frustrated the hopes of the capitalist countries for the conversion of the Soviet Union into an agrarian appendage of the capitalist industrial countries. Our achievements during the last few years show that the Soviet Union is becoming stronger every year, and this means that from the capitalist standpoint the solution of the "Russian problem" presents ever-increasing difficulties.

It must be remembered that during the last few years the relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world have undergone radical changes. The period which we characterised as the pause for breath, the year 1921, was a period in which the capitalist countries, weakened by the great war and the revolutionary conflicts, were unable to solve the problems presented by the rise of the Soviet Union, and were obliged to accept some form of joint existence with the Soviet Union: At present, however, the changes in the situation consist of the fact that both parties have become stronger, and in the same measure as their strength increases, the contradictions involved in the simultaneous existence of the two systems also become more acute. The Soviet Union has become the main point of attack of the imperialists. The struggle against the Soviet Union is combined with a simultaneous emancipation movement.

All questions connected with the formation of a united front against the Soviet Union are therefore at the same time questions relating to the fight against China, against the Labour movement, and against the Comintern. The capitalist world will attempt, with all the means at its disposal, to destroy the Soviet Union, or at least to cripple its influence as a Workers' State, as a factor contradicting in itself the further strengthening of capitalism, and as a Power whose mere existence acts upon the Labour movement of the whole world as a force towards organisation and revolution. The formation of a hostile united front against the Soviet Union, to be followed by the organisation of a war on the Soviet Union, has become an immediate task of imperialist policy, and the imperialists hope that by this means they will find it easier to suppress China, to find means for the suppression of all other colonial peoples, and to crush the revolutionary Labour movement.

But in spite of all efforts, the formation of a united front against the Soviet Union encounters the inner contradictions in the whole capitalist world, and the consistently peaceful

policy pursued by the Soviet Union. We must, however, face the fact that a fresh war against the Soviet Union is being planned on every hand, and that every preparation for this war is being made, diplomatically, socially, politically, and technically.

### The Preparation for War against the Soviet Union.

The ideologists of the organisation of the campaign against the Soviet Union are the English Conservatives. Their efforts are being made in two directions: 1. They are attempting to exploit the antagonism between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union, and are organising a united front against the Soviet Union under the banner of a campaign against revolutionary propaganda, against the Labour movement, and against the Comintern; 2. They are organising the united front against the Soviet Union by making use of the antagonisms which have arisen among the different countries as a result of the Versailles Treaty, and promise to correct the faults of Versailles at the expense of the Soviet Union. This diplomatic preparation for war could be distinctly observed at various international conferences, and especially at the last meeting of the League of Nations.

The anti-Soviet "international press", including the social democratic press, seeks to justify the preparations for war against the Soviet Union by the necessity of combating the so-called "Red imperialism". The Second International and Amsterdam, in spreading this monstrous and atrocious lie, are lending a powerful helping hand to the capitalists. The capitalist aim of war against the Soviet Union demands the breaking down of the resistance of the workers, or the misleading of the workers. With this object in view the bourgeoisie, and with it the Second International and Amsterdam, are endeavouring to blacken the name of the Soviet Union with every means at their disposal by designating the policy of the Soviet Union as anti-Labour, imperialist, and so forth. By such means the bourgeoisie hopes to weaken the sympathy of the working class towards the Soviet Union, and at the same time to disorganise the whole labour movement, which is the greatest obstacle to a war against the Soviet Union.

A striking instance of the direct aid being lent by social democracy to the bourgeoisie in its war preparations is given in the new war bill submitted by Paul Boncour, a leader of French social democracy, to Parliament. According to this law all power over the population, and over all public organisations, including the trade unions, passes in time of war completely into the hands of the bourgeois dictatorship. In Germany the social democrats of the Levi type and the ultra-Left apostates from communism play this same rôle of accomplices of imperialism. The Left social democrats, cloaking the bourgeois policy of the Right leaders beneath a mantle of Left phraseology, strengthen the illusions of the working class, mislead them, and check the growing class consciousness of the proletariat.

The ultra-Left renegades spread slanders on the Soviet Union, weaken the sympathy of the workers towards the Soviet Union, and distract attention from the preparations for war. In this manner a united front of ideological preparation for the coming war is set up, extending from the Diehards to the Left social democrats and to the ex-communists expelled from the Comintern, Korsch, Maslov, etc. This united front is formed in the first place against the Soviet Union.

The colossal growth of the war budgets, of the war industries, of the chemical and aeroplane building industries, etc., show the feverish haste with which the capitalist world is arming for the next war.

It need not be said that these preparations for war are being carried on — as they were carried on before the capitalist war of 1914 — on the pretext of securing peace. The bourgeois politicians are well aware of the rule that: "When preparing for war, you must talk of peace".

What actual reason have we to suppose that war against the Soviet Union is being seriously contemplated at the present moment? An enumeration of the events of the past year provides ample reasons. We have, for instance, the raid on our Embassy at Peking, the raid on the Arcos, the breaking off of diplomatic relations between us and England, the increase of hostile attacks upon us in the bourgeois press, the redoubled diplomatic activity of the English in the organisation of the United front against us, the application of measures of economic

pressure, etc. The bourgeois politicians are deliberately endeavouring to ascribe every aggravation of the proletarian class struggle in the bourgeois countries to the "influence of Moscow", in order to find a pretext for an organised campaign against the Soviet Union. Even the rising of the social democratic workers in Vienna was laid at the door of the "agents of Moscow". The endeavour to destroy Moscow, as the seat of the international proletarian movement, is becoming more and more the immediate question of the day.

A fairly well-known writer, "Augur" who is closely connected with the British Foreign Office, observes in one of his latest books: "Germany and Europe", that Russia is like a threatening thunder cloud, constantly threatening the stability of the capitalist world, and that the best policy against Russia is that of the "united front". Therefore he urges Germany to join this united front against the Soviet Union, and even enumerates the advantages that might accrue to Germany by so doing. We could quote innumerable passages proving that a united front is being prepared against the Soviet Union, and that the most varying political groups vie with one another in their efforts. The import common to all these quotations is the fundamental idea that war against the Soviet Union is a necessity in the fight against the revolutionary movement in other countries, and in the fight against the labour movement and the national emancipation movement which are growing daily in intensity, in proportion to the growing intensity of the contradictions of the capitalist order of society.

Viewed thus, the war against the Soviet Union possesses the character of a preventive measure, a preventive war against the social revolution in other countries, against the labour and national emancipation movements now spreading under the pressure of the ever-widening contradictions of the capitalist system. The greater the difficulties encountered by capitalism — and these difficulties are augmented daily as the productive capacity of capitalism becomes more and more disproportionate to the possibility of finding markets — the greater the hate of the capitalists against the comparatively rapid growth of the power and importance of the Soviet Union.

### When will the War break out?

At the Plenum there was a wide disagreement as to the probable point of time of the coming war. Two extreme standpoints were represented, one by Comrade Ossinsky, the other by Comrade Zinoviev.

Comrade Ossinsky expressed the opinion that we exaggerate the danger of war, that there can be no war during the next few years, and that there is little likelihood of war. Comrade Ossinsky formulated his standpoint "statistically", so to speak. He stated that in his opinion there was 25 per cent probability of war at the present time and 75 per cent improbability. Comrade Zinoviev thinks differently, and maintained for his part that the term "probability of war" is already inadequate; in his opinion the resolution should state plainly that the war is inevitable.

The Plenum rejected both these standpoints. The conception of the "peaceful pause for breath" (an expression first used by Lenin) includes: 1. the factor of the brevity of the pause for breath, and 2. the factor of the inevitability of war. The conception of "inevitability" does not determine the point of time of the war. Under present conditions the new factor consists of the possibility that this "inevitability" may be realised within the next few years, or even next year. The Plenum therefore accepted a formulation referring both to the historical inevitableness of the war and to the probability of breaking out in the near future.

But since every possibility of the struggle for peace has not yet been exhausted, the Plenum laid down as the further task of our policy the struggle for the utmost possible postponement of the war, and believes that there is still a possibility of our achieving success in these efforts. No one can, however, say beforehand whether we shall succeed, or not in avoiding war during the next few years, or in postponing it for a longer or a shorter term. But it is certainly wrong and harmful to demand, as does Comrade Zinoviev, that the resolution should speak solely of the "inevitability" of the war. However, Comrade Zinoviev refuted himself in this same meeting — as often happens with Comrade Zinoviev —

by a declaration that if a proper policy were adopted towards the opposition, it would be possible "to postpone the war for the longest time possible". And in another part of his speech he even went so far as to speak of the possibility of "preventing" the war.

What possibilities have we for preventing belligerent conflicts in the immediate future? The leading factor of delay is the **social dangerousness** of war, that is, the consideration that war against the Soviet Union may lead in many cases to the proletarian revolution. This factor is much more important than all the existing antagonisms among the capitalist states, for it raises in the sharpest form the question of the future fate of Europe and of the whole capitalist world, the question of who will rule the world after the war, the working class or the capitalists. Besides this factor there are a number of possibilities afforded by our general lines of policy. In our current politics we must utilise to the utmost all these possibilities — the strengthening of common economic interests with the Soviet Union, etc. **The Soviet state must adopt every measure for the prolongation of the peaceful pause for breath**, for the postponement as long as possible of any military conflicts. Still we must face the fact that at the present time there is imminent danger of war, and must take every necessary step for increasing the defensive powers of the country.

### The Character of the Coming War.

What will be the character of the impending war, and in what will it differ from its predecessors? The coming war against the Soviet Union will differ fundamentally from the imperialist war of 1914, and from all wars which have taken place in the past, in that it will possess a **clear and definite class character**. All wars up to now have been wars between different states, but the coming war against the Soviet Union will be a class war, a war waged by the bourgeoisie against the working class as embodied in the first Proletarian State of the world. It will be a war inevitably bound up with a relentless class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat of the bourgeois countries. Hence new slogans for the proletarian struggle will arise with the outbreak of this war. The Comintern, as the Party of the working class, will have to repeat once more what Lenin wrote in his "Advice of an Onlooker": "Form troops of the best workers, with guns and bombs in their hands, with the slogan: Even though we all perish, we must not give in to the enemy". This means that the first duty of the proletariat in the bourgeois countries is the conversion of the war against the Soviet Union into a civil war, into a war against the capitalists of their own countries for the conquest of power by the working class.

If the war of 1914 produced a revolutionary movement of unexampled force in almost every country, and gave the victory to the working class in its fight for power in our State, in Hungary, and in Bavaria, then the new war, with its expressly class character, must produce a much stronger revolutionary movement than that following the imperialist war. This is one of the prerequisites of our victory in the coming battle with the capitalist world. In the coming war against the Soviet Union the old slogan of the defeat of the bourgeoisie of one's own country will no longer suffice. The class character of the war will render it imperative for the working class of the whole world to fight for the victory of the Soviet Union, for the active support of the Workers' State.

Here within our own country the slogan of the defence of our socialist native country will be our leading slogan, and not only for the proletariat, but for all the working masses the hegemon of which is the proletariat.

Allow me, comrades, to confine my commentary on the question of the international situation to what I have just said, as I shall speak on all the points relating to the opposition, and to the contentions arising out of the above question, when I deal with the general question of the opposition in the second part of my report.

### What is the Effect of the new Situation on the Economic Development of the Soviet Union?

The next question on the agenda of the Plenum was the question of economic work, which was classified under the

modest heading of: "The control figures of national economy for the economic year 1927/28."

The question to be solved was the effect of the new situation on the economic work for the building up of socialism, and the instructions to be issued by the Party in this connection for economic work.

The new situation is bound to have an effect upon our economic structure, especially in view of two facts: In the first place it demands an increased expenditure for the defence of our State (up to now we have expended for purposes of defence less than one half of the sum spent by the Tsar on the army in times of peace); and in the second place the rupture of diplomatic relations and the termination of the trade agreement between Great Britain and the Soviet Union will inevitably bring about the cessation of Anglo-Russian trade. The attempts being made by England to organise an economic and financial boycott against the Soviet Union in some special cases in the countries dependent on England, and among the European banks and undertakings dependent on English capital, may do us a certain amount of harm.

The following case occurred recently: A large firm (not English) offered us a long term credit. This was before the rupture of Anglo-Russian relations. When we wanted to realise this offer, subsequent to the rupture, the banks refused this firm credit and drove it to bankruptcy. We have good reason to believe that this was done under English pressure, through banks dependent on England. This example is characteristic of the methods used by England in its fight against us.

England's influence is, however, extremely limited in international questions of finance and economics (at least in the largest European countries, to say nothing of America); England is engaged in a competitive struggle with nearly all other countries. Confidence in business transactions with us has greatly increased during the last few years, for there has been no case (nor will there be) in which our economic organs have failed to fulfil their obligations in even the slightest degree. Our credit relations with foreign states increased from year to year until the time of the rupture with England, and were already fairly extensive.

We must now take measures for extending our commercial relations with other countries, and for obtaining credits to such an extent that our foreign trade connections not only do not suffer from the rupture with England, but can be further extended. This goal has not yet been reached (and when reached, it must, of course, be on conditions fully acceptable to us). The rate at which our foreign trade connections increase may safely slow down a little; our economics have attained a level which secures us from any danger in this respect.

When making a survey of our economic prospects for the coming year we must not forget to take into account the possibility of a failure of crops this year or the year after. The history of our agriculture shows us the almost regular recurrence of drought and failure every three or four years. We have not yet had sufficient time to reorganise agriculture in the districts liable to drought to an extent affording any definite guarantee against a failure of crops. Therefore we must at once take precautionary measures against a shortage.

What effect are all these facts, and especially the fact of our strained international situation, bound to have upon our economic policy?

The Plenum answered this question as follows:

"The solution of the specific tasks involved in the changed international situation must not cause the slightest wavering from the general programme laid down by the Party for our economic constructive work."

When dealing with this question at the Plenum, I stated that the programme of the Party, which demands the industrialisation of the country, the increased preponderance of the working class and the socialist sector in our economic structure, the support of the poorer strata of the population, the support of the middle peasantry, and the struggle against the exploiting tendencies of the kulak, is at the same time the best programme from the standpoint of defence against military attack. The greater our success in socialist construction, the firmer will be the alliance between the workers and the peasants, and the better will the country be prepared to withstand

military raids. Every successful step forward towards the building up of socialism draws thousands of workers all over the world into our side. The industrialisation, the development of industry, is the basis of the increased defensive powers of the country. This applies especially to the development of heavy industry and of the chemical industry. Hence the approaching war danger not only affords no reason for an alteration in the economic course of the Party towards industrialisation, but on the contrary demands that the process of industrialisation should be accelerated as much as possible.

#### New Difficulties.

The special difficulty of the coming year is to secure a sufficiently rapid rate of industrialisation — which requires an enormous expenditure — and at the same time to create adequate reserves for the possibility of a failure of crops next year, and for measures against the war danger. We must have reserves (grain, fuel, raw materials, securities, etc.) both for economic purposes and for purposes of home defence.

The difficulties involved in the accomplishment of all these tasks arise from the fact that extensive material values must be withdrawn from economic circulation and converted for the time being into "dead capital". I requested the comrades expert in these subjects to calculate the approximate amount of the capital investments which will not yield one rouble's worth of new production in the economic year 1927/28, as well as the sum required for the creation of reserves (so long as these lie unused as reserves, without increasing the amount of goods circulating in the markets, and thus representing "dead capital"). The result of this calculation was a very large sum, over a milliard roubles. The figures here given represent the minimum absolutely necessary for fulfilling the tasks connected with the new situation.

Are we in a position to expend such sums or not? In the resolution passed by the Plenum we find a survey of the fundamental economic results of the current year. These results are not final, being calculated on the figures of only eight or nine months, but they suffice, together with the fact that this year's crops are average to enable us to state, in my opinion, that we are equal to this task.

#### The Immediate Prospects of our Economic Development.

This year's crops will be somewhat less than last year's, but will not fall below the average. The grain harvest will be about 2 to 3 per cent. less than last year. On the other hand, the special cultures — cotton etc. — show an increase of 15 to 20 per cent. Cattle-breeding also shows an improvement of 7 to 8 per cent.

With regard to the prospects of industrial development, an increase of production by 17% is both possible and necessary, taking the average of our total industry (light and heavy industries). The total amount of goods produced, including agricultural products, will show an increase of 10 to 12 per cent.

The balancing of the budget will give us considerable difficulties. The general increase in the budget will be 10 to 11 per cent, and at the same time we are confronted with the necessity of considerably increasing our expenditure for economic purposes. We know that the sum of our capital investments will amount to more than a milliard roubles in the current year. If we are to maintain the present rate of industrialisation, our capital investments must be increased by 100 to 150 million roubles. These increased investments we shall carry out. Besides this, our expenditure for the defence of the Soviet Union will increase.

Much attention will have to be devoted to the transport question in the coming year. Up to the present our railways have, on the whole, been able to cope with the demands placed upon them by our economics. But in the course of all these years the foundation capital of our transport service has suffered natural attrition. The danger arises that the transport service may prove to be that weakest point hampering the whole economic development of the country. The current year is the first since the war in which the prime capital of the transport service has not lessened, and the first steps towards fresh equipment have been made. Besides this, in this

year we have undertaken such steps as the new Semiretschensk railway. In order to avoid the danger of the transport service lagging behind as compared with the general development of economics, we must increase our outlay for capital investment and repairs for the railways. Our next year's budget must include 200 to 250 million roubles for the transport service.

#### Efforts to reduce Unproductive Expenditure.

The preliminary calculations of our necessary expenditure show that it will be possible to secure our economic progress on the lines indicated only if we take an energetic stand against the unproductive expenditure involved in our most unwieldy and extremely bureaucratic state and economic apparatus. Up to the present we have confined ourselves too much to merely talking about doing this, and have not advanced beyond complaining at meetings about bureaucratism and unnecessary expenditure. This year we received for the first time, from the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, a thoroughly worked out survey of this question, enabling us to get to grips in the practical struggle against bureaucracy and expenditure. For the first time various branches of economic and Soviet service have made a practical and exhaustive analysis of the actual causes of the excessive unproductive expenditure, and have arrived at definite proposals for its reduction. The most important and essential achievement of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection of late has been its success in reducing and regulating our accountancy apparatus, which had become frightfully puffed up, and swallowed 700 million roubles of the state's money every year. The Workers' and Peasants' Inspection consulted a number of People's Commissariats, institutions, and economic organs well versed in the subject, and made a careful study of the question of accountancy, its simplification and limitation, as well as of the question of the general regulation of administration and the restriction of the expenditure for the maintenance of the administrative apparatus. The results attained up to now by the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection may be illustrated by the following practical examples of recent retrenchment in our apparatus. The organs concerned have been fully in agreement with the retrenchments. The apparatus of the People's Commissariat for Transport has been reduced by 40 per cent, of the People's Commissariat for Finance by 37 per cent, of the People's Commissariat for Trade by 23 per cent, and of the People's Commissariat for Enlightenment by 24 per cent. The system of accountancy of various railways was inquired into. I have been shown documents signed by both the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and by the organs concerned. These documents record the following retrenchments: Moscow-Kursk railway 38 per cent, Yekaterin railway 43 per cent, Moscow-Kasan railway 52 per cent. In cases where it has been attempted to reduce the accountancy apparatus, it has been found possible to do so by 40 to 50, and even by 70 per cent.

We sent a group of functionaries abroad to study "real bourgeois deviations" in bourgeois countries. The comrades who returned, after having studied the organisation of traffic services and the system of accountancy employed in transport services abroad, related for instance that whilst we make out 25 documents when sending or receiving railway consignments, the number of such documents required in a bourgeois country like Germany is only 3. (Laughter.)

It is extremely necessary that our work for the reduction of the expenditure required by the administrative apparatus be continued with the utmost energy. At the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. the following case was narrated by Comrade **Ordschonikidse**: The Peasants' Aid Committee in the Irkutsk district collected membership subscriptions from the peasants to the amount of 11,000 roubles, paid out aid to the peasants to the amount of 6500 roubles, and consumed at the same time 38,000 roubles for the maintenance of their own apparatus. (Laughter.)

I quote all these examples to show that we can reduce our administrative expenses by 20 per cent in the course of the economic year 1927/28. It need not be said that protests will be heard, for every bureaucratic apparatus has its own bureaucratic logic, and even our communist comrades have succumbed to its influence. The result of the retrenchments will be an increase in the number of unemployed Soviet em-

ployees, the statistics of unemployment will swell again, and the opposition will abuse us for it. But all the same these retrenchments are imperative. The reduction of the administrative staff and the cutting down of expenses must be accomplished at any price, for it is only by this means that we can have more means at our disposal for productive expenditure and for the development of economics. The work being done by the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection proves practically and definitely that such retrenchments are possible, and it is our duty to carry them out.

#### Building Costs must be Reduced.

At the Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. great attention was devoted to the question of the extension of our industrial plant, and to the whole problem of building. You already know from the resolution that the C. C. has issued instructions for the reduction by 15 per cent of expenditure for buildings in the coming economic year. The index figures for building work are the highest among our indices. They are over 2.5; that is, building costs us almost three times as much as before the war. The increased costs of building are far beyond the average of all other higher prices. And since building activity has increased by leaps and bounds during the last few years, the extra outlay involved has reached enormous sums. The high costs of building are one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the rapid industrialisation of the country, of the solution of the housing question, of the cheapening of the products of new factories, etc. And yet nobody is in a position to give any sensible reason for the threefold prices of lime, sand, clay, and bricks. Indeed no sensible reason exists. The Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. has therefore issued its instructions for a 15 per cent reduction of the building index figures for next year.

#### Grain Supplies and Price Policy.

Besides the questions already touched upon, I should like to say a few words on grain supplies and foreign trade returns. The characteristic feature of the grain campaign up to now has been the attainment of stable purchase prices for grain. This is not only of economic importance, but of great political influence. The disparity between autumn and spring prices is advantageous to the well-to-do peasants, who are able to hold back their corn till the spring and to demand higher prices for it. This year we have succeeded for the first time in maintaining the stability of the purchase price of grain all the year round. During our next grain supplies campaign the purchase price must be made to maintain the same average level as during the current year. Alterations must be made in the grain growing system, ensuring a greater uniformity in the grain prices in different districts and among the different kinds of grain. This will probably demand an increased expenditure of about 2 per cent as compared with the average prices, but this extra outlay can and must be compensated by the reduction of the overhead charges in the trade in grain, accompanied by a simultaneous reduction of the selling prices of grain.

The following may be observed with reference to the grain supplies plan: The preliminary estimate for the grain supplies has been placed somewhat higher this year than last, although this year's yield is about 100 to 150 million poods less than last year's: seed plants 700 million poods as compared with 670 million last year, oil plants 75 million poods as compared with 50 million last year. The plan provides for the formation of a grain reserve to the amount of 30 millions. This enlargement of the grain supplies plan is made possible by the fact that considerable stores from last year's crops have accumulated among the peasants. This will compel them to sell more this year.

The successful carrying out of the grain campaign and the further establishment of the alliance between the workers and the peasantry, depend greatly on the extent to which we are able to maintain and extend the success which we have already been able to record towards the reduction of the price of industrial goods. Thanks to the reduction already attained, amounting to almost 10 per cent as compared with the prices of manufactured goods on 1st January 1927, the disparity between the prices of industrial and agricultural products has

been somewhat lessened, although to an entirely inadequate extent. Therefore the Plenum emphasises in its resolution that one of the most important of our immediate tasks is continued effort for the reduction of the prices of industrial articles, and for the firmer establishment of the economic alliance between town and country on this basis.

#### Foreign Trade.

As I have already stated, the rupture of relations between England and the Soviet Union brings with it great difficulties for our foreign trade. Our foreign trade again is closely bound up with the industrialisation of the country, and greatly influences the rate of development in certain industries consuming large amounts of foreign raw materials, as for instance the textile and woollen industries. A restriction of the import plan would involve a restriction of the building of new factories, and even a certain restriction of work in the factories already existing. Before our relations with England were broken off, we calculated on the probability of a considerable expansion of our export and import operations. This probability is no longer so great, so that we are proposing only a slight extension of our export and import plans for the coming year. But even this programme demands from the Trade Commissariat a considerable amount of elasticity and a number of measures calculated to increase exports. Inducements must be offered to export, provincial organs must find it to their advantage to take part in foreign trade, etc.

Comrades, I will now conclude the first part of my report and pass on to the question of the opposition.

(To be continued.)

## SACCO AND VANZETTI.

### **To the Determined Fight against Bourgeois Justice, against the Reign of Violence of Capitalism, for the Revolutionary Power of the Prole- tariat!**

To the Working Class of the Whole World!

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow, 25th August, 1927.

Sacco and Vanzetti have been executed. The monstrous sentence pronounced by an inhuman bourgeoisie has been carried out. Fuller, the faithful servant of the American bourgeoisie, a man who has risen to his position of Governor owing to his services as provocateur and strikebreaker to the bourgeoisie, has spit upon the protest of the workers of the whole world, and executed these victims of capital.

The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti is one link in the chain of the predatory capitalist offensive. The American bankers, with their judges and governors, were able to venture on this vile murder, secure in the weakness of the revolutionary movement in America, and thanks to the active menial services of the yellow leaders of the American Federation of Labour, headed by Mr. Green.

The working-class of the whole world has accepted the cold-blooded murder of Sacco and Vanzetti as a challenge to the proletariat. The conflict spreads and grows. The broadest masses of the people are drawn into the struggle. The efforts of the capitalists and their lackeys to suppress the movement, or to divert it into other currents, are in vain. The campaign against the American imperialists who have executed Sacco and Vanzetti is spreading in every direction, and is becoming a great international class movement. The power of the movement lies in the great breadth of its united front, which has been maintained in every country despite the sabotage of the reformists. The American money-bags and their lackeys feel the storm coming, and they are hastening

to buttress the pillars of capitalism and imperialism. The servile "Vorwärts" seeks to explain away the class vengeance of the American imperialists as a simple error of "justice, which is the foundation of the state", and at the same time supports Foch's slogan on the fight against the Soviet Union. The revolutionary struggle, carried on along a broad front by the world proletariat, can only be crowned with success if its point is directed not only against the immediate instigators of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, but against their conscious and unconscious servants, hangmen and obscurantists.

The Fascists and obscurants of all countries rejoiced in the hour when Saccon and Vanzetti were killed, for these were men who dared to fight against the moloch of capital. The French and English workers, in their gigantic demonstrations, leading to conflicts with the police and soldiery, and again the revolutionary workers in America, Australia, Germany and Poland, have uttered their first warning to the gleeful murderers: The fight must be continued at all costs. The solemn oath taken by the English workers, never to forget nor to forgive, but to fight on undaunted till capitalism is conquered, must be made the slogan of the united front of the working men and women of the world, of the working peasantry, of the oppressed peoples all over the earth.

The revolutionary struggle is raging in various parts of the world. The revolutionary troops in China continue their brave struggle against the united forces of the foreign imperialists and Northern militarists, and against the traitors and executioners of Wuhan and Nanking. The French workers, after a long interval, have taken up revolutionary street fighting again. In the hearts of the Vienna workers the remembrance still lives of the July rising, suppressed by the combined exertions of the Left social traitors and the Fascists. The workers of Germany remember the solemn pledge taken by the half million Red Front Fighters, to fight honorably and fearlessly under the banner of social revolution. The English workers are recovering from their severe defeat following their betrayal during the general strike, and are demonstrating in the streets.

The most urgent immediate task of the vanguard of the working class is to gather together all these revolutionary tendencies, to form them into one army for the decisive battle against bourgeois "justice" which tortures and executes proletarian fighters, against the rule of force of the imperialists and capitalists, and for the overthrow of the power of imperialism and capitalism, for the revolutionary power of the proletariat, for the United Socialist States of the whole world.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## Convert the Day of the Burial of Sacco and Vanzetti into a Day of Mobilising the Working Masses!

Appeal of the Communist International.

Moscow, 27th August 1927.

Tomorrow, the 28th August, the victims of the "democratic" justice of the American executioners will be buried. The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, who believed that capitalism could be overthrown by individual attacks upon representatives of capitalism, is an eloquent proof that the road to the emancipation of the workers is the struggle for revolutionary power on the part of the proletariat.

The E. C. C. I. calls upon all Communist Parties to make the funeral day of these victims of bourgeois class justice a day of the mobilisation of the working masses in meetings, and demonstrations for the fight against bourgeois justice, for the release of the prisoners of capital, against capitalism and imperialism, and for the power of the proletariat of the whole world.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## Fight for the Release of the Pioneers of the Class War!

Appeal of the Young Communist International.

Moscow, 27th August 1927.

To the working Youth of the whole world!

American imperialism has ignored the tremendous wave of international protest, and has executed Sacco and Vanzetti. This vile deed of American "justice" is a graphic illustration showing the working class the truth about American democracy. The murder of Sacco and Vanzetti shows that democracy in the United States is nothing else but the ruthless dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Nothing but the overthrow of the capitalist order and the establishment of the power of the working class can prevent the repetition of such murders. The first conclusion to be drawn from this execution is the necessity of preparing for the overthrow of the capitalist state of society.

The bourgeoisie, now openly preparing for a military attack on the Soviet Republic, is working feverishly to exterminate all the proletarian defenders of the socialist Fatherland in the capitalist countries. The bourgeois prisons are overflowing with proletarian fighters, among whom are the best of our Communist Youth movement. Reaction is plunging its claws into fresh victims. The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti is a signal to the Fascist murderers all over the world, a reinforcement of their tyranny.

The murder of Sacco and Vanzetti has aroused a movement among the working millions of the whole world. The murder of Sacco and Vanzetti is a blow dealt at the whole working class. Hundreds of thousands of workers announce their determination to fight against the class justice of those in power in the capitalist countries.

The murder of Sacco and Vanzetti has been made possible through the aid lent to the American executioners by the yellow reformist "leaders" of the American working class, whose "noble" example has been followed by the leaders of Amsterdam and the Second International in Europe. Therefore the mighty protest of the workers of the whole world must be converted into a declaration of war against these "leaders", whose support of the "democrats of the electric chair", and whose refusal to organise revolutionary mass action, are the real causes of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The spontaneous workers' demonstrations in all countries must be intensified into a mass campaign against class justice, and for the release of all the prisoners of class war. Organise memorial meetings for Sacco and Vanzetti everywhere on 28th August at 1 o'clock noon.

Working Youth of the world, fight for the release of the prisoners of the class struggle.

May the demonstrations at the International Youth Day give full expression to the indignation of the workers and their will that power should be in the hands of the working class.

The Presidium of the E. C. of the Young Communist International.

## Erect a Powerful Wall against the White Terror!

Appeal of the International Red Aid.

Moscow, 23rd August 1927.

The incredible has happened. All humanity is appalled with horror at this cruel and brutal murder. Sacco and Vanzetti have been executed!

For seven long years the American bourgeoisie and its hireling judges have fought their lying and pitiless fight against the lives of these two men. From the first moment of their arrest, bourgeois class justice was "clear" regarding the case, and was resolved that Sacco and Vanzetti should end in the electric chair. The class judges of the American bourgeoisie have sought every imaginable pretext, no matter how threadbare, in their efforts to throw a veil of "justice" over their



manipulation of the law. But humanity, whose feeling of right has never before been so brutally trampled underfoot as in this case of Sacco and Vanzetti, has torn the mask of hypocrisy from the face of American class justice. The cry of indignation at the preparation for the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti rose from millions of throats. And the cry of indignation at the savage challenge of the American class executioners is again a cry of millions, a cry at the execution of two human beings whose lives belonged to the fight for freedom, and who have therefore been sacrificed to the imperialist executioners.

The so-called "judges" have remained deaf to all appeals. All over the world the ambassadors and consuls of the United States of America, stigmatised by the shame of this deliberate and systematically prepared murder, have been forced to hide their faces before every right-thinking human being.

Two innocent victims have breathed their last in the electric chair, in order that American class justice might be freed from two witnesses of their disgraceful penal systems. The American executioners hoped to check the tide of indignation and anger all over the world by the mean artifice of first executing Sacco and Vanzetti, and then announcing the accomplished fact.

All of you who have been witnesses of this deed of bloodthirsty class justice, remember that the case of Sacco and Vanzetti is no exceptional case, but represents the system of bourgeois class justice. Thousandfold are the victims who have been condemned to death, with or without the aid of "justice". Tens of thousands of men and women have been immured behind prison walls by bourgeois class justice. Tens of thousands of men and women have been tortured by the executioners of capitalist society. Tens of thousands of men and women have been driven from "their" country, deprived of their right of asylum, and declared outlaws at the mercy of the waiting executioners. In every capitalist country to-day the bloodstained executioners of class justice lie in wait, and the White Terror lurks in ambush till the moment when, with increased strength, it can plunge its merciless claws into the humanity struggling for its freedom.

All of you who have added your voices to the protest against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, join the I. R. A., strengthen its ranks, build up a mighty wall against the continuation of the crimes of bourgeois class justice and the White Terror. Join your voices to those of the I. R. A.!

**Down with bourgeois class justice!**

**Down with the bloody system of exterminating the champions of liberty!**

**Down with the White Terror!**

**Release the political prisoners!**

**Demand unrestricted rights of asylum!**

**Long live the solidarity of all workers in the fight against bourgeois class justice and the White Terror!**

**Long live the International Red Aid!**

## **Farmers, Peasants, Join the Protest of the Workers.**

Appeal of the International Peasants' Council.

Moscow, 27th August 1927.

The Presidium of the International Peasants' Council has issued an appeal to the farmers of America and to the peasants of all countries. In this appeal we read:

The murder of Sacco and Vanzetti committed by the American rulers, signifies the outlawry of every movement for emancipation, not only among the workers, but especially among the farmers and peasants. The terror against the workers is the commencement of the ruthless offensive of the capitalists and landowners against the productive workers of the land.

The proletariat all over the world stigmatises the vile murder of Sacco and Vanzetti by meetings and demonstrations, by overwhelming mass protest.

Farmers and peasants, join your protests to those of the workers.

May the heroic death of Sacco and Vanzetti close the ranks of the workers and peasants more closely than ever.

The Presidium of the International Peasants' Council.

## **The Protest of the Toilers of the Soviet Union.**

Moscow, 23rd August 1927.

The news of the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti has roused profound indignation among the workers of the Soviet Union. Great meetings have been held in Moscow, Leningrad, Charkov, Kiev, Dnyepetrovsk and other towns, accompanied by impressive demonstrations. In the squares of Moscow the announcement by the loudspeakers of the execution was followed by the funeral march. Numerous telegrams of condolence were sent to the relations of Sacco and Vanzetti, expressing the sympathy and indignation felt at the tragic end of these victims of the barbarians of civilisation.

Numerous resolutions passed by the Moscow proletariat express indignation at the travesty of justice practised against innocent revolutionists in the "civilised country" of America, and add to their condemnation of the crime their conviction that the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti will close the ranks of the international proletariat more firmly than before, and give fresh impetus to the fight against capital. The resolutions call upon the workers to join the International Red Aid in thousands, and to take up the fight, under the leadership of the Comintern and the Communist Parties, for a happier life for humanity.

The resolutions passed by the proletariat of Kiev declare that the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti strikes the first note of the coming inexorable struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie which has committed this unheard of crime, this deed of blackest infamy. "We shall never forget the night of the 23. August."

The Executive Committee of the I. R. A. and the Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. publish appeals to the international proletariat. The appeal of the R. I. L. U. points out that whilst the leaders of reformism, under the pressure of the masses, entered protests against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, this action was not energetic enough, and its actual effect was to hinder and hold back the spontaneous movement against the bloodthirsty American bourgeoisie.

The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. calls for a protest against the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, and for preparation for the decisive battle against the accursed bourgeois order.

The Academy of Sciences held an extraordinary meeting, at which a protest resolution was passed expressing indignation at the execution, and full agreement with those who are fighting against all elements attempting to substitute real freedom by phrases about freedom.

The chairman of the American workers' delegation at present in Moscow, James Maurer, declared to representatives of the press that the delegation, like the millions of workers all over the world, is completely convinced of the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. Their execution is a crime, a ruthless act of class vengeance on the part of the American bourgeoisie. The proletariat of all countries, and in the first place the proletariat of America, have received a memorable lesson. And the words of this lesson are: Proletarians, organise yourselves for the fight and for the victory!

Moscow, 24th August 1927.

The protest movement in many towns of the Soviet Union against the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti has been a powerful demonstration of the international solidarity of the proletariat and an impressive proclamation of faithfulness to the Comintern and the C. P. S. U.

Meetings were again held in **Moscow, Leningrad**, and other cities, at which the speakers denounced the monstrous treachery of the bourgeois executioners, and called upon the workers to join the **International Red Aid**, to work with the greatest energy in its ranks, and to take part in the efforts for the defence of the **Soviet Union**.

The resolutions passed were given the power of decisions, and emphasised these slogans. Every works and factory found its own words of condemnation for the murderers, and its own words of appeal to the workers of the whole world to raise a fresh storm of protest, to close their ranks under the banner of the Comintern, and to fight against the social traitors of every political shade and tendency, who have done nothing to save Sacco and Vanzetti from the clutches of their hangmen.

200,000 workers took part in the demonstrations at **Leningrad**. Posters called upon the international proletariat to utter "a unanimous protest against this vile murder, and to set up the united front of the proletariat of the world". Meetings attended by both crews and officers were held on all the ships, and everywhere in the **Baltic fleet**. All the ships in the merchant harbour of **Leningrad** placed their flags half mast.

## The Reply of the Workers to the Murder of Sacco and Vanzetti.

By Michel HOLLAY (Paris).

Never has the world proletariat been so profoundly stirred in its million masses, never has the world experienced such a passionate storm of indignation against capitalist, reactionary class justice, as in these days after the murder of the two workers **Sacco and Vanzetti** which had been dragged out for seven long years.

The world proletariat which is experiencing to its own cost the terrible effects of the American methods of rationalisation, which after severe struggles was forced under and is still being forced under this economic yoke, the world proletariat instinctively felt that this vile murder threatens to become the beginning of a second stage, the stage of rationalised capitalist barbarity.

The international working class has instinctively perceived that all revolutionary workers in the prisons of the capitalist countries are threatened with the electric chair; for it knows that the methods of torture of the prison of Sing-Sing have already found eager imitators in Poland, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Italy etc. — imitators who will regard it as their immediate task to introduce this latest achievement of bourgeois class justice, the conversion of the former "death minute" into a chain of many "years of death".

The petty bourgeois democrats, social democrats and trade union bureaucrats talked of "murdering of justice", of "trampling underfoot the conscience of humanity"... But the slow torture to death of these two innocent anarchists, after the unexpiated murder of social democratic workers in Schattendorf, after the mass murders in Vienna, after the series of murders of so many Communist workers — all this, together with the close protection of the American Embassies by the police of the international capitalist class, has caused the international proletariat to realise that here it is something more than a "justice scandal", that here it is a system of political strangling of the working class. It was the realisation of this fact that caused the conscience of the international proletarian class to flame up.

The mass demonstrations in **Geneva**, where the workers stormed the Palace of the League of Nations and the American hotels, the blood-baths in **Leipzig and Halle**, the hundreds of thousands of workers who demonstrated in **Berlin, Hamburg** and other German towns, the enormous excitement in **Moscow, Leningrad, Charkow** and throughout the **Soviet Union**, the tremendous strike and protest movements in the **United States**, the general strike in **Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay**, the mass demonstrations, often accompanied by bloodshed, in **London, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Brussels, Liege, Oporto, Stockholm, Basle, Copenhagen**, the disturbances in **Sidney and Japan**, the burning of the American flag as a symbol of class justice by the **South African** workers, the storming of the American Consulate in **Casablanca (Morocco)**, the bloody mass demonstrations in the cities of **France**, the street fights in **Paris**, all

the protest demonstrations in thousands of towns in the world, where everywhere the class-conscious proletariat stood at the head, are a signal, a warning to the bourgeois class executioners: **No farther!**

That in many cities (**London, Geneva, Leipzig, Halle** etc.) and especially in **Paris**, the classical city of spontaneous outbreaks of popular indignation, it came to bloody fighting, is the expression of the tremendous excitement of the toiling population of the whole world. And if the bitterness in **Paris** and in the whole of **France** marked the highest point of the wave of international indignation, this is due to the energetic campaign which has been conducted for the past six years by the **Communist Party of France** for **Sacco and Vanzetti**, a campaign which made **Sacco and Vanzetti** brothers of every French worker and which at last swept along with it even the social democratic and Left bourgeois press. This indignation is due in some measure also to the increased class repression in the last few months against the French working class and its advance-guard, caused by the first attempts at rationalisation and the increased preparations for war.

After the postponement of the execution on the 11th of August, the press and agitation campaign of the C. P. of France set in with increased energy, while a considerable ebbing of the campaign was noticed to be in the social democratic and Left bourgeois press. In fact during these critical days the central organ of the Socialist Party of France, the "**Populaire**", commenced with a great set out its election campaign for May 1928!

The "**Humanité**" called upon the workers to be ready for action; not to allow themselves to be lulled by the "hope of a pardon". The revolutionary trade unions (C. G. T. U.) carried on an energetic agitation for the boycott of American goods and the sabotaging of the Congress of the American Legion.

They proposed to all proletarian organisations, including the reformist trade union central and the Socialist party of France, that a joint action be undertaken in the event of **Sacco and Vanzetti** being murdered. The "**Populaire**" and the "**Peuple**" (organ of the reformist C. G. T.) and its organisations, which were tremendously excited when, on the 8th of August, the C. G. T. U. organised on its own account an imposing strike of the entire advance-guard of the French working class, were now given the opportunity of demonstrating their international solidarity. But they, the centrals, rejected the proposal! For how deep this campaign for saving **Sacco and Vanzetti** from the clutches of their class enemies, how deep the slogans of the C. P. of France and the C. G. T. U. had penetrated the working masses, is proved by the great manifestations, the bloody street fights in the French towns; the will of the workers to continue the fight is proved by the measures which the social democratic town councils were compelled to adopt: they had to fly the flags on the town halls at half mast; they had to refuse the subsidies for the official reception of the American Legion. In fact the Left bourgeois "**Quotidien**" was compelled to adopt the slogan of the C. P. of France: "The festival is at an end!" (this refers to the festival to be held on the 9th September in honour of the American Legion), it wrote on the 24th August in its article.

"The festival is at an end", but the fight still goes on in France, and must go on in the whole world in order to liberate all our class comrades, who can still be saved from the prisons of the bourgeois States.

## The "Pravda" on the Execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Moscow, 24th August 1927.

With a sadistic cruelty of which only a degenerate class and **Vanzetti**:

With a sadistic cruelty of which only a degenerated class is capable, **Sacco and Vanzetti** have been kept in prison for seven years in constant expectation of the torture of the electric chair. **Sacco and Vanzetti** held anarchist views. But nothing confutes their theories so completely as their own fate. The

revolutionary movement, actually threatening capitalism, culminates neither in an anarchist "non-recognition" of power, nor in individual terror, nor in a passive "refusal to have anything to do with the State", but in an unwearied struggle of the proletariat to capture power.

The political significance of the Sacco and Vanzetti case, and the political import of the struggle of the workers in this special case, will not be recognised by those who fail to bring this execution of two American workers in connection with international reaction, with the present period of reactionary offensive against the proletariat, against the first workers' State, and against the Chinese revolution. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the indignation of the proletariat must not only be expressed in declamations on the "injustice" and "lack of objectivity" of the American courts of justice. The indignation of the proletariat must be guided into the path of the really proletarian struggle against the bases of capitalist rule.

Sacco and Vanzetti are not the first martyrs in the cause of the proletariat, nor will they be the last. The future will bring us even more frightful examples of bourgeois Terror.

Preparedness for the fight against this Terror means to work unweariedly for the unity of the international proletariat on the basis of the struggle against the offensive of capital, against the war danger, and against the treachery of the leaders of the rotting Amsterdam and Second Internationals. The insolent cruelty of the bourgeoisie cannot be averted so long as the forces of the international proletariat are scattered, and so long as the workers are led by the middlemen and lackeys of the bourgeoisie, who have not taken one single definite step towards the release of Sacco and Vanzetti but raise a loud outcry if the Soviet Union, in the interest of self defence, deals a blow at the White Guards.

The proletariat of the Soviet Union has vanquished the bourgeoisie in bloody battle, and knows from experience what bourgeois Terror is, especially when the bourgeoisie gives way to brute rage. The proletariat of the Soviet Union feels the approach of the tempest of imperialist war, and it recognises in this execution one link in the chain of the offensive of international capital, one more insolent derision of the protests and rights of the workers of the whole world by capital.

## CHINA

### The Insurrection of the Revolutionary Troops in Nan-Chang and their Advance on Kwantung.

By Tang Shin She.

The Wuhan Kuomintang leaders, who for a time played a revolutionary role, are now striving to be good and faithful followers of Chiang Kai-Shek. When they were engaged in a rivalry with Chiang Kai-Shek for power, they pursued the three political lines laid down by Sun Yat Sen and desired by the people; workers' and peasants' revolution, co-operation with the Communists and alliance with the Soviet Union. But they only pursued this policy from April to the end of May. Then they themselves worked systematically against this policy which they had hitherto pursued.

At first they declared that the workers' and peasant movement is at present passing through many infantile diseases. Then they proposed to "improve" the workers' and peasants' movement, and for this purpose to limit it for the time being. Later they demanded the temporary cessation of the workers' and peasants' movement and of political education in the army. In order to hasten the realisation of their plans, they arranged military actions, such as the coup in Changcha on the 20th of May and those in Kiukiang and Nanchang at the beginning of June.

As all these measures did not suffice to suppress the revolutionary population of Wuhan, the treacherous leaders of Wuhan caused Feng Yu Hsiang, in accordance with secret agreement at the Conference in Tschenchow and the Hsuechow Conference between Feng Yu Hsiang and Chiang Kai-Shek, to submit

the ultimatum demand to Wuhan that it abandon the policy of alliance with the Soviet Union, drive out the Communists, suppress the workers' and peasants' movement and dissolve the Wuhan government in which Communists were taking part. After this ultimatum they completely suppressed the workers' and peasants' movement, pointing out that otherwise Feng Yu Hsiang would march into the town with a powerful body of troops. The workers' defence corps in Wuhan was disarmed. The secret documents published by the Nanking government on the 12th of August show that negotiations between Wuhan and Nanking for the purpose of a union had already taken place in July through the mediation of Feng Yu Hsiang. Today the Wuhan people are already the open followers of Chiang Kai-Shekism.

The Wuhan leaders were unable to deceive the conscious revolutionary masses and true followers of Sun Yat Sen with the declaration that their defection had been "forced upon them". On the 1st of August the revolutionary soldiers and workers replied to this treachery with the revolt of Nanchang. Even though the revolt was crushed on the 7th of August the population has shown that the revolutionary movement is not suppressed, but is beginning to rise again.

Immediately following the defeat the revolutionary troops, armed with 20,000 bayonets, marched from Nanchang to the province of Kwantung, where the revolutionary flames are rising even higher. As the London newspapers have reported, the revolutionary soldiers have already arrived in Kwantung, together with the irregular troops from a force of 50,000 men. With the exception of the big towns and points of communications, power in Kwantung is for the overwhelming part still in the hands of the workers and peasants. In spite of the most fearful reign of terror, the reactionary regime of the generals, even in Canton and Swatow, is being continually shaken by the population. Assassinations and collisions between workers on the one side and troops and police on the other side are the order of the day.

The traders are extremely indignant at the regime of exploitation. On the 2nd of August 40,000 traders surrounded the government buildings in Canton and demanded a reduction of the taxes. When the traders remained round the buildings the whole afternoon and the following night, and on the next morning gave no signs of their intention to withdraw, the crowd was fired upon under the pretext that Communists were among it. In spite of this defeat, the traders, according to the reports of the Chinese newspapers, are still continuing to organise themselves.

In the whole province, especially in East Kwantung, the armed peasants and workers have formed themselves into regular bodies. The union of the fermenting revolutionary masses of Canton with the revolutionary and well-armed troops who are marching from Nanchang and who were recognised in the revolutionary army as being the bravest and best forces (the troops under the leadership of the Communist General Yeh Ting were members of the former so-called iron fourth army corps and the troops under Ho Lung's leadership contributed most to the great victories on the Honan front), will in a very short time lead to the capture of the old-revolutionary centre, Canton.

Nobody can deny that the mood of the population of the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi and Fukien is similar to that in Kwantung. The only difference is that the population of Kwantung is more experienced, while the movement in the other provinces is still somewhat young and only in the last few years experienced a sudden and tremendous advance. But the unbearable situation and the betrayal by the leaders of those teachings which they had first imparted to the population, will drive the revolutionary masses farther into the struggle. The character of the revolutionary movement has undergone a change; and this change is in favour of the revolution. Formerly it was the bourgeoisie and the generals who were the leaders, now it will be the proletariat.

The Kuomintang organisation of the Sun Yat Sen University in Moscow has issued a Manifesto declaring itself in favour of the Nanchang insurgents and promising them active support. Prominent Kuomintang leaders, such as the widow of Sun Yat Sen, Deng Yanda, the chief of the political department of the

national revolutionary army, **Wei Chen Chen**, Foreign Minister in the revolutionary government, and others, already in July announced their withdrawal from the front of the counter-revolutionary Wuhan leaders. They have openly denounced these leaders as betrayers of the teachings of Sun Yat Sen; they characterise the Wuhan government as a government which works only under the cloak of revolution; they declare their determination to set up the revolutionary united front in any case, and they wish to continue to advocate co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the close alliance with the Soviet Union. In spite of the treachery of the leaders and of the temporary set-back of the revolution, the Chinese people, numbering 400 Million, will continue to advance uninterruptedly along the way of revolution until it has achieved its national and social freedom.

## The Moscow Kuomintang Organisation to the Insurgents at Nanchang.

Moscow, 25. August 1927.

The Moscow Kuomintang organisation at the Sun Yat Sen university has issued a proclamation to the insurgent revolutionary troops at Nanchang. The proclamation appeals to the soldiers and officers in the following words:

"In rising against the Wuhan government, which has betrayed the interests of the people, you are accomplishing work for the revolution. Your rebellion may become the starting point of the further advance of revolution along the right path, and may open out fresh possibilities of struggle and victory for the four hundred millions of our people. Only an alliance with the masses of the insurgent workers and peasants can scatter the reactionary forces at work against us. The Moscow Kuomintang organisation expresses its fullest agreement and sympathy with you and your aims, and calls upon all Party organisations and sincere revolutionists to lend their active support to the rebellion.

## POLITICS

### The Struggle for Canadian Independence and the Danger of War.

By Stewart Smith.

The recent events in Canada, in connection with the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of the Dominion's Confederation, and the opening of "Peace Bridge", connecting Canada and the United States, which required the presence of two British princes and the English Prime Minister, have very great significance for the Canadian working class. For the first time in history the English Prime Minister comes to a Dominion while holding office, and a bridge which has already been in service for six months is conveniently closed and ceremoniously reopened by the English Prime Minister, when things have reached a climax at Geneva. The workers must not fail to understand the true meaning behind these perfunctory ceremonies.

The first lesson to be learned from these events is the complete political bankruptcy of the Canadian bourgeois politicians, in the struggle for Canadian Independence. Premier MacKenzie King was elected a year ago on a programme of Canadian autonomy, Senate Reform, and several concessions to the workers, such as old age pensions, reform of the criminal code, etc. Since that time he has failed to carry out so much as the smallest part of this programme. His Old Age Pensions Scheme is one of the worst enacted by any government in the world; and all other measures promised to the workers were vetoed by the Senate, which King never had any serious intention of reforming. At the Imperial Conference, he accepted the position of "Equal status within the Empire". And finally, in the recent celebrations of Canada's jubilee, King declared that "at no time has Canada been more loyal to the Crown".

Any illusions that the liberal politicians of the Dominions may have created among the workers as to the revolutionary character of their words on "autonomy", "equal status", etc., have now been finally destroyed. Previous to Canada's Confederation, the revolutionary role of the Canadian bourgeoisie had already been enacted. The Insurrectionist Party of that time declared of the British, "they have spurned our petitions, involved us in their wars, excited feelings of animosity, bestowed millions of our lands on a company of Europeans, and ruled as Ireland has been ruled to the advantage of persons in other lands and the prostration of our energies as a people". During the period, which the bourgeoisie of Canada is now celebrating, the antagonism to British Imperialism have turned into an "imperialist partnership", in which the Dominion bourgeoisie plays second fiddle to the much more powerful imperialist forces of Great Britain. From a revolutionary class, struggling for a constitutional government, the bourgeoisie has become reactionary and imperialist. With the granting of control of external affairs, the exercise of treaty powers and representation in foreign countries by the last Imperial Conference, the liberal politicians of the Dominions cease even to use such phrases as "national independence", and begin to speak of "the community of free British nations". That the bourgeoisie of the Dominions is utterly incapable of leading a struggle for separation from the Empire, non-participation in British wars, and the establishment of a Republican government is the first lesson that must be learned from the recent events.

The policy of the liberal politicians, who formerly spoke so loudly of "Canadian autonomy", now threatens the Canadian working class with implication in three immediate possibilities of war:

**MacKenzie King's break with the Soviet Union**, in spite of his declaration that he had positively no reason for doing so, indicates his willingness to accept the dictates of the "senior partner" in the "imperial partnership" on one of the main questions of previous dispute, foreign relations. King's anxiety to have a Canadian representative at Washington in order to facilitate trade relations with America almost brought the question of Canada's imperial relations to a severe crisis. However, on the question of relations with the Soviet Union, in spite of the substantial benefits accruing to the Canadian bourgeoisie from these relations, King has followed British Imperial policy without a moment's hesitation.

Furthermore, if the King Government stands on an "equal status" within the Empire, the King Government is equally responsible with the British Government for the war against the people of China. That the King Government has not sent troops to China is not because of its unwillingness to do so, but because England has no necessity for reinforcements from that source.

It is a piece of crude historical irony, that one hundred years of peace between England and America should be celebrated by the opening of the "Peace Bridge", connecting Canada and America, at the very moment that negotiations between the two countries on the question of naval armaments reached an open rupture. One thing cannot fail to be clear to every Canadian worker: that in spite of the hundred years of peace, the contradictions between England and America now threaten war. It is not peculiar that these contradictions find very striking expression in Canada, in the form, first of Canada selling wheat to England to purchase industrial products from America and second in the form of the Domination of Canada, a British Dominion, by American capital. It would be along the Canadian border that the first open hostilities between Britain and America would take place.

This shows where the King Government's policy of "equal status" and "unqualified loyalty to the Crown" is leading.

Both of the leading Canadian politicians understood very well at the time of the elections a year ago, that the masses of the Canadian workers, the large French masses of Canada and the pacifist farmers stand solidly against Canadian implication in any British wars. King was clever enough to give a vague impression that his policy of Canadian autonomy, meant freedom from responsibility for British foreign policy. Meighen, the conservative leader made a political blunder, which cost him his political career. He declared on the question of war:

"The Government would have to act on its judgment, but before there was anything in the way of participation involving the dispatch of troops, the will of the people of Canada should first be obtained."

Both of these politicians understood also very well that the moment of the declaration of war comes as a surprise to the workers, to the masses of the people, that the French masses who rioted against the last war must be taken by surprise, that the masses of the farmers must be worked into a frenzy with surprise propaganda. Both of these politicians remember very well that the Canadian troops, which were to be shipped to Russia during the blockade refused to board the ship, and had to be taken aboard under special armed guard. The most important lesson that the Canadian masses must now learn is that the policy of King, far from freeing Canada from implication in British foreign policy, places Canada at war with China and immediately threatens to draw Canada into a war with the Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Soviet Union.

The struggle against war is synonymous with the struggle for Canadian independence. The struggle of the Canadian workers against British Imperialism, against the blood thirsty war of the "community of free British Nations" with the oppressed people of China, against the preparations by British Imperialism of war against the Workers' Socialist Republic, the international Fatherland of the working class, the Soviet Union — these find true expression for the Canadian workers only in the form of a completely independent government in Canada, capable of resisting British imperialism on the one hand, by its alliance with the British working class, and American Imperialism on the other hand, by its alliance with the American working class. The struggle of French masses of Canada for national autonomy within Canada, and the struggle of Canada itself for complete independence from Great Britain is now clearly to be directed against the very liberal politicians, who have been deceiving the people far too long with sham revolutionary phrases.

## The Postponement of the Franco-Spanish Negotiations on Tangier.

By Jar (Madrid).

The Franco-Spanish negotiations over the Tangier statute have been postponed to the beginning of October. According to a communiqué that has been issued, it is not a question of an impasse having been reached, though it is hinted that an interruption of the proceedings was necessary in view of the impossibility of the French negotiators M. de Beaumarchais and De Saint Quentin, admitting the claims of General Primo de Rivera as contained in the Spanish Memorandum. Primo de Rivera's communiqué, which was handed to the press the same day negotiations were postponed, stated that "postponement was due to the summer heat, which rendered it necessary for the premiers of both countries to take a holiday". Nevertheless, one can read between the lines that the Spanish dictator is not very pleased at the way negotiations were shaping.

The postponement of negotiations came as a surprise to everybody. A few days prior to the postponement Primo de Rivera was expressing himself very optimistically on the question. "La Nacion", the organ of Primo de Rivera, stated on the 25th of July that owing to M. Briand's return to ministerial work, France was going to give an immediate reply to the Spanish Memorandum on Tangier.

In order to promote negotiations on Tangier the Spanish government planned King's Alfonso's thirteenth trip to Paris in June. None of Primo de Rivera's political manoeuvres achieved satisfactory results; negotiations were carried on month after month, but the Franco-Spanish Conference in Paris was a failure.

Primo de Rivera had been preparing for these negotiations since August 1926. Before officially raising the question, he started a campaign in order to win public opinion. Through the columns of the imperialist paper A. B. C. he made violent declarations against France. At that time Abd-el-Krim's surrender and the Franco-Spanish alliance were recent events.

Primo de Rivera believed that the most appropriate moment had arrived to further the imperialist aspirations of the Africanista League.

The Spanish government's proposals for the settlement of the Tangier question are tantamount to complete Spanish control of the town of Tangier and its incorporation into the Spanish zone. Spain proposed to give solemn assurances and undertakings to maintain the permanent neutrality of Tangier and to grant equal treatment to the subjects of all the Powers. The entire administration of Tangier with few exceptions would be Spanish.

The Spanish imperialists pointed out that during the Morocco war Tangier was the headquarter of Abd-el-Krim, and that his partisans made use of the international zone. In 1925 the Treaty of Madrid was signed putting an end to this state of affairs, and consequently no fresh measures were taken. But Primo de Rivera's government wants the absolute control of Tangier; the Spanish imperialists consider the Riff problem to be entirely solved, and in order to perpetuate the situation, Tangier should be incorporated into the Spanish protectorate zone.

It is perfectly true that the Spanish troops have advanced farther into the Riff than they have ever been before; it is also true that there is no serious fighting at present; but this does not mean that the Morocco war is at an end. The "pacification" of the Spanish zone was not due to brilliant military victories, but was achieved by wholesale bribing of the Cabyles' chiefs. The Riffians will again fight for the independence of their country as soon as they think they can do so with some chance of success.

Primo de Rivera declared at an interview with press reporters that before renewing negotiations in September the Spanish government would conduct some sort of negotiations with the British and Italian governments. The Spanish government wants the support of the English for this new move. Primo de Rivera knows that Italy will support his proposals on the Tangier question, because Italy is anxious to intervene in the Morocco question.

France is not prepared to satisfy the aspirations of the Spanish delegates at Paris. The French government is ready to grant minimum concessions on Tangier in return for compensations by Spain in Rio de Oro. But Primo de Rivera is not prepared to give way; his sole aim and desire is the complete Spanish control of Tangier and its incorporation in the Spanish zone.

The postponement of the Franco-Spanish negotiations on Tangier means strained relations between France and Spain on the Morocco problem. Having failed in his home policy, Primo de Rivera is seeking to fulfil the aims of the Spanish imperialists in international policy. The failure of both policies is complete and obvious.

## ECONOMICS

### Trust Formation in the Artificial Silk Industry.

By H. L. (Berlin).

A new imperialistic war is casting its shadow before it. All the industries, which are immediately connected with weapons and munitions, are now flourishing. On the day on which war breaks out again they will experience a huge increase in their profits.

The imperialists prefer to hide their preparations for war under harmless titles. One of these "harmless" industries is the artificial-silk industry. Very few people know that the production of artificial silk is closely related to the production of dynamite. Both artificial silk and dynamite are made from nitro-cellulose. At any moment the process of artificial-silk production can be interrupted and the production of dynamite begun.

The artificial-silk industry is one of the very few branches of industry of German post-war imperialism which have expanded greatly; since the war it has increased by 660 per cent.

How are we to explain this enormous expansion? Is it a question of a new, virile departure of capitalism which flouts our conception of the relativity of capitalist stabilisation?

It was only after the war that technical improvements enabled the chemical industry to manufacture usable tissue at a low cost. A revolution began on the textile market. Cotton and silk are being consistently elbowed out by artificial silk, which is cheaper, if not so durable. So far, it cannot be said to what extent this supplanting of other textiles by artificial silk will proceed.

But this fact alone cannot explain the great rise in the artificial-silk industry. As a matter of fact the artificial-silk industry has been reared on big subsidies from the State. The interest, which the imperialist States display in this particular industry is comprehensible, if we bear in mind the close relation between the manufacture of artificial silk and the production of explosives.

Let us examine the economic significance of the artificial-silk industry in times of peace.

Thanks to its price policy artificial silk could compete favourably with other textiles. A table from the economic section of the "Frankfurter Zeitung" shows the price development of cotton and of silk:

	Middle of 1914	End of 1926
	Marks	
1 kg of artificial silk cost . . . . .	14.—	11.—
1 kg of cotton yarn, 36, cost . . . . .	2.—	3.49
1 kg of silk organzine, 20/22, cost . . . . .	46.—	73.46

Thus silk and cotton have become considerably dearer since 1914 whereas artificial silk has become cheaper. Artificial silk is one of the very few articles which does not follow the general movement of the price index, but runs counter to it.

The average price of all textiles is to-day 45 per cent higher than it was in 1914. Taking the index figure for the middle of July, 1914, as 100, the index figure for textiles for the end of 1926 is 145. From these data, which show the general price development of cloth, we can see in what measure artificial silk has become cheaper.

The artificial-silk industry is very firmly organised both nationally and internationally. A small number of companies control the artificial-silk market. The most important countries manufacturing artificial silk are the United States, Italy, Germany and Great Britain. In recent years these countries produced the following quantities (millions of kilograms):

	1922	1924	1926
United States . . . . .	11	15	27
Italy . . . . .	0	7	12
Germany . . . . .	3	10	11
Great Britain . . . . .	8	11	10.5

Artificial-silk production throughout the world amounted to (in millions of kilograms):

1913	1922	1924	1926
11	35	64	102

This immense development of the artificial-silk industry, as we can see from the table showing the output of the various countries, has proceeded with varying rapidity in the different countries. The German and Italian artificial-silk industries have developed at an astonishing rate. The German industry was helped by inflation. This was also the case with the Italian industry, which made very rapid strides in the year 1926. It advanced from the fourth position — overtaking Germany and Great Britain — to the second position. This enormous progress, attributable chiefly to export business, caused in the Italian industry a serious crisis, from which it emerged only by fusion with British and American companies.

Large trusts control production. In America two companies are in control: "The Viscose Co." and "Dujont Rayon Co.". In Europe the whole production of artificial silk is governed by three big companies, namely, "Courtaulds Limited", Great Britain; the "Vereinigten Glanzstoffabriken", Germany, combined with the "Bemberg A. G.", and "Snia Viscosa", Italy.

In Germany the "Vereinigten Glanzstoffabriken" have combined with the J. P. Bemberg A. G. This group has 85 per cent of the whole of the German artificial-silk industry in its hands. At the same time, this group is connected through a new concern (Azeta, Berlin) with the I. G. Farbenindustrie. The artificial-silk industry and the chemical industry, it will be seen, work hand in hand. By this means, the artificial-silk industry is at the same time most intimately connected with the international explosive trusts, Nobel and Tubize.

The greatest concentration is that shown by the British artificial-silk industry; Courtaulds Limited controls 90 per cent of the English mercerised-cloth industry.

Snia Viscosa, Italy, waged a determined fight against Courtaulds Limited, but was finally defeated. The two trusts have now combined. At the same time, the German artificial-silk industry was brought into this trust.

All the European artificial-silk trusts are very closely connected. They are also intimately connected with the American artificial-silk industry. Courtaulds Limited co-operates with the biggest American artificial-silk trust, the Viscose Company. The German firm, Bemberg A. G., has recently floated big new companies in America. It has — in conjunction with the Vereinigten Glanzstoffabriken — founded in North America the American Bemberg Corporation.

Within the last few days the Press has reported great augmentations of capital in the German artificial-silk industry. The share quotations of the German artificial-silk companies have reached a height on the German Stock Exchange which astonishes even experienced speculators.

The Vereinigte Glanzstoffabriken and Bemberg A. G. have increased their capital by 30 million marks. In this connection the shareholders raked in a profit amounting to several hundred per cent dividend. Although the artificial-silk industry is one of those which distribute especially high dividends, these extraordinary presents were nevertheless made. The new shares were issued to the old shareholders at a price of 120, while the shares were quoted on the Exchange at 760. On every share the shareholders therefore "earned" more than 600 per cent without doing a hand's turn. These business practices clearly show that the artificial-silk industry has netted such enormous profits during the last few years that it can now make presents of millions without misgiving.

We have observed from the example of Italy that, in spite of all its success, the artificial silk industry meets with considerable difficulty. The limited purchasing power of the working masses in all countries and all parts of the world must shortly put an end to the development of this new industry. The European artificial-silk industry is trying to get over the difficulty of finding markets for its products by further measures of rationalisation. Only the most modern factories are to continue manufacturing. The others are to cease production, which means that thousands of workers are to be thrown out of work.

That the creation of trusts makes economic progress impossible is shown by an article in the "Kölnische Zeitung" of February 1927. It runs as follows: "The Snia Viscosa had undoubtedly to bind itself not to exceed a certain maximum output and also to maintain certain prices". It is, therefore, evident that in the artificial silk industry, too, the creation of trusts leads to restriction of output and price augmentation. The parasitic character of monopolistic capitalism is displayed particularly in its latest creations, its newest industries and inventions.

Let us sum up: The artificial silk industry has flourished enormously during the last few years. The ring of international trusts is now complete. The artificial silk industry may still have certain possibilities of extension. But the typical symptom of post-war imperialism, namely, the restricted purchasing power of the working masses and the lack of sales markets, will be fateful for this industry also.

## Plenum of the C. C. and C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

### The Party Nuclei of the C. P. S. U. for the Decisions of the Plenum.

Moscow, 27th August 1927.

Expressions of opinion on the decisions of the Joint Plenum are being received constantly from the Party organisations. The Party nuclei unreservedly approve of all the decisions of the Plenum, and are indignant at the anti-Party platform of the "fifteen". They demand the expulsion from the Party of the signatories of this slanderous document, unless they admit their errors and declare themselves prepared to carry out all the decisions of the Party.

### Appeal of the C. C. of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union for the Decisions of the Plenum.

Moscow, 28th August 1927.

The "Pravda" publishes an appeal from the C. C. of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union to all organisations and members of the League. In this appeal the C. C. of the Young Communist League expresses unreserved agreement with the decisions of the Joint Plenum of the C. C. and the C. C. C. and calls upon all young communists to support these decisions, to study them well, and to carry them out energetically.

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

### Marshal Foch Openly Calls for War on the Soviet Union.

Leading Article of the "Izvestiya", 24th August 1927.

Marshal Foch has made declarations, the importance of which it is impossible to over-estimate. The leader of the French army, the chief of the military staff of the most powerful military State and at the same time one of the most influential politicians of bourgeois Europe, sets forth with cynical candour the plans of the imperialist governments regarding the Soviet Union. We must accord due attention to the speech of Foch, which, for the rest, completely confirms the assertions of the Soviet press as to the danger of war against the Soviet Union. In addition the declaration of Marshal Foch provides valuable material for becoming acquainted with the plans of the enemies of the Soviet Union.

Foch gives a short "characterisation" of the Soviet structure, whereby he betrays a political illiterary and ignorance of the most elementary political conceptions as it is to be expected in the case of a genuine militarist and professional soldier. After having spoken of the "destructive aims of the tyranny of the Soviets", Foch declares that this tyranny may confront the West with the necessity of setting up a united front against the Soviet Union. In order, however, that there shall be no doubt that the question of the united front has already been raised, Foch declares that already in the year 1919 he proposed that "bolshevism be put an end to in this manner".

The references to the year 1919 have a special importance, coming from the mouth of Foch. It follows from his words that, in his opinion, already in the year 1919 military intervention was a necessary means of combating the Soviet Union, and that also in the year 1927 intervention in once more the question of the day. It is perfectly clear that according to the opinion of Foch the failure of intervention in 1919 serves as a stimulus to an intervention in the year 1927.

On the basis of what programme does the greatest war specialist of Europe propose conducting a war on the Soviet Union? As is to be seen from the declarations of Foch, the preparation of the military offensive against the Soviet Union is to consist of three factors. The first and most important is the strengthening of the Entente by the creation of an Anglo-Franco alliance. This idea of the French Marshal shows the nature of his general political conception, which involves Europe's return to the situation which existed in the first years following the war. The second important factor in the preparation for intervention is obviously the arming of the border States against the Soviet Union, as was proposed by Foch already eight years ago. The third essential point in Foch's programme is Germany's alignment in the anti-Soviet front. Foch demands from Germany that it shall participate in the carrying out of plans, which obviously are to be worked out in secret by the French and English general staffs.

Contrary to all what the politicians of bourgeois Europe have said, Foch declares that "Germany was accepted into the League of Nations in order that it should join the united front against the Soviet Union". And in order that it shall be perfectly clear that the public opinion of the Soviet Union has quite correctly estimated the "sprit of Locarno", Foch expresses the hope that England will bring Germany into the anti-Soviet front. But in preparing for war against the greatest country of the world, Foch bases his plans upon the coalition of a number of countries, but at the same time considers as equally necessary the economic preparation. Foch insists, therefore, that commercial circles of the European countries shall be deprived of the possibility of maintaining economic relations with the Soviet Union. Foch ignores the most essential economic interests of the peoples of Europe and of his own country. He passes over the decisions of the World Economic Conference, the participants at which, in spite of their class relationship with the "esteemed" Marshal, without exception estimated the economic situation of Europe better than he and pronounced themselves in favour of a peaceful co-existence of the capitalist countries and of the Soviet Union. Foch seems to imagine that war has already begun, and that therefore all interests must be subordinated to the single aim, fight against the enemy; this enemy is, in the eyes of Foch and all his fellow-warriors, the country of the Soviets.

It is probable that there are many politicians in Europe who will not peruse the declarations of Foch with particular pleasure. This is not because they are not already familiar with his plans, or because they come as a surprise. If Foch allows himself so much frankness in his public declarations, it is not difficult to imagine what ideas he expresses and what concrete proposals he makes in his secret and semi-secret speeches and projects. The speech of Foch must call forth a certain "uneasiness" among the members of the governments of France, England and Germany, because he undermines all the plans of "co-operation", of "consolidation of peace" etc. by means of which the European press diverts the attention of the broad masses of the workers. The cynical declaration of the French Marshal is at the same time a clear proof of the baselessness of the post-Locarno hopes of Germany, which have not yet been completely liquidated. Germany's entry into the League of Nations, as we see, was not intended as a step towards freeing Germany from the fetters of Versailles, but on the contrary is a treaty which imposes upon Germany fresh obligations which run counter to its interests.

The only thing which can prevent or change the carrying out of the war plans of Foch lies in that great contradiction which exists between his plans and the practical interests of European economy and the economy of the various European States. This factor weakens to a certain extent the practical importance of the declarations of Foch, in spite of the fact that, thanks to this position, he undoubtedly expresses the standpoint of the governing circles in his own country and the mood of his influential friends, before all of those in the English government.

The tendency to convert the States bordering on the Soviet Union into military vassals of the Entente is in no way in harmony with the strivings of these States for independence. Hence the policy of Marshal Foch is bound to encounter serious difficulties, if not in all, then in some of the border States. Foch's plan, which stands in the way of Germany's struggle

for re-establishing its international position and which at the same time demands from Germany its abandonment of an independent policy in the East, must likewise encounter an energetic opposition in Germany.

Owing to these circumstances, it will be difficult to carry out **immediately** the programme of Foch as laid down by him. But that is not the question. What is important is that a programme exists at all, and that those European circles, those European governments which really wish to oppose the realisation of the dangerous plans of the French militarist, must not confine themselves to indignation or to disapproving of the standpoint of Foch; they must fight against the carrying out of this standpoint, even in its concealed forms.

As regards public opinion in the Soviet Union, it did not need the declarations of Foch in order to realise the importance of the fight against the danger of war. But we see in the declarations of Foch a fresh and important revelation of the present programme of bellicose imperialism and an important indication from what quarter a new military collision is threatening.

## On the Fight against Social Chauvinism.

By N. Lenin.

**Note:** — The following article, which was written by Lenin on the 1st of June 1915, criticises the political line of the Women's Conference held at Berne, the first international socialist gathering after the outbreak of the war. Today, when the outbreak of a fresh war is immediately near, it is necessary for every Communist to study the lessons of the fight of the Bolsheviki, under Lenin's leadership, against social chauvinism in its open and concealed forms, and also at the same time to study Lenin's criticism of the mistakes which even many revolutionary internationalists made at that time. Ed.

The most interesting and latest material regarding this topical question has been supplied by the Women's International Socialist Conference recently held in Berne. We will deal here with one aspect of the question.

Representatives of the women's organisations of the Russian Organisation Committee, Dutch women from Troelstra's Party, Swiss women from the organisations which the "Berner Tagwacht" sharply attacks on account of their too Left attitude, a French representative, who did not wish to enter into any dispute on any important question with the official party (which, as is known, adopts a social-chauvinist standpoint), English women who are hostile to the idea of a clear separation of pacifism from revolutionary proletarian tactics — they all united with the "Left" German social democrats on a resolution. The representatives of the women's organisations of the Central Committee of our Party dissociated themselves from them and preferred to remain isolated for the time being than to participate in such a bloc.

Wherein consists the essence of the difference of opinion? What fundamental and general political importance has this difference of opinion?

At the first glance the "middle-course" resolution which unites the opportunists and a portion of the Left appears to be very suitable and correct. The war is recognised to be an imperialist war; the idea of defence of native country is rejected; the workers are summoned to mass demonstrations etc. etc. One could believe that the only difference between it and our resolution was that ours contained some sharper expressions such as "traitor", "opportunism", "withdrawal from the bourgeois Ministries" etc.

There is not the least doubt that this will be the standpoint adopted by those who will criticise the delegates of the women's organisations of the Central Committee of our party for having dissociated themselves from the rest of the delegates.

One only needs to consider the matter attentively and not to confine oneself to the "formal" recognition of this or that truth, in order to perceive the complete untenability of such a criticism.

At the conference there collided together two judgments of the war and of the tasks of the international, two tactics of the proletarian parties. The one view is: There has been no collapse of the International; there exist no great and serious hindrances to a return from chauvinism to Socialism; there is no strong "inner" enemy in the shape of opportunism, nor has it committed any direct, indubitable and open betrayal of socialism. Hence the conclusion: we do not wish to damn anybody; we wish to grant an amnesty to the deniers of the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions; we wish to limit ourselves to the advice, steer to the Left and summon the masses to demonstrations.

The other view of all these questions is the exact contrary. There is nothing more injurious and damaging to the cause of the proletariat than the continuation of party diplomacy towards the opportunists and social chauvinists. The resolution of the majority was acceptable to the opportunists and followers of the present official parties because it is permeated through and through with the spirit of diplomacy. The working masses who are at present led by the official social patriots will be duped by this diplomacy. The working masses will be given the thoroughly erroneous idea that the present social democratic parties, together with the present governments, are capable of changing their course and of adopting a correct course in place of the wrong one.

That is not the case. That is a profound and extremely dangerous error. The present social democratic parties and their governments are incapable of seriously altering their course. As a matter of fact, everything will remain as before, and the "left" wishes expressed in the majority resolution will remain pious wishes (the followers of the party of Troelstra or of the present French party leadership, with their correct political instinct, realised this and therefore voted for this resolution). The summons to the masses to demonstrations can acquire a practical, real, serious importance only with the active support of the present social democratic party leadership.

Can one expect such support? Obviously not. As is known, such an appeal will encounter a bitter (and for the greater part concealed) counter-action on the part of the governments and will by no means receive their support.

If one were to say that straight out to the workers, then the workers would know the truth. They would know that for the realisation of the "left" wishes a fundamental change in the course of the social democratic parties is required, that an obstinate fight against the opportunists and their centrist friends is necessary. But the workers are now being lulled with left wishes because people disdain to name plainly and clearly the evil, without combating which these wishes cannot be fulfilled.

The diplomatic leaders, the originators of the chauvinistic policy in the present social democratic party, will know how to make excellent use of the weaknesses, the lack of firmness and definiteness of the resolution of the majority. As skilled parliamentarians they will divide the roles among themselves; the one — Kautsky & Co. — will say: "serious" arguments have not been taken into consideration, have not been investigated — we wish now to place the discussion on a broader basis. The others will say: See, were we not right when we said that there exist no profound differences of opinion, when the followers of the Troelstra party and of the Guesde-Sembar party come to an agreement with the German Left?

A women's conference ought not to have helped Scheidemann, Haase, Kautsky, Vandervelde, Hyndman, Guesde, Sembar, Plechanov etc. to lull the working masses, but should have declared determined war on opportunism. Only then would there have been the practical result — not the hope of an "improvement" of the above-mentioned "leaders", but the rallying of forces for the hard and severe struggle.

Let us take the question of the violation of the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions by the opportunists and "centrists"; there lies the crux of the whole matter! Let us face the matter plainly and clearly, without diplomacy.

Foreseeing the approaching war, the International met together and unanimously decided, in the event of the outbreak of war, to "accelerate the collapse of capitalism", to work in the sense of the Commune and of the October and December revolution of 1905 (that is the exact expression of the Basle resolution!!!), to work in the spirit that, for the workers of one country to fire on the workers of another country shall be branded as a "crime".



Here the line of action in an international, proletarian, revolutionary spirit is quite plainly prescribed; so plainly in fact that it could not be expressed more plainly without overstepping the bounds of legality.

Then there came the war, the very war which had been so plainly foreseen at Basle. The official parties acted in the exact contrary sense: not as internationalists, but as nationalists; bourgeois and not proletarian; not as revolutionaries but as arch-opportunists. If we say to the workers: a direct betrayal of the cause of socialism has been committed, then with these words we reject at one stroke all subterfuges and excuses, all sophism à la Kautsky and Axelrod. We point out quite clearly the whole depth and strength of the evil; we summon the workers to fight and not to reconcile themselves to the evil.

And the resolution of the majority? Not a word of condemnation of the traitors, not a syllable on opportunism; a simple repetition of the idea of the Basle resolution!!! As if nothing serious had happened, — it was in fact only a trifling accidental error; it suffices to repeat the old decision; a trifling difference of opinion, not involving any principle has arisen, it suffices to patch it up!!!

This is a direct scorning of the decisions of the International, a scorning of the workers. The social chauvinists would in fact like nothing better than a simple repetition of the old decisions in order that nothing would be really altered. That is, at bottom, a tacit and hypocritically masked amnesty for the social chauvinist adherents of the majority of the present parties. We know that there are a great many "amateurs" who would like to follow this course and to confine themselves to a few radical phrases. These people have no business with us. We are following another path and we shall follow another path; we wish to promote the labour movement and the building up of the workers' party by action, in the spirit of irreconcilability towards opportunism and social chauvinism.

A part of the German women delegates were obviously afraid of a clearly outspoken resolution, out of considerations relating exclusively to the rate of development of the fight against chauvinism within a single, that is to say, their own party. But such arguments were obviously out of place and erroneous. For the international resolution does not mention either the rate or the concrete conditions of the fight against social chauvinism in the individual countries. In this sphere the autonomy of the individual parties is unchallenged. It was a question of proclaiming from the international tribune the irrevocable breach with social chauvinism along the whole line, in the entire character of social democratic work. But instead of this, the majority resolution again repeated the old error, the error of the II International, which diplomatically cloaks opportunism and the divergence between words and deeds. As we have said, we shall not follow this path.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Conference of the British Minority Movement.

By R. Page Arnot (London).

1. The continued crisis of British imperialism gives a special importance to the Annual Conference of the Minority Movement held in London on 27th and 28th August.

The Minority Movement in British Trade Unionism is not itself a trade union, but consists of trade unionists whose object is to make their unions organs of the class-struggle: it is built up of individuals and of branches of Unions, co-operative guilds, shop stewards' councils, committees of the Unemployed; it has grown out of the previously existing militant committees holding the standpoint of the Red International of Labour Unions and is itself a part of the Red International. In its present shape it dates from 1924 and this was its fourth annual conference.

2. The first three conferences met in a period of rising hopes for the workers' struggle. This conference meets in a period when defeat of the General Strike and of the heroic miners' struggle, was followed at first by the Industrial Peace propa-

ganda on the part of trade union leaders; and later, when the workers' spirit had been undermined, and when the concentrated attack of the Baldwin Government on the trade unions had been launched, by a propaganda of "*sauve qui peut*".

3. If the trade union leaders showed themselves unable or unwilling to fight against the bourgeoisie, it was just in this same period that they had shown themselves most determined and tenacious in their fight against all revolutionary ideas, policies and organisations. In particular the Minority Movement had been attacked by the General Council lest, as the official spokesman of the General Council said at the Bournemouth Trades Union Congress in 1926: "within a short period the minority movement might become the majority movement. This was followed by a threat to Trades Councils that they would not be recognised by the General Council if they had any relations with the Minority Movement. And this threat was conveyed by the "presentation of the document", a procedure almost exactly similar to that used by employers fifty years ago bent on extirpating trade unionism. One trade Union after another have threatened to penalise their branches or have actually done so if they attend Minority Movement Conferences. A deliberate campaign for the suppression of minority opinion in British trade unionism was thus carried out during the winter months. It was hoped that this fourth conference would show the collapse of the revolutionary movement.

4. The Conference was attended by some 750 delegates from every section of British industry, especially from transport workers, building workers and metal workers. The growth of the Minority Movement as shown by the number of delegates at their four conferences is as follows:

August 1924 . . . . .	271 delegates
" 1925 . . . . .	683 "
" 1926 . . . . .	802 "
" 1927 . . . . .	718 "

Thus, in spite of the terrific set-back in the mining areas and in the face of an attempt at suppression, the Minority Movement was able to reach a figure actually higher than in the weeks that followed Red Friday two years before, and only inferior to the figure reached at the high water mark of the miners' struggle. This means an actual advance and development. It means that, not when the wind is fair, but in a new and difficult period of struggle hundreds and thousands of British proletarians are compelled by the force of circumstances to take up the revolutionary standpoint.

5. The Agenda of the Conference was comprised of five main items.

1. The Situation of British Capitalism and the Tasks of the Trade Union Movement.
2. The Trade Union Act and the policy of the Trade Unions.
3. Report on China by Tom Mann.
4. Anglo-Russian Advisory Committee.
5. International Trade Union Unity.

The first question was thus the establishment of a general fighting front, and in the speeches that followed in its support there was shown not merely the spirit of resistance, but the spirit of workers who only a few months after a heavy defeat are already planning for the next struggle with the bourgeoisie. The resolution covered the campaign for 100 per cent trade unionism; reorganisation of Trades Councils; the broadening of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress to include representatives of the million and half unemployed, and from the local Trades Councils; one union for each industry (as against the chaos of 1,100 existing British Unions); centralisation of power in the Trades Union Congress; International Trade Union Unity; Workers' Defence Corps (the need for which had been driven home by police baton charges during the Sacco — Vancetti demonstrations); building of Minority Groups in every industry; together with in much greater detail a series of youth demands, womens' demands and co-operative demands.

6. From the general question of re-establishing the front the Conference turned to the means of resisting the Trade Union Act. The object of that Act, it was stated, was to shackle the working class in such a way as to give the capitalists a free hand to carry out their threefold intervention, first against the wages and conditions of British workers; secondly against the Chinese Revolution; thirdly against Soviet Russia. The Conference called on the Unions to refuse to operate the Act, to ignore it and to break this new law if it should be

necessary to support any Trade Union by declaring a General Strike which would have the further effect of bringing down the Baldwin Government.

7. The rapidly extending horizon of the British Working class is shown by the fact that the three remaining major resolutions of the Conference were concerned with international questions. A resolution on international trade union unity was moved by Alex. Gossip, Secretary of the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association. This resolution regretted that the General Council had not carried out its pledges, and in conclusion urged the Trades Union Congress (which meets next week) to instruct the General Council to take the following steps to achieve international unity:

"1. Arrange for a Conference between the British and Russian Unions, so that these two sections, one the strongest in the I.F.T.U. the other the strongest in the R.I.L.U., shall themselves take the initiative in convening a World Conference to create a united Trade Union International.

2. In view of the growing importance of the international trade secretariats inside the trade union movements of the two countries, the General Council should encourage the formation of Anglo-Russian Unity Committees between the various trade unions, such as miners, engineers, etc. and ensure a real drive for world unity throughout all sections of the International Trade Union Movement."

A further resolution condemned the General Council for refusing to hold a meeting of the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council on Anglo-Soviet Relations but not refusing to pass a resolution against the Soviet Government for meting out revolutionary justice to notorious spies and counter-revolutionaries. It further brought out sharply the declarations of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee against war made in April, 1925 and contrasted the passivity of the General Council and its failure to act up to its plighted word.

Finally, Tom Mann, the Chairman of the Congress, gave a report of the International Workers' Delegation in China from January 27 to July 2. This report made the conference memorable, and by the manner and circumstance in which it was given brings the feeling of solidarity with the Chinese workers into areas of England hitherto untouched. The hall was hung with revolutionary slogans in Chinese lettering: the reporter, Tom Mann, is the only one of the "Founders of Socialism" of nearly fifty years ago who has remained true to the revolutionary workers' struggle. After his report the resolution was passed as follows:

"This conference of the Minority Movement, therefore, pledges itself to get the British Labour Movement to fight unceasingly for the recall of all British troops and warships from China, and calls on the General Council to call at once upon the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee to discuss ways and means of supporting the Chinese workers and peasants in their struggle against militarism and imperialism.

This conference reciprocates the greetings brought by Comrade Tom Mann from the Chinese trade unionists, and calls on the General Council to follow the lead of the Minority Movement and send a fraternal greeting to China."

This conference is a formidable demonstration for the Trades Union Congress, composed mainly of bureaucrats, to face at its meeting next week; so formidable that the Daily Herald devoted to it a cavilling leader in the best manner of Adler or Sassenbach showing "Communist Intrigues". It has shown in spite of the artillery of the bourgeoisie and the *saute qui peut* propaganda of the bureaucracy, that revolutionary trade unionism cannot be suppressed. Secondly the discussions of the Conference revealed the officials of Eccleston Square hotly engaged in hunting with the hounds against Communists, Reds, Leftists etc., and that when it is a question of fighting capitalism they can run with the hares. Thirdly, in the determination of the delegates and of the revolutionary workers they represent to maintain unity and a fighting front, it is clear that as Union after Union fails to protect its members from victimisation the Minority Movement is becoming the backbone of every healthy resistance to capitalism inside the Trades Union Congress.

## The Congress of the "Pan-American Federation of Labour."

At the end of July there took place in Washington the Congress of the "Pan-American Federation of Labour". Delegates were present from the United States, Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Columbia, Porto Rico, Peru, Cuba and San Domingo. One must take into consideration, however, that only the delegates from the United States, Mexico and Porto Rico represented really existing workers' organisations. The majority of the delegates from the other countries represented organisations which exist only on paper. The great labour organisations of Argentina, Brazil and Chile refused to send delegates to the Congress.

In spite of all the efforts of Green and his friends, they did not succeed in general in achieving any important successes as regards drawing workers' organisations into the "Pan-American Federation of Labour". It has become too obvious that this organisation is only a weapon in the hands of American imperialism.

The whole Congress showed that the "Pan-American Federation of Labour" regards it as its main task to defend and support American imperialism. On the day the Congress opened there took place in Nicaragua a terrible slaughter, which was carried out by American troops and which cost 300 human lives.

The delegate from Nicaragua, De la Selva, moved a protest resolution. Green, who occupied the chair, did not permit the resolution to be immediately voted on, but handed it over to the "Commission for Resolutions", giving as a reason that everything must be done "in order". When at last it came to the turn of this resolution, the Congress did not adopt the resolution proposed by De la Selva, but another couched in much milder terms. In this resolution "the Congress respectfully calls the attention of the American government to the necessity of withdrawing the American troops from Nicaragua". The resolution on Sacco and Vanzetti was equally disgusting. The resolution moved by the delegate from Venezuela, Martinez, and which demanded the release of Sacco and Vanzetti, was rejected and another adopted, requesting the judges to exercise "mercy".

The Congress did not accept a single decision which could have had practical importance for the labour movement. Questions of real trade union work and of the fight of the workers for their interests were not even touched upon by the Congress. Instead, a resolution was adopted, once again confirming the "Labour-Monroe-Doctrine". As is known, this doctrine lays down the principle of "America for the Americans" also in the sphere of the labour movement and glorifies the imperialism of the United States. It is worth noting that this resolution did not call forth any protest from the Mexicans. As is known, the "American Federation of Labour" has always supported the robber policy of American imperialism in Mexico. Therefore many expected that at this Congress the Mexican delegates would not follow the path indicated by Green. It soon became clear, however, that the Mexican trade union bureaucrats get on splendidly with their North American comrades. The chairman of the Mexican Federation of Labour, Morones, delivered a speech even more reactionary than that of Green, and broke all records in attacks on the "Reds".

But at any rate this Congress of the "Pan American Federation of Labour" did not pass off without an opposition making itself felt; and in this way it differed from the former Congresses. It is true the entire opposition was limited to a single person, Martinez, the delegate from Venezuela. Nevertheless the coming forward of Martinez aroused great attention and was of great benefit, for it helped to expose the reactionary "leaders" of the American trade unions. Martinez, in a very energetic speech, criticised the "Labour-Monroe-Doctrine" and stigmatised the robber policy of American imperialism. Martinez even demanded that a resolution should be adopted calling for the independence of the Philippines and for the withdrawal of American troops from China. It is hardly necessary to mention that Martinez was the only one who voted for this resolution.

The Congress has shown that the "Pan-American Federation of Labour" has no influence among the working masses of Latin America. This cannot be otherwise, for in fact this Federation was only created in order to facilitate the subjugation of Latin America by the bankers of Wall Street.

## UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

### An October Spinning Wheel.

By Krupskaya.

Note: We recommend the following article to the special attention not only of the technicians and engineers in our ranks, but of all workers familiar with the problem of the construction and use of spinning machines.

Comrade Krupskaya's suggestion to arrange a competition for practical models of spinning devices for home workers and small groups of handicraft workers, adapted to the needs of the Russian peasantry, especially of the women, is an excellent one.

Should a foreign proletarian mechanic be successful in helping the work of socialist development in the Soviet Union by constructing or designing such a device, it would mean a great step on the way to the emancipation of woman and also on the way to the industrialisation of the village.

It need not be emphasised that such an invention must take into account the fact that at the present time even the spinning wheel of our forefathers is a rarity among the peasantry of Russia. The Russian peasants spin their yarn with the hand spindle.

**We call upon all workers, mechanics, and engineers, to send in suitable suggestions or designs to the newspaper in which they read this article.** Every suggestion submitted will, of course, be treated as an original invention. Ed.

There lie before me many letters from peasant women in the different governments.

The peasant women in the village of Krasnopoly, district Koronsky, circuit Konotop, government Chernigov, write:

"We are now reading the newspapers, and are pleased that cultural progress is enabling all kinds of machines to be constructed for lightening human labour. But when will the happy time come when our work will be made easier! If you knew how hard we have to work without machines, especially we peasant women. During the whole summer we toil in the sweat of our brow, we bear the heat, the exposure to the weather, and all the toil and trouble, in the hope that we shall be able to rest in winter. But in winter it is even worse. In winter we have no leisure time whatever, either by day or by night. We spin the flax and hemp on our miserable spinning wheels, and we have not even time to go out for a breath of fresh air.

You may ask: "What prevents you?" And we can answer you with one voice: "Life prevents us! Manufactured goods are too dear for us, and if we did not spin, then we should starve with our husbands and children. Do not reply to this letter by silence, as the newspaper (Selyansky Visti of Konolop) has replied by silence, but write to us, if only a few words. Advise us how to organise, whether in peasants' co-operatives or in other bodies. In one word: We beg you to help us to free ourselves as from serfdom, so that we women may have time for ourselves in the winter, time to visit the reading rooms or to read useful literature at home, and learn the truth about the priests and gods and all the spectres which have been used to frighten us. Once more we beg you to help us."

From the village of Suchotinka, government Tula, comes a letter in which the peasant women write:

"There is one thing which we need very much, and that is a machine for spinning and weaving. For this reason we apply to you with the request:

1. Give us information about such machines. We have heard that some peasant women have already ordered mechanical spinning wheels and weaving looms. These new things would be most welcome to us, and we have resolved, under the leadership of our elementary school teacher, to organise ourselves into a society (we are

40 women, and we hear that women from other villages wish to join us), and to order such machines.

2. Give us information about the working of these machines. Can we manipulate them ourselves, or must women first be chosen to take a course of instruction?

3. What do such machines cost, and under what conditions of payment can they be obtained?

4. Can we obtain such machines directly, without the intermediation of such organisations and undertakings as the credit co-operatives and the like?

5. When can such machines be obtained? Now or not till later on?

From Smolensk government we receive the following letter from the women's organiser of a rural district:

"One has to seek out the peasant women in their dark and smoky huts. There exists sufficient initiative for the organisation of a women's co-operative for the purchase of a mechanical spinning wheel. The peasant women are delighted at the idea, but it is the delight of a child. As soon as the price is mentioned, the question becomes critical. The women cannot even raise 20 copecks to buy the newspaper 'The Peasant Woman'. Our district is very poor. Five or six roubles agricultural tax is a perceptible burden to most of the peasants. The public organisations are extremely weak here; it has scarcely been possible to scrape together a few dozen roubles for the organisation of creches. Our head organisation, too, is extremely weak, but the spinning wheel must be obtained, even if the payments are made in very gradual instalments until we are stronger."

Such letters as these are probably being received in large numbers by all newspapers and women's departments.

All these letters and appeals show, that the peasant women fully realise the necessity of the rationalisation of their work, the necessity of emancipating themselves from the slavery of the old fashioned methods of working up raw materials, and of taking part in the cultural life of the country.

Until quite recently the girls missed school on account of having to spin at home (in the Bryansk government for instance). In the Vyatka government they take the spinning wheel to school with them. The spinning wheel, relic of the days of hand labour, forms a serious obstacle to the cultural development of the village. The capitalist system bothered very little whether the peasant women had or had not the opportunity of learning.

Hence the capitalist textile industry never troubled about the rationalisation of domestic industries.

The textile syndicate of the Soviet Union has replied to the question of the women's department as follows:

"The result of our inquiries shows that a spinning machine for lightening domestic industry does not exist."

Thereupon a special committee was called, composed of representatives of the women workers' department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Comrades Kaligina and Mastjukova), of the headquarters for Political Enlightenment (Comrade Krupskaya), the Young Communist League (Comrade Rudnyeva), the Polytechnical Museum (Comrade Scheinin, engineer), the agricultural co-operatives (Comrade Katasheva), the productive co-operatives (Comrade Kosvinzeva and Comrade Bromlei, engineer), the institute for Agricultural Electrification (Comrade Yesin), and of the Supreme National Economic Council (Comrade Shtschapiro and Comrade Eppelbaum, engineer).

This committee came to the conclusion that two competitions should be arranged: 1. For the invention of a new spinning wheel, or the perfecting of one of the existing spinning wheels for the individual worker. 2. For the invention of a multiple-spindle spinning wheel for collective home industrial work.

The woman comrade N. W. Scheinin writes on this point: "In view of the fact that public life is developing rapidly, and that the effort of the population towards co-operative work is increasing year for year even in the most remote districts, the competition has been made to include not only the above-mentioned single and double-spindle spinning wheel for single

workers, but at the same time the type of multiple-spindle spinning wheel adapted exclusively for collective work. We assume that several spinners will work at one time at such a type of spinning wheel, each worker manipulating more than three spindles, so that the productivity of the work will be greatly increased, compared with the results of even the best individual workwoman. A spinning wheel of this description means not only the acceleration and facilitation of the labours of the peasant women, but will do much to draw them together. The spindles work with very little noise, and work for cultural enlightenment can be carried on at the same time, as well as the social work in which the peasant women are so anxious to take part, but are prevented by lack of time from attending the reading rooms, etc. Work can be done at these collective spinning wheels by different peasant women alternately, according to the time at the disposal of each."

The first conditions for the competition are: Simplicity of construction and manipulation, so that the spinning wheel can be used in villages where there are no skilled working women.

We must celebrate the tenth anniversary of the revolution by giving a new spinning wheel to the thousands of peasant women spinning in every part of the Soviet Union, from the villages of Siberia to the peasant huts of Central Asia.

All organisations and persons who have the interests of the peasant women at heart should take every possible measure to ensure the participation in this competition of all competent persons.

In order to invent a new spinning wheel, or to improve the old models, it is not necessary to be an engineer, mechanic, or technician. We know that many great inventions have been made by practical workers specialising in their own line, often enough by people without education, even illiterate. The best constructive idea, even if not worked out perfectly from the technical point of view, will be of incalculable value, and can be worked out in detail later.

A commission composed of specialists in mechanics and textiles has been appointed to draw up the technical conditions of the competition.

All suggestions for spinning wheels for the competition must arrive, with all accompanying statements, by 1st November, so that on that date the special jury commission can examine the suggestions and announce the result of the competition at the October celebrations.

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### The Meeting of the Executive Committee of the "League against Imperialism" in Cologne.

The Executive Committee of the "League against Imperialism" met from the 20th to 21st August in Cologne.

The Executive Committee dealt with the Indian situation on the basis of the reports delivered by Jawahar Lal Nehrus and Saklatvala. It was established that the English imperialist bourgeoisie has undertaken a large and wide-scale political offensive for neutralising further petty-bourgeois strata and certain labour organisations in India, in order to obliterate the impression of the Chinese struggles and to maintain the necessary political pre-requisites for the continued exploitation of India.

On the other hand it could be equally clearly proved that India is reacting strongly to the Chinese events. The Anglo-Indian-Chinese declaration of the Brussels Congress formed to a certain extent the starting point of a strong pro-Chinese mood. The Brussels Congress and the World League against Imperialism have emphatically promoted the recognition of the political importance of the Chinese revolution. In spite of prohibition by the Indian government, the press service and the propaganda literature of the League were spread and popularised by a 150 Indian newspapers. The League has undoubtedly played a great part in producing that wave of pro-

Chinese feeling which finally caused the government of India to withdraw the contingent of Indian troops from Shanghai.

There stood upon the agenda as subjects of immediate importance the questions of Indonesia and Bolivia.

The splitting of the forces of the Chinese movement for freedom by the treacherous bourgeoisie, and the terroristic proceedings of various Kuomintang Generals, who are treading under-foot the popular principles of Sun Yat Sen, induced the Executive Committee, after hearing the report of the representative of the Kuomintang, Liao Hansin, to adopt an appeal which was telegraphed, in the name of the Executive Committee, to all the organisations of the Kuomintang, as well as to the trade union and peasant organisations of China.

From the report of the secretary Gibarti, it was to be seen that the organisation has become more firmly established since the meeting of the Executive Committee in Amsterdam and has considerably extended, thanks to the unexampled sympathy in the colonial regions. This growth of the organisation induced the imperialists to undertake a counter-stroke, which was carried out by the English and French government organs ("Le Temps", "Matin", "Times") and partly by newspapers of Primo de Rivera, under the inspiration of the official propagandist of the Tory government, "Augur". Of the activity of the League, mention should be made of the Manifesto of the English section to the Trade Union Congress held on the 29th April, in the interest of the Chinese liberation movement, as well as the Syrian-Egyptian action, which for the first time successfully realised the solidarity of the nationalist parties of the East on the occasion of the Anglo-Egyptian crisis. In North America it succeeded in creating a broad hands-off China movement. At the Paris Trade Union Congress protest was made against the bloody terror of Chiang Kai-Shek. In Indonesia the protest action of the League met with a wide response. The Arab Secretariat has already taken steps for preparing an Arab Liberation Congress to be held at Mecca in the Spring of 1928. A similar Congress for bringing together the countries threatened by American imperialism will meet in Mexico. By the intervention of the League in the fight over the church and by mobilising its parliamentary and other connections in Nicaragua, the League succeeded in creating a broad atmosphere of confidence. Twenty national secretariats have been formed in the course of the last few months. Twenty-nine organisations, among them being the All-Indian National Congress and the Persian Socialist Party, have joined the League as collective members. During the meeting of the Committee an appeal arrived from the Pan-African Congress of the Negro movement assembled in New York, and a memorandum from the Philippines.

On the proposal of Münzenberg the meeting decided to convene the next Colonial Congress, enlarged by 100 colonial representatives, for the middle of November in Paris, in order to carry out the organisatory and ideological unification of the anti-imperialist movement and to link up the revolutionary forces.

As Chairman there was elected Fenner Brockway, the general secretary of the Independent Labour Party. In place of the negro representative, Lamine Senghor, who has become ill, there was co-opted from the General Council into the Executive Committee, Mme. Duchène, the secretary of the French Women's League for Peace and Freedom.

At the conclusion of the meeting the Chairman, Fenner Brockway, promised to support the young world organisation by making use of all the forces of the best sections of the English Labour movement.

## TEN YEARS AGO

### Counter-Revolution Prepares to Deal a Blow.

The Moscow Conference — a springboard for Kornilov.

Petrograd, 27th August. At a conference of the members of the Soviet Executive still remaining in Petrograd, Sinan

reported on the situation in the town. He stated that news had been received of a projected "putsch" on the part of Kornilov, who intended to establish a military dictatorship with the aid of the "union of army and fleet", etc. This report appears to be unsubstantiated, but the Provisional Government and the War Committee have taken all necessary precautions; the communications between the Soviets and the districts have been extended, the guard of the Smolni building increased, and special measures taken to secure the telegraph. Steps have been taken against any action on the part of the War League, and members of the Executive are going to visit the regiments. According to their report, the unrest originates in the military schools of Pavlovsky and Vladimirsky, and in the garrison of the Peter Paul fortress. The Pavlovsky school is opposed to the Soviets, the commissaries have been haughtily received, the reactionary elements predominate in the institution, especially the reactionary junkers, who are armed. The garrison of the Peter Paul fortress is extremely weak.

\* \* \*

**Rotterdam, 30th August.** The "Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant" reports: It is reported from Petrograd that there appears to be jealousy between Kerensky and Kornilov. The Left parties are annoyed at the theatrical manner of Kornilov's entry into Moscow. He came with a motor car and a bodyguard. His visit to the Iberian Chapel, with its miraculous picture of the Madonna, formerly part of the ceremonies of the Tsar's visit to Moscow, was a magnificent performance. When Kornilov entered the Congress hall, he was welcomed by thunderous applause from the Right, whilst the Left preserved absolute silence. When Kerensky appeared, on the other hand, the applause came from the Left and the Right was silent.

**The General of the "Patriots" Threatens to Abandon Riga if his Reactionary Demands are not Fulfilled.**

**Moscow, 27th August.** The Social democrat comments as follows on Kornilov's speech at the Moscow Conference: "The return to the old order, which was independent on the will of the masses of the soldiers, — this is Kornilov's demand..." The general "fears" that if this is not done Riga will be taken, and the road to Petrograd will be open to the enemy. What does this mean — a warning or a threat? The defeat at Tarnopol made Kornilov commander in chief, and if Riga falls he may become dictator. And until this time comes — war. War suffocates revolution... Kaledin described in his speech the programme of the military clique, which is preparing to seize power..."

#### Skirmishes of the counter-revolution.

**Petrograd, 2nd September (Reuter).** The newspapers report: A counter-revolutionary conspiracy was discovered by the Petrograd public prosecutor at the time of the session of the Moscow State Conference. The leaders of the conspiracy are said to be well known politicians and several officers. The inquiry proved the existence of the conspiracy.

#### Famine Riots.

**Moscow, 2nd September.** Today riots broke out in the town on account of the shortage of food supplies; in many places the crowd made raids, plundered bakers' shops, and beat the shopkeepers. Order was restored by the evening.

#### The Party of the Bolsheviki Wins over the Masses.

**Petrograd, 2nd September.** The results of the election to the central municipal Duma of Petrograd are as follows: The S. R. received 75 seats, the Cadets 44, the Bolsheviki 67, the Mensheviki (Internationalists) 8, the People's Socialists 2, the group "unity" 2.

\* \* \*

**Petrograd, 2nd September.** The "Rabotschi" writes as follows on the issue of the election to the Municipal Duma:

"In comparison with the July election, the S. R. have lost over 375,000 votes... The Cadets have lost 90,000. The

soie party which has lost no votes, but has on the contrary increased its army, is our Party."

## Increasing Audacity of Counter-Revolutionary Advance.

**Petrograd, 2nd September.** A report on the counter-revolutionary conspiracy states: Most of the arrests have been made outside of Petrograd. The government still considers it inadvisable at the moment to publish the names of those arrested.

#### The Trustfulness of the Kerensky Government.

**Petrograd, 2nd September (Petrograd Telegraph Agency).** Nekrassov, vice president of the Ministerial Council, has informed a number of newspapers that the government has the profoundest confidence in the commander in chief Kornilov, and does not doubt his political neutrality. If reactionary circles are putting their hopes in Kornilov, they will be disappointed. The misunderstandings between the government and Kornilov have only referred to questions of discipline, and have already been settled. The conditions imposed by the general have already been partially fulfilled. The Ministerial Council is perfectly agreed with Kornilov that serious and forceful measures must be taken for the restoration of the fighting powers of the army before fresh catastrophes take place. There has never been any question of replacing Kornilov by anyone else.

#### The Finnish Diet Suppressed by Force.

**Helsingfors, 29th August (Report of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency).** The reopening of the Diet was fixed for this morning, but the Diet buildings were occupied in the course of the morning by Russian troops.

#### The Romanovs' Place of Banishment a Pleasant Sojourn.

**Frankfort on the Maine, 29th August.** The "Frankfurter Zeitung" gives a graphic account of the place to which the Tsar's family has been banished: Tobolsk is a little town, its inhabitants do not even count half on hundred thousand, and it has no resemblance to the new colonial towns on the great Siberian railway, which are springing up with American rapidity... But Tobolsk is one of the oldest Russian settlements in Siberia (founded 1587), and has a complete history of its own, which may be read in the monuments round about the town... The climate of Tobolsk is probably no worse than that of Petrograd; the notorious Siberian cold does only come into full force further East and North. The Provisional Government has accorded to the Romanovs a place of sojourn which was at least regarded as much too good for the political prisoners of the old regime, and was only allowed in exceptional cases.

#### Acuter Famine.

**Copenhagen, 30th August.** "Nationaltidende" reports from Stockholm: The chamber of commerce of Kiev has telegraphed to the government that the shortage of food supplies in Kiev threatens to become a serious danger. Within a few days all reserves will have been consumed.

## THE RED PUTILOV WORKERS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT.

(From the "Proletari", 31st August.)

On 29th August a meeting of the Putilov workers was held, attended by 800 workers.

Every meeting held by these workers of the "Red Putilov Works" leaves behind it a profound and unforgettable impression.

On every side, so far as the eye can see, soldiers and workers in their oily blouses, just as they come from their machines,

With bated breath they listen to the report on the "Moscow State Conference". The workers applaud each sharply defined point of the speech.

When the speaker referred to the reintroduction of the death penalty at the front, cries of "Shame! Shame!" rose on all sides.

Great indignation was again aroused by the mention of comrade Baladin, who was arrested in connection with the July days, and is now in a critical condition in consequence of his fortnight's hunger strike.

After the social revolutionary Verbo had spoken, the next address was given by another Bolshevik, who reminded his hearers of the struggle of the workers of Finland, whose blood was perhaps being shed in the streets of Helsingfors at this very moment. "Where is the right of self determination of the peoples?" demanded the speaker. "Our sympathy for the Finnish workers, our contempt for those who oppress this brother people".

The meeting resolved to vote for list 6 at the municipal election, adopted a protest resolution against the dissolution of the Finnish Sejm, and assured the Finnish workers of their solidarity.

A delegation was elected, which is to demand the release of comrade Baladin from the Central Executive of the Soviets.

## The Effect of the Russian Revolution Abroad.

### Peace Demonstration in Argentina.

Berne, 29th August. The "Temps" reports from Buenos Aires: A manifesto signed by more than 100,000 people, calls upon the president of the republic to maintain the neutrality of the Argentine Republic.

### Preparations for the International Women's Conference.

Stockholm, 31st August. The International Women's Conference, to be held at Stockholm from 16th to 18th September, will be attended by women representatives from both the warring and the neutral countries. It will deal with the following questions: 1. Salaries and working conditions of women; 2. the economic position of woman as sole breadwinner in the family; 3. the influence of women upon the prevention of future wars; 4. the ethical demands of public life.

## THE ELECTION APPEAL OF THE BOLSHEVIKI FOR THE PETROGRAD MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS ON 2nd SEPTEMBER 1917.

Today is the day of the Petrograd municipal election. Its issue depends on you, Worker comrades and soldier comrades! The vote is general and equal. The vote of every soldier, of every working man or woman, is equal to the vote of the capitalist, the landlord, the professor, the official. You, and you alone, comrades, will be to blame if you cannot make full use of this right.

You have shown that you are capable of fighting in the streets against Tsarist rule — show now that you are capable of fighting for your interests by voting for our Party.

You have shown yourselves capable of defending your rights against counter-revolution — show now that you are capable of withdrawing your confidence from counter-revolution at today's election!

You have shown yourselves capable of tearing the mask from the betrayers of the revolution, and now you must say to them: Hands off!

You see before you, in the first place, the Party of Milyukov, the party of National Liberty. This party defends the interests of the landowners and capitalists; this party is against the workers, peasants, and soldiers, for it is against the workers' control of industry, against the transference of the landed estates to the peasants, in favour of the death penalty at the front. This is the party of the Cadets, which demanded at the beginning of June a direct offensive at the front, which cost the country hundreds of thousands of lives.

This is the party of the Cadets, which has fought for and attained the victory of counter-revolution, and which stands for the suppression of the workers, soldiers, and sailors. To vote for Milyukov's party is tantamount to deserting ourselves, our wives and children, our brothers in the trenches and at the front.

Comrades! Not a vote for the party of National Liberty! Again, you see before you the parties of the defenders of the Fatherland, the parties of the Mensheviks and the S. R. These parties defend the interests of the arbitrary lords of town and country. Hence they join forces with the landowners and capitalists every time the class struggle assumes a decisive character, and take sides against the workers, peasants, and soldiers. Thus it was in the July days, when the party of the Mensheviks and the S. R., along with the bourgeoisie disarmed the workers and soldiers, and so it was again during the Moscow State Conference, where these parties in alliance with the bourgeoisie approved the reprisals and the death penalty against workers and soldiers at the front.

That counter-revolution has been so successful is greatly due to the help which the parties of the S. R. and the Mensheviks have given it to dam back the revolution by means of a compromise with the landowners and capitalists.

That counter-revolution is now so strong is greatly due to the protection given it by the parties of the S. R. and the Mensheviks, who guard it against the anger of the people, hiding it behind the banner of revolution.

To vote for these parties means to vote for the counter-revolutionary alliance against the workers and poor peasantry.

To vote for these parties is to vote for the arrest of soldiers in the trenches, for the death penalty at the front.

Comrades! No vote for the Fatherland defenders, for the Mensheviks and the S. R.

And finally, you see before you the group "New Life", with list 12. This group represents the mood of unrooted intelligentsia, who have no real contact with life and with the movement. Therefore this group vacillates between revolution and counter-revolution, between war and peace, between the working class and the capitalist class, between landowners and peasantry.

On the one hand they are for the workers, but on the other they do not dare to break with the capitalists. This is the reason why they remained discreetly absent from the July demonstration of the workers and soldiers.

On the one hand they are on the side of the peasants, but on the other again they wish to avoid a rupture with the landowners, so that they are opposed to the direct transference of land from the landlords to the peasants, and propose to wait till the Constituent Assembly convenes, although its convention is being postponed, possibly for ever.

In words the group "New Life" is for peace, but in deeds it is against peace, for it appeals for support for the "freedom loan", which is to promote the imperialist war.

Those who support the "freedom loan" help to prolong the war, help the imperialists, and fight indeed against internationalism!

In words the group "New Life" is opposed to reprisals and prisons, but in deeds it is in favour of them, for it has entered into an alliance with the Fatherland defenders, who stand for reprisals and prisons.

Those who enter into an alliance with the Fatherland defenders help counter-revolution, and fight against the revolution!

Comrades, learn to judge people by their deeds and not by their words.

Learn to recognise the character of parties and groups by their actions and not by their promises.

When the group "New Life" proposes to fight for peace, but issues at the same time an appeal in support of the "freedom loan", then you may see that it is bringing grist to the mill of the imperialists.

When the group "New Life", which sometimes is flirting with the Bolsheviks, supports at the same time the Fatherland defenders, you may see again that it is bringing grist to the mill of the counter-revolutionaries.

To vote for this double-faced group, for list 12, is to serve the Fatherland defenders, who in their turn serve counter-revolution.

Comrades! No vote for the group "New Life".

Our Party is the party of the town and country workers, the party of the poor peasantry, the party of the oppressed and exploited.

All the bourgeois parties, all the bourgeois newspapers, all the vacillating and irresolute groups, hate and slander our Party — why?

Because:

Only our party stands for the revolutionary struggle against the landowners and capitalists.

Only our party stands for the immediate transference of the land from the landlords into the hands of the peasant committees.

Only our party demands that the workers should have control of production, against all capitalists.

Only our party is in favour of the democratic organisation of the exchange of goods between town and country, against the speculators and marauders.

Only our party stands for the complete liquidation of counter-revolution in the trenches and at the front.

Only our party is steadfastly defending the revolutionary organisations of the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

Only our party is fighting determinedly and in the spirit of revolution for peace and for the fraternisation of the peoples.

Only our party is fighting determinedly and resolutely for the capture of power by the workers and poor peasantry.

Only our is the only Party, party which has not soiled its hands with the dishonour of approving the death penalty at the front.

Therefore you must vote for our party today.

Workers, soldiers, working women!

Vote for our party, for list No. 6.

## **Declaration of the Bolshevik Members of the Delegation of the Soviet Executive to the Moscow Conference**

The cause of the revolution is in deadly danger: The landowners and the bourgeois parties are preparing for the bloody suppression of the workers, soldiers, and poor peasantry. They are preparing for boundless oppression and violence against the masses of the people, and only await the moment when they can capture the whole power over the people.

And in this hour the government, which calls itself a government for the "salvation of the revolution", takes no steps against counter-revolution, no measures against the parties defending the conspiratory advance of the landowners and bourgeoisie, and demanding the continuation of the robber war. On the contrary, the government calls the open counter-revolutionaries to a national conference in Moscow, secures them the overwhelming majority, prepares to come to a final understanding with them, and to base its further work on their support. The provisional Government designates these obvious enemies of the people the saviours of the country, it designates the gravediggers of the revolution its living forces. Thus the Provisional Government arrives at the logical conclusion of its policy, which aims at combating the workers, whose newspapers and organisations it destroys, at combating the soldiers, upon whom it has reimposed the death penalty, and at combating the peasants, to whom it gives no land.

The provisional Government itself has become the tool of counter-revolution and international reaction. It has convoked the Moscow Conference for the purpose of drawing fresh forces for an attack upon the achievements of the revolution.

Encouraged by this friendly policy, the enemies of the people, the landowners, bankers, manufacturers, etc., have gathered round the Cadet party in the hope of saving their war profits, their lands and their capital. For the counter-revolutionary executioners the Moscow Conference forms the most favourable

opportunity of coming to an understanding, the most favourable protection for the organisation of an All-Russian counter-revolutionary conspiracy. By the preliminary conference of the Cadets a permanent political centre of counter-revolution has been formed, supported by the armed aid of the generals and of the reactionary section of the Cossacks.

The artificially composed Moscow Conference is a distortion of the will of the people. Its convention synchronised with a postponement, for two months, of the convention of the Constituent Assembly, which would have represented the will of broad people's masses. This postponement is the work of a bourgeoisie insistently pursuing its aim of frustrating the Constituent Assembly and replacing it by an organisation in which it possesses the decisive majority.

Bourgeois counter-revolution is laying this mine beneath the Constituent Assembly, and openly opposes the Moscow Conference to the Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. It hopes to deal a final blow at this organisation by means of the Moscow Conference. The Soviets, to whom the working class has entrusted the responsibility of protecting the interests of the revolution, the responsibility of the struggles for peace, land, and bread, are to disappear. But the parties of the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, which have the majority in the Executive Committee of the Soviets at the present time, have not opposed the convocation of the Moscow Conference, have made no attempt to prevent it. They have helped counter-revolution quite openly, and are totally unable to fight it, for they themselves are in favour of compromises, of collaboration with the bourgeois-feudal coalition; they have always agreed to concessions; they have refused to give the whole power to the workers, soldiers, and peasants, and have proposed sharing the power with bourgeois counter-revolution.

The general strike of the Moscow proletariat expresses the thoughts and wishes of the whole class-conscious proletariat of Russia, which sees through the skilful play of the counter-revolutionaries. The working class opposes the slogan of the workers' and peasants' revolution to the war-cry of the mobilising bourgeoisie.

We, members of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, have not come here to make terms with the enemies of revolution, but to protest on behalf of the workers and poor peasantry against the convocation of this counter-revolutionary meeting, and to expose its true character to the whole country. But it has been decided to silence us, and this decision has been made with the agreement of the S. R. and the Mensheviks the majority in the Soviets. Still we are fully convinced that our voice and our protest will reach the masses which gather more and more around us, the revolutionary party of the proletariat. In their name we declare: The proletariat will not permit the rule of violence of the bourgeoisie to carry off the victory.

The proletariat will carry through the revolution to the end, it will secure land for the peasantry, freedom, broad, and peace to the people.

The Russian proletariat, working together with the international proletariat, will put an end to the rule of capital over enslaved humanity.

## **The Results of the Moscow Conference.**

By J. Stalin.

(From the "Proletari". 30th August 1917.)

The Moscow Conference is at an end.

After the "sharp contest between the two opposing camps", after the "bloody battle" between Milyukov and Zeretelli, after the "fight" is at an end and the wounded have been brought in — it may perhaps be permitted to inquire as to the issue of this Moscow "battle". Who has won and who has lost?

The Cadets are rubbing their hands with satisfaction. "The party of the liberty of the people can be proud that its slogans have been recognised as — slogans for the whole people." ("Ryetsch".)

The defenders of the Fatherland, too, are satisfied. They speak of the "triumph of democracy" (read: of the Fatherland).

defenders), and assure us that "democracy emerges consolidated from the Moscow Conference". ("Isvestiya".)

"Bolshevism must be exterminated" pronounced Milyukov at the Conference, amidst a storm of applause from the representatives of the "living forces".

We are already at work for it" replied Zeretelli, "for an emergency law has already been passed against Bolshevism". Besides this, "the revolution" (read: counter-revolution) is still inexperienced in the fight against the Left danger" — let us first collect experience.

The Cadets, too, are fully agreed that it is better to exterminate Bolshevism gradually, not at one blow, and not directly, but rather at the hands of others, preferably those of the "socialists", the defenders of the Fatherland.

"The Committees and the Councils must be removed", says general Kaledin, and the representatives of the "living forces" agree with him.

"Very true", replies Zeretelli, "but not yet; we cannot remove this scaffolding until the structure of the free revolution (read: counter-revolution) has been completed". Let us first "complete" the building, and then we can remove the Councils and Committees.

The Cadets are fully agreed that it is better to degrade the Committees and Councils to mere appendages of the imperialist mechanism than to exterminate them abruptly.

The result is "general triumph" and "general satisfaction".

It is not for nothing that the newspapers report that "there is now much greater harmony between the socialist ministers and the ministers of the Cadet party than before the Conference". ("Novaya Schisny".)

And now you ask, who has won?

The capitalists. For the government has undertaken at this Conference "not to permit the interference (the control!) of the workers in the management of the undertakings".

The landowners, too, have won, for the government has undertaken "not to introduce any radical reforms in the land question".

And the counter-revolutionary generals have won as well, for the Moscow Conference has approved the death penalty.

Who has won, you ask?

Counter-revolution has won, for it has organised itself on a national scale by gathering around it such "living forces" of the country as Ryabuschinsky and Milyukov, Zeretelli and Dan, Alexeyev and Kaledin.

Counter-revolution has won, for it has obtained that decree on the so-called "revolutionary democracy" which may now serve as a convenient shield against the anger of the people.

The counter-revolutionaries no longer stand alone. Now all "revolutionary democracy" is working for them. Now they have the "public opinion" of the "country of Russia" at their disposal, and the defenders of the Fatherland will not be slow to make use of their opportunities.

The crowning of counter-revolution — that is the result of the Moscow Conference.

The Fatherland defenders, enthusing over the "triumph of democracy", are blissfully unaware that they have simply been made the lackeys of the triumphant counter-revolutionaries.

This, and this only, is the political import of the "honourable coalition" of which Mr. Zeretelli" has discoursed so "imploringly", and against which Mr. Milyukov and his adherents do not object.

This is the "coalition" between the Fatherland defenders and the "living forces" of the imperialist bourgeoisie, against the revolutionary proletariat and the poor peasantry.

This is the sum total of the Moscow Conference.

Whether this counter-revolutionary "coalition" will last very long or not, can only be revealed by the near future.

## Chronicle of Events.

August 26.

In the course of an address, Martov declared that it is possible for the Internationalists and the Bolsheviks to unite provided the Bolsheviks change their tactics with respect to the Soviets and Stockholm.

Kornilov is ceremoniously received, on arriving in Moscow, by representatives of the great industrialists, officers, and Cossacks.

August 27.

The "Social Democrat" writes: "The rumours of a conspiracy between the generals and the bourgeoisie, against the Soviets and against some individual members of the government, have become so insistent and definite that there can no longer be any doubt. The enemy is ready for decisive action."

At the Moscow State Conference Kaledin advanced the following demands: The army must stand aside from all politics, all Soviets and Committees must be dissolved, the authority and power of the commanders of the army and the authorities must be established, and strict discipline kept.

August 28.

On the third day of the Moscow State Conference Plechanov declared that an alliance between the propertied classes and revolutionary democracy is necessary for both of them.

August 29.

The Petrograd government conference of the party of the S. R. adopts a resolution in favour of the dissolution of the counter-revolutionary military organisations, against the reactionary press, and in favour of the dissolution of the State Duma and the State Council. The resolution is passed by 22 votes to one.

The central committee of the Cadet party declares that the Moscow State Conference has yielded the maximum result which could be expected.

Great meeting of the Putilov workers.

The members of the Finnish Sejm protest against the reactionary measures of the Provisional Government.

August 30.

The soldiers of the second machine gun regiment learn of secret stores of weapons to be concealed in officers' dwellings. The soldiers carry out a domiciliary visit at the house of an adjutant of the regiment, and find weapons. Members of the Soviet Executive induce the soldiers to abstain from further search.

A report comes from the Donetz basin of an extremely critical situation in the food supplies.

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