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The Fight against the Trade Union Bill.

By R. Palme Dutt (London).

The British Trade Union Bill is rapidly approaching the point of becoming law. The Labour Party and General Council leaders have guaranteed a smooth passage by repeated promises that there shall be no "unconstitutional" opposition, and that the verdict of Parliament will be respected. At the Special Conference of Trade Union Executives to organise opposition to the Bill, the resolution for a general strike against the Bill was refused to be put to the vote. In this way it is being attempted to hand over the British working class movement bound and helpless to the bourgeoisie for the next five years (since repeal by parliamentary means will under the most favourable conditions take this time). The betrayal of the fight against the Trade Union Bill exceeds the betrayal of the General Strike last year.

What are the perspectives raised by the Trade Union Bill?

In the first place, the Trade Union Bill opens a new stage in the working class struggle in Britain, a stage already foreshadowed in the General Strike and miners' fight. The latent civil war revealed in the General Strike is now translated into legal form. As in the Paul-Boncour Militarisation Act, and the Italian Fascist Charter of Labour, the capitalist dictatorship is given statutory expression; a "free" working class movement can no longer be allowed. This is a measure of capitalist decline and working class revolutionisation. Henceforth every large-scale strike, every attempt at common action, every action beyond the most limited sectional economic aims, becomes illegal, and all agitation for the same illegal, and the funds of the working class organisations seizable by the Government.

This is a heavy blow without parallel since the foundation of trade unionism at all working class organisation. But it is at the same time a blow at democratic legalist illusions, a forcing of the trade unions into the full arena of political struggle and struggle against the capitalist state, a translation of the semi-conscious passive legalist constitutionalist General Strike of 1926 into the next stage of conscious revolutionary mass struggle in defiance of the law and the Constitution.

In the second place the Trade Union Bill is intended to tie the hands of the British workers so as to free the way for the Government's war on China and the attack on the Soviet Union. If the defeatist counsels of the reformist leaders, who are busy preaching submission to the law once passed and acceptance of the "democratic will" expressed by the Baldwin oligarchy, are accepted, then this object will be achieved, since no action by the workers will be possible, whatever measures the Government undertakes, including war on the Soviet Union. In consequence, if the Bill is successfully passed, then an intensified attack on China and the Soviet Union is to be expected, and the next twelve months become the most critical and urgent in the whole developing campaign led by British Capitalism against the World Revolution. But in fact the simultaneous attack on the British workers, China and the Soviet Union multiplies and helps to unite the enemies British Capitalism will have to fight. Revolutionary agitation will not be diminished, but increased, by the Trade Union Bill, and will find a readier hearing and following in the working class.

In the third place, the Trade Union Bill is intended to

prevent revolutionary Left Wing control of the Trade Unions, and confirm the existing leadership in their positions against the growing mass unrest. The possibility of mass revolutionary control of the Trade Unions ousting the existing "safe" leadership, revealed for the first time by the growth of the Minority Movement, the election of Cook, the Scarborough Congress, Red Friday, the General Strike and the prolongation of the Miners' struggle, has alarmed the bourgeoisie and determined them to cut the claws of the Trade Unions beforehand. The objects which are banned by the Bill are the objects of Left Wing Trade Unionism, the same objects which the Right Wing leadership has denounced and condemned — united action, the sympathetic strike, the general strike, mass-picketing, the political strike etc.; the objects which are permitted are the objects of Right Wing Trade Unionism, the sectional limited economic action, such as is utterly impotent to avail the working class under present conditions. Only Right Wing Trade Unions are to be allowed in future; if the Trade Unions move to the left, they are to be made illegal. In the direct declaration of Baldwin in advocating the Bill in the House of Commons, the aim of the Bill was directed against the influence of the Minority Movement in the Trade Unions. This was the statement in fact which aroused the most intense indignation and protest from the Labour Parliamentarians, since it is their role to profess to regard the Minority Movement and Communist influence as negligible, as it is similarly their ostrich-like role to profess that "there was general strike" last year. But as their ex-colleague, the renegade Spencer, reminded them in the same debate, only repeating in public what many of them knew well enough and admitted in private:

"Who is likely, with the psychology existing among the working class at present, to be the person who will determine the policy of the future? You know that it is Cook and Pollitt, and not Cramp."

It follows from this position that the existing Right Wing leadership is incapable of putting up any genuine fight against the Bill. The Trade Union Bill too closely corresponds to their own policy, although carrying the attack further than they would have done, and, in the interference with parliamentary levy, even invading their own preserves. The twelve months defeatism since the betrayal of the General Strike, the desertion of the miners, the repudiation of the General Strike, the retreat at the Bournemouth Trades Union Congress, the censure of the Miners at the Special Conference in January, the preaching of Industrial Peace and Never Again — all these have prepared the way for the Government Bill and encouraged the Government to attack on a scale it would never otherwise have attempted. The principal arguments of the Government spokesmen in favour of the Bill were drawn direct from the speeches and writings of the reformist leaders. Sir Douglas Hogg, in introducing the Bill, quoted MacDonald, Clynes, Thomas and Snowden in his support.

Nor are the arguments of the reformist leadership in opposition to the Bill able to be more than weak evasions of the real issues. For they are compelled to confine their defence to the sectional economic rights of the Trade Unions, which are not the direct object of attack. The real issues of the General Strike and of the conflict with the State they are unable to face. Thus the official resolution of the Special Trade Union Conference of April 29 summoned to lay down the line of the campaign against the Bill condemns the Bill as

"designed to cripple the workers' effective powers of resistance against attacks by organised employers upon the already inadequate standards of wages and conditions of employment"

and declares opposition to deprivation of

"rights and legal powers hitherto exercised in pursuit of lawful objects under statutory safeguards and limitations".

Here there is no mention of the General Strike, no mention of the State, no mention of the political strike. The main issues are allowed to go by default. Nevertheless the Labour Party is officially committed by last year's conference resolution to the political general strike against war. In the face of this the Labour Party spokesmen in the House of Commons debate could declare that existing legislation was sufficiently strong to deal with a general strike; and Clynes could even declare, on the question of "intimidation", that "the Emergency Regulations were sufficient to deal with such a situation".

The opposition of the social traitors at the head of the working class movement to the Trade Union Bill is thus a sham opposition, despite the amount of stage noise made to appear to satisfy working class feeling. From this follows the refusal to consider any practical opposition, such as the one day General Strike proposed by the Minority Movement. At the Special Conference of Trade Union Executives the resolution in favour of preparation for a general strike against the Bill would have been in any case heavily voted down, but was in fact not even allowed to be put. At the Scottish Trades Union Congress a similar resolution received 24 votes against 148. The protection of parliamentary democracy is invoked against any active opposition:

"I am no party to the suggestion that we should fight the Bill with the industrial weapon... We will use all the constitutional measures to express our view, and we will be content in the end to abide by the verdict of the democracy of this country."

(J. H. Thomas, speaking at Widnes: Observer 10, 4, 27.)

The slogan put forward is "Repeal", to which MacDonald and the Labour Party have pledged themselves on their return as a Government. The Baldwin Government however, need not, unless driven out or choosing to go, give way for two years; and in the event even of an absolute Labour majority, a measure of Repeal would need three years repeated carrying to get past the Lords' veto. Thus the most favourable conditions would require in practice five years for repeal; and in reality no majority Labour Government is likely to continue peacefully in office for three years. More likely than an absolute Labour majority is a Liberal-Labour majority, in which case a compromise revision of the law is as much as is likely to be achieved. The slogan of "Repeal" is thus equivalent to acceptance, and to surrender of the workers' weapons in the heavy struggles in front: for once the law is carried, the reformist leaders will certainly calculate to use it to protect themselves against the Left Wing or left policies.

Nothing shows the sham character of the official opposition more clearly than their practical action in the midst of the Government attack. At the same time as the Government attack, at the same time as they publicly call for a united front, the official leaders are actually duplicating the Government attack by a policy of disruption against the revolutionary elements. This policy, originated by the Labour Party two years ago, has now been extended to the Trade unions; and in the midst of the Government attack, exclusions, suspensions and disfranchisements are being carried out against local organisations and individuals associated with the Minority Movement or Communist Party. This is an extremely serious position, and shows clearly the joint character of the Government reformist campaign, as indeed proclaimed by Hodges at a lunch of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce on the same day as the Bill was issued:

"Employers on the one hand who do not understand the legitimate principle of trade unionism, and the followers of the Bolshevik philosophy on the other, can destroy such measure of prosperity as exists, unless there is strong rigorous action on our joint part to destroy them."

(Times 5, 4, 27.)

This "strong rigorous action on our joint part to destroy" the revolutionary elements — this is the policy of Hodges and the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, of Baldwin and MacDonald, of Churchill and Thomas. With answering unity, the Times has declared in defence of the Bill:

"Far from being a blow to the moderate section of the Labour Party and of the Labour Movement, it is in reality calculated to strengthen them against the 'enemies upon their flank' whom their leaders justly dread." (Times 2, 5, 27.)

Clearer of all are the expressions of MacDonald, who chances to be absent in America with a cold during the critical debates. On the issue of the Bill, he found that it "treats of admitted difficulties which might be the subject of an exchange of views" (Daily Herald 6, 4, 27). And in America he is reported to have declared lightly that "the Bill will not be a great blow to the Labour Party" (New York Times 16, 4, 27). It is evident that the assistance he may count on from the Bill, once passed, against the revolutionary Left Wing is not absent from his mind.

In this way the situation of the General Strike is reproduced in the fight against the Trade Union Bill. The Government

attack is nominally met with a united working class resistance. In actual fact the reformist leadership are working on the same side as the Government and paralysing resistance. This separation of the leadership was strikingly illustrated in the May Day Demonstrations. 50,000 London workers assembled in Hyde Park and demonstrated against the Bill. But the official leadership boycotted the demonstration, because it was on a united front basis. The Demonstration was addressed by Pollitt, Cook, Saklatvala, Gossip and others. The official leadership ventured on no central demonstration, knowing that they could not hold the workers, but abandoned the historic ground of Hyde Park and the May Day procession, and betook themselves to a few scattered small meetings in the outskirts.

The fight of the British workers against the bludgeoning attack of the Trade Union Bill is thus carried on under heavy difficulties, and with their fighting machine paralysed under reformist leadership. The Communist Party and Minority Movement are carrying on an intensive agitation for a general strike against the Bill and against the Baldwin Government. If the Bill passes, the agitation will be only redoubled. The answer of the workers to Baldwin's attempt to bind on them chains of legal slavery must be to smash the law by every means, to violate it en masse, to strengthen and revolutionise the Trade Unions, and above all to strengthen and extend the Minority Movement and the Communist Party as the instrument of the fight.

The Conservative Government Wants to Crush the English Working Class.

Comrade Tomsy on the Anti-Trade Union Bill in Great Britain.

Moscow, 8th May 1927.

In an interview granted to representatives of the press, comrade Tomsy answered questions of the press representatives concerning the **Anti-Trade Union Bill in Great Britain**:

Question: What can the Bill concerning the Trade Unions which has just passed the Second Reading in the British House of Commons, mean for the British trade unions?

Answer: In my opinion the main aims of the Bill are 1. to ensure a free hand for the British conservative government and its foreign policy against the working class, as, for instance the throttling of the Chinese revolution and the preparation of a war against the Soviet Union, and 2. to assist the offensive of the capitalists against the working class in Great Britain. This unparalleled Bill against the trade unions which bears a distinctly fascist character, is of enormous international importance. This Bill places the Tory government in the ranks of the bitterest enemies of the working class and amongst the most irreconcilable supporters of the offensive against the positions won by the working class. The Tory government has adopted the role of international gendarme, it is trying to crush the revolutionary movement of the Chinese workers and peasants with armed force and it is pursuing a policy of encirclement against the Soviet Union, the workers of which have shown their readiness to support their British brothers in deeds. The Tory government has thus put the deeds of the German bourgeoisie in the shade, the bourgeoisie, which robbed the German workers of the 8 hour day. The Tory government has gone farther than the French bourgeoisie which it is true, has introduced reactionary military laws, but which has not yet decided to attack the right of combination of the workers. The government of Baldwin-Chamberlain is keeping step with the government of Mussolini. This Bill is an expression of the advance of the counter-revolution against the working class. The workers of all countries perceive clearly the reactionary nature of this Bill. The Bill is a carefully calculated and carefully thought out blow against trade unionism in its present form, delivered by the class enemy of the proletariat. Regarded from the purely legal point of view the Bill throws the working class movement back to the time of the non-political craft union period of trade unionism. It robs the workers of the possibility of defending themselves against a continuation of the offensive of capitalism. Not merely that, but the Bill actually cuts the ground from under the feet of the trade unions. The Bill deceitfully robs the workers of the gains won in a century of struggle. The Bill means in practice the abolition of the right to strike and the right to organise, that is to say it robs the workers of their most powerful and effective means of defence. The Bill breaks abruptly with the basis and the traditions of the British constitution. It means a transition to fascism. The Bill prohibits strikes extending beyond one branch of industry, and, in consequence of the vagueness of the term, one branch of industry, it gives the judges the arbitrary right to define the character of any particular strike and to limit it to one factory or one department of a factory. The Bill prohibits all expres-

sions of proletarian solidarity, for instance, sympathetic strikes and collections to assist strikers. The aim of the Bill is not merely to split up the movement into craft groups, but to destroy every form of organisation whatever. The Bill prohibits any expression of proletarian discipline and forbids the unions to expel any of their members who have betrayed their fellows in the struggle. Not only that, but through this law, the smallest and most insignificant strike can be prohibited. To do this it is sufficient for the authorities to declare that it is a danger to the common weal, that it has political aims or that it nourishes hatred or contempt for strikebreakers etc.

The Bill prohibits in practice all forms of picketing and the removal of workers from the factories. The Bill makes it possible to confiscate trade union funds. And finally the Bill prohibits the exercise of the least pressure upon the government. In other words, any strike against preparations for war, against colonial excesses, against any action of the police etc., is a criminal offence and punishable as such. This Bill is therefore the most insolent robbery of the most elementary rights of the working class. The incredible demand that all strike-breakers in earlier strikes be rehabilitated is dictated by the wish to deal the trade unions a moral affront and to cause the morale of the organised workers to decline. The prohibition of the use of funds for political purposes, or the collection of such funds, not merely directly from the dues of the members or by additional contributions, but even from the funds of the unions, and further the state control of the expenditure of the unions, all this disarms the unions and makes them legally defenceless against the employers. With this law the bourgeoisie intends to smash the trade unions as organisations for the protection of the class interests of the workers, and to turn them into innocuous and unpolitical organisations for mutual support under the control of the bourgeois government, that is to say to turn them into enemies of the working class.

Question: Do the General Council and the leaders of the Labour Party in your opinion, recognise the whole danger of this Bill and its class significance, and do you consider the measures adopted by them against this Bill to be correct?

Answer: I am of the opinion that many leaders will not be at all upset by the passage of this Bill. In the past they were not upset by the defeat of the General Strike and following upon it the defeat of the miners. On the contrary, they did their utmost to bring about the defeat and have since conducted a furious campaign against the General Strike as a weapon of the workers. We can see the same now. This Bill is nothing more nor less than the legal expression of the daily activity of such leaders as Havelock Wilson, Spencer and Frank Hodges. This Bill is a Utopian attempt to abolish by legal means the unpleasant class struggle which so disturbs the member of His Majesty's Privy Council, the Right Honourable J. H. Thomas. This Bill is an attempt to establish the industrial peace for which the soft heart of MacDonald is longing. One cannot help noticing that MacDonald was absent when the miners' fight

was throttled. It is true, a little while ago MacDonald presented British public opinion with an article in the columns of the capitalist "Daily News", but the article did not concern itself with the Anti-Trade Union Bill, but with the relations to the Soviet Union, in which he recommended all capitalist governments to assimilate the Soviet Union by constant pressure. The attitude of the labour leader Spencer was still more brilliant; he defended the Bill. I fear that there are many others in the ranks of the trade unions and at the head of the Labour Party who approve of this Bill which represents the grave of the present British trade union movement. I don't wish to say however that the working class movement can be destroyed by an idiotic Bill drafted by dull conservatives, but the carrying out of this Bill will without a doubt hamper the development of the British working class movement and demand an energetic struggle and many victims from the side of the workers. This is made clear to me by the following facts: The special conference of executives which took place on the 29th April could not bring itself to decide to support its demands by any serious threat and did not appeal for any real mobilisation of the workers. More than that, by rejecting the proposal of the representative of the revolutionary minority, Gossip, for a General Strike, the conference excluded this powerful weapon from the Trade union arsenal in the struggle of the unions for their very existence. The idea of resisting force simply with parliamentary means is synonymous with the abandonment of the struggle. Has not the present moment shown once again in full clarity, the hollow sham of the famous English democracy, the whole meanness and cynicism of parliamentarism? Self-limitation in the face of the cynical enemy is a preliminary condition for defeat. The parliamentary speeches of the representatives of the Labour Party and the trade unions sound as though they had reconciled themselves with the passing of the Bill. Their refrain is: as soon as we take power we shall abolish this law anyhow. The fact is, however, that the Bill contains all the provisions necessary for preventing that the Labour Party ever comes to power; it robs the Labour Party of its funds, it demoralises the working class and weakens it with a view to defeating the Labour Party at the coming elections. In this way the time when the Bill will be abolished is postponed into the very remote future and the struggle is limited to parliament and to a few meeting halls. The General Council and the Labour Party do not wish and cannot decide to take up the struggle now, they feel themselves too weak, but they refuse to see that after the passage of the Bill they will not be stronger but weaker. This explains the number of mistakes.

The chief mistake of the leaders of the trade unions is, in my opinion, their refusal to mobilise all the forces of the working class in a struggle against the conservative government for the protection of the elementary rights of the workers and their unions. At the moment this Bill is a class criterion. All those in favour of fascism are in favour of this Bill. All who are opposed to fascism are opposed to the Bill. The groupment of forces must now proceed along these lines.

What do we see in reality? The General Council has not rallied the forces of the working class around itself. Just as before, a campaign is being conducted against the communists and against the revolutionary minority movement for their expulsion from the trade unions. The trade union leaders refuse to discuss their proposals, they humiliate themselves and carry on the struggle against the left whilst all the forces should be concentrated against the right, against the offensive of capitalism. The most honest and fearless fighters against this Bill and its originators are the communists and the revolutionary minority movement within the unions. Without doubt the working class of Great Britain will learn from the experience of this struggle and from the attitude taken up by its unions, who are the real friends of the workers and the best fighters for the interests of the workers. Is it not shameful to see that whilst the capitalists deliver blow after blow at the workers' unions, the leaders of these unions turn their backs and attack just the very best fighters and the most irreconcilable enemies of capitalism, the communists and the members of the revolutionary minority movement? That is the greatest and most impermissible mistake of the leaders of the General Council.

Question: Will the Bill be passed into law?

Answer: Apparently, yes. The British working class movement is faced with the task of the struggle in the second line of trenches, the more difficult and complicated work. It must fight for the practical annulment of the Bill from below, it must

prevent its being carried into practice. This struggle is the more difficult because the weight of the struggle falls chiefly upon the subordinate trade union officials and directly upon the masses themselves, demanding from them persistency, unending will, readiness to sacrifice and occasionally heroism. The British working masses have already shown the world of what they are capable. If they are correctly led there is no doubt that they will show the world once again that they are able and willing to fight against their class enemies for the protection of their trade unions, for the unfettered right to strike and for the maintenance of the captured positions against the united forces of the British imperialists and the renegades from their own ranks.

POLITICS

The Stahlhelm Parade in Berlin.

By P. R. Dietrich (Berlin).

According to the words of its leader, Herr Seldte, the Stahlhelm has been marching round the "red fortress" for seven years. This year the blow which had been planned for years was to be delivered. Things have turned out otherwise than the leaders of the Stahlhelm and the circles of heavy industry and big agrarians who are behind them had expected.

Although the Stahlhelm was assured the monopoly of the streets by the social democratic police president of Berlin, and although the counter-demonstrations of the class-conscious workers announced by the Communist Party and the Red Front Fighters League were prohibited by the same police president, hundreds of thousands of Berlin workers came out on the streets, so that the Stahlhelm people, instead of enjoying a triumphal march of "national conquest", were forced to run the gauntlet of the hostility and derision of the working class.

Already the opening of the eighth War Veterans Conference in Berlin foreshadowed the defeat of the march of the Stahlhelm in Berlin. The bombastic words of the leaders of the Stahlhelm at the opening celebration were unable to conceal their annoyance and disappointment caused by the fact that the attendance from the country was numerically far less than had been loudly proclaimed.

Herr Seldte was forced to admit that the "counter-action of the Left radicals" had succeeded in preventing thousands of Stahlhelm supporters in the provinces from taking part in the march on Berlin. Grinding his teeth with rage, Seldte was further compelled to admit that, owing to the protest actions of the Berlin working class, numerous quarters which had been originally granted had been since refused so that the programme had to be considerably shortened. Thus all the recruiting demonstrations which had been arranged for Sunday evening in Berlin, were struck out of the programme. The transport had to be re-arranged at the last minute, with the result that the greater part of the provincial organisations did not arrive in Berlin until the night from Saturday to Sunday, and then had to return already on Sunday evening. Seldte replied to these first successful proletarian defensive measures with a furious cannonade of abuse against the population of Berlin. Even the demonstration in the Stadium, in spite of the military tattoo and other imitations of former military spectacles, remained far behind the expectations of the organisers of the Stahlhelm march.

The march through the streets on Sunday, however, resulted in a complete defeat of the "national conquerors". The martial music and the military battle songs of the marching bourgeois-block guard were drowned by the powerful sounds of the "International", the cries of "Down with the Stahlhelm" and cheers for the red front. The workers' quarters were a blaze of red flags and bunting. In spite of the continued appeals of the national press, the black-white-red flags (German nationalist colours) were hardly to be seen even in the bourgeois quarters. The population of Berlin were completely cut off from the demonstration in the Lustgarten by a strong cordon of police. But even there, where the Stahlhelm people had it all to themselves, no fighting mood was to be discerned. The proclamation of the Stahlhelm leaders, which was read by Seldte and Diusterberg, was received without any noticeable enthusiasm. It was only when Seldte and Diusterberg demanded the recognition of the black-white-red colours and the strengthening of the authority of the President of the Republic for securing the well-

being of the country and the people, that the demonstrators answered with applause.

The march from the Lustgarten, which was delayed until the late evening hours, encountered in a still greater measure the proletarian counter-demonstrations. The excitement of the Berlin working class increased beyond measure in view of the open fraternising of a great portion of the police with the bourgeois-block guard and the arbitrary wholesale arrests. In view of the formidable character of the proletarian demonstrations, the police were compelled to draw a wider cordon round the quarters of the Stahlhelm. According to official reports, the "national conquerors", protected by the police of the Social Democrat, Zörgiebel, remained isolated. On Monday, nothing more was to be seen of the Stahlhelm plague.

The Berlin working class has inflicted a severe defeat on the national conquerors. This defeat is an equal defeat for the German bourgeoisie, which wished by means of the Stahlhelm march to demonstrate, not only to the Berlin working class, but to the working class in the whole of Germany the forces it has at its disposal in the economic and political fight against the proletariat.

And this defeat also hits the Social Democracy, which in the last few days openly sided with the bourgeois-block guard. Thousands of social democratic workers, thousands of members of the Reichsbanner (Republican Defence Corps) have, in spite of the "slogan of neutrality" of the social democratic Central Committee and of the Reichsbanner leaders, in spite of the infamous and lying campaign of the social democratic press, which provided the Stahlhelm press with the catch word for a fresh anti-bolshevist campaign, demonstrated along with the Communist workers against the Stahlhelm and proclaimed their determination to intensify the fight until the civil war army of the German bourgeoisie is completely defeated. Zörgiebel, Grzesinsky and the social democratic Central Committee have again provided the Berlin working class with an object lesson in regard to the development of bourgeois democracy and of the democratic republic into an outspoken instrument of the bourgeoisie for the purpose of holding down the working class.

As against the defeat of the Stahlhelm, of the German bourgeoisie and of the social democracy, there is a great increase in the sympathy and confidence of the Berlin working class towards the Communist Party.

The Berlin working class has followed the slogans of the Communist Party only. Under red flags it has demonstrated its will to fight, and has at the same time by firm determination prevented every attempt to instigate bloody collisions, which the S. P. G. leaders and the bourgeoisie wanted as a pretext for increased suppressive measures against the Communist Party. The 7th and 8th of May, which was to have seen the national defeat of the Berlin working class by the civil war guards of the government of the Right bloc, has ended with an increase of Communist influence among the Berlin working class.

The Struggle in England.

The Tory Government, the Labour Party and the Proletariat.

By J. T. Murphy.

The attack of the Tory Government on the working class comes at a time when the British Imperialists are engaged upon one of the most far reaching imperialist adventures of its history. It comes at a time when scores of thousands of troops have been landed in China for the purpose of shattering the Chinese Revolution, and the partitioning of China as a colony of the Imperial powers. It comes at a time when war is actually being waged without the declaration of war, when defenseless towns are bombarded and the masses of workers and peasants of China are being subjected to a frightful terrorism. Twelve months ago the great mass actions of the British workers, beginning on May the first, held off this great robber campaign. But the treachery and cowardice of the labour leaders in the succeeding months and their open support of this imperial brigandage present us with a situation wherein the British Government has been left, and is being left free to pursue its offensive in all directions almost unhindered.

The government, recognising that great resentment was developing among the masses against its policy in relation to the Chinese Revolution, determined to have its hands free for action. It therefore launched its trade union legislation with a two-fold object in view. It calculated that it would act as a

means of diverting the labour movement from attending to the issues of the Chinese Revolution on the one hand, and on the other, it could fetter the trade unions against mass action of any kind before it would be possible for sweeping changes to be made in the leadership of the trade unions.

Its calculations were well founded. It knew the British labour leaders thoroughly. It had taken the measure of their cowardice in the General Strike and the Miner's Lockout. It had got the measure of its control over the minds of the labour leaders and their loyalty to capitalism on every issue which had been raised during the last year. It knew quite well, nay more its leaders openly taunted the labour movement. For example, Lord Birkenhead publicly told its followers not to be alarmed at the stage fight which would be prepared and not to be perturbed by the great noise which would be forthcoming. He said that Mr. Wheatley would walk across the stage clumsily with Mr. MacDonald, but that all this talk and noise did not really mean that they would offer a real resistance to the Government. The Government had taken the measure of the Opposition and would go ahead with all that they had planned.

The plans and the taunts of the Government have been amply justified. On April 29th, a special conference of the Trade Union Executives met in London to prepare their plans of opposition to the Trade Union Legislation. The Labour Party representatives were there to re-inforce the General Council of the Trade Union Congress. Mr. Hicks marched across the platform followed by Mr. Citrine, Mr. Henderson and Mr. Bevin. One and all declared that the legislation was a conscienceless effort to disarm the workers' resistance against the lowering of their standard of life. They censured the efforts of the Government to damage the Labour Party. They stuttered and spluttered against the Legislation. They called upon the workers to show energetic resistance to all these efforts to deprive them of the rights given by Law. But did they consider a single suggestion as to how the workers should manifest this resistance? Not in the least. Indeed, when Gossip of the Furnishing Trades attempted to move an amendment to the cowardly resolution of the General Council and the Labour Party, so panic-stricken was the conference of bureaucrats at the slightest possibility of repeating the May Day decision of 1926 that before his resolution could be read, without even having heard what the resolution was, they were voting it down.

The demands of Gossip, Cook and Brown, that this resolution should be discussed was pooh-poohed. The bureaucrats had made up their minds to continue the policy of cowardly betrayal which had become their characteristic policy since the General Strike of 1926. All that they could offer was a resolution of protest against the legislation and a transfer of the fight to the Parliamentary Labour Party. It was a complete capitulation before the Government, a surrender to all its demands in the beginning, a turning of its campaign into a hot air campaign of propaganda for the next general election. All the talk of defending the rights of the trade unions has been answered by a surrender of the trade unions and a complete confession of the bankruptcy of the trade union bureaucracy before the attack of the government. To the deeds of the government they have answered only with words, and the government is unperturbed.

But still greater is their crime. Instead of using this Conference to explain to the workers the relation of this attack to the policy of the imperialists on all fronts, to expose the attack upon the trade unions as a part of the attack of imperialism upon the workers of China and the Soviet Union; instead of using the Conference as a means to mobilise the masses to stop the war upon China and to bring the government down, it refused even to discuss the war on China. Their crimes of treachery which they committed in 1914 in relation to the Imperialist war have thus been repeated openly and deliberately in an unpardonable manner. Their phrases about international solidarity which they uttered on May 1st, are a mockery of everything for which the working class movement strives and endures. Their opposition to the deeds of the government is a wordy opposition, their deeds are the deeds of capitulation.

Nevertheless, May Day in England witnessed a tremendous mass activity. Never before have the organs of the Labour movement been brought together so completely even for demonstrative purposes. Millions of workers participated in the demonstrations. The Communist Party and the Minority Movement have answered the government with the only answer that

was possible. They challenged the Trade Union Conference with the demand that it should prepare to answer the government's repudiation of all strikes by giving them the taste of a well prepared General Strike. They appealed to the conference to unite the campaign against the trade union legislation with the campaign for the stopping of the war on the Chinese Revolution. They urged that the campaign should not only take the form of words but should be a campaign of deeds, that the Opposition in Parliament should not simply be a wordy opposition but an opposition that would obstruct all business until the Bill was withdrawn and the Government stopped its war policy upon the Chinese Revolution.

Through the organs of the Party, Minority Movement and the Left Wing Movement and by great leaflet distribution all over the country this message has been delivered. Conferences have been organised in the most important towns, the subject of which has been the above campaign for decisive action against the government. May Day will therefore be witness to this campaign of our Party and the Minority Movement surging into all the labour demonstrations. Try as they may to exclude the revolutionary forces on this occasion they will not succeed. The revolutionary forces are persistently exposing the treachery of the labour leadership, its capitulation before the attack of the government and insistently demanding that a mighty drive be made to transform the mass sentiment against the Trade Union Legislation and the war on China into decisive mass action.

May Day, 1927, in Britain has witnessed millions of workers on the march, but it was the Communist movement alone which held aloft the banner of international class solidarity.

The Campaign of Persecution against the C. P. of France.

By Michel HOLLAY.

France is about to undergo the process of rationalisation. Unemployment threatens to assume larger proportions. In spite of increasing prices the capitalists are demanding reductions in wages. The working population is groaning under the burden of taxation. French finances have not yet been finally placed in order, nor has the Franc been definitely stabilised. French imperialism feels threatened in regard to its colonial possessions (Morocco, Syria, China). It is ready to participate in an anti-Soviet Bloc. At the same time the antagonisms between English and Italian imperialism on the one side and French imperialism on the other side are growing more acute.

French imperialism needs a crushed and disunited proletariat in order to be able to achieve its imperialist aspirations. It requires a "reliable" army as an instrument of power for satisfying its colonial greed, and also in order to hold down the working class.

But as in every country, so also in France the Communist Party, the Young Communist League and the revolutionary trade unions (C. G. T. U.) are offering resistance to these capitalist attempts at enslavement. These organisations are mobilising the revolutionary proletariat against capitalist rationalisation, against wage reductions, against high prices, against the financial restoration of the capitalist State at the cost of the working population, against the suppression of Alsace-Lorraine and the French colonies, and against the campaign in China. They have initiated a number of strike actions against wage reductions, such as the strike of the 15,000 workers of the Citroën motor car factory and the 24 hour demonstration strike in the textile factories in Central France. They are mobilising the miners for a general strike against the wage-cuts accepted by the reformist trade union leaders.

The anti-militarist propaganda is penetrating more and more the army and the navy. This work is being well carried out, especially by the Communist Youth.

The C. P. of France is the only Party which opposed the law introduced by the Socialist Paul Boncour for mobilising the whole nation in the event of war, and initiated a great campaign against its provisions, particularly against the militarising of the trade unions. The C. P. of France is striving at the same time for trade union unity and for the organising of all foreign workers.

The result of this active fight for the interests of the working population is that the ideological influence of the C. P. of France, of the Young Communist League, the revolutionary trade unions (C. G. T. U.) and the "Republican Asso-

ciation of Ex-Service Men" (A. R. A. C.) is continually increasing and that these organisations have become a power which represent an obstacle to the plans of French capital.

If the French bourgeoisie wishes to carry out its financial and economic restoration, if it desires to secure its imperialist power, it must seek to destroy that bulwark of the revolutionary proletariat. The attack of the French bourgeoisie on the revolutionary organisations was not long in coming. The reactionary press had prepared for it by means of a barrage of calumnious, lying and inciting articles.

A "conspiracy", a "case of espionage" was faked up against the revolutionary organisations. From this there arose a new spy scandal. The arrests began. On April 9, two trade union secretaries, Comrades Dadot and Menetrier, and Comrade Provost of the Unitarian trade union of arsenal workers were arrested. Numerous house-searches took place, including among others the central premises of the Party and the house of Comrade Crémet, a member of the Political Bureau of the C. P. of France for whom the police is eagerly seeking. Further arrests were carried out in the provinces and in the harbour towns. In order to give the matter an atmosphere of mystery a Russian, a painter named Abraham Bernstein, and a Lithuanian, Stephan Grodniki were arrested. Right from the commencement the whole frame-up was seen to be a very flimsy affair, although the police attempted to keep up the swindle by fresh arrests.

As the "conspiracy" proved a complete failure, the government had to hasten to the aid of the police. On April 22, the Minister for the Interior Sarraut, delivered a speech in which he violently attacked the Communists and designated them as spies and traitors, as "criminals who wish to besmirch and destroy the work of French colonisation". He concluded his harangue with the slogan: "Communism, that is the enemy". This slogan was taken up by the reactionary press with a regular howl of joy. The C. P. of France replied to this declaration of war with the slogan: "Capitalism, that is our enemy!" and with the promise to be more than ever traitors to the capitalist native country, to propagate the independence of the colonial peoples and the idea of fraternisation among the soldiers and sailors.

The government and the police adopted a number of provocatory measures for the 1st of May. The reactionary press demanded that all Communist demonstrations be prohibited and martial law proclaimed.

The revolutionary proletariat gave an energetic reply. On the 1st of May hundreds of thousands of workers marched under revolutionary banners and prevented by their discipline and unity the bloodbath planned by the police.

But the government is obstinately persisting in its policy of provocation. On the May 1, they had Comrade Monmousseau, secretary of the C. G. T. U., arrested. This shows that Poincaré is planning an attack on the trade unions at the same time as Baldwin. And it is possible that he will dissolve the C. G. T. U.

The offensive of the bourgeoisie is still being continued. The other day Comrade Marcel Cachin was again sentenced to 15 months imprisonment. Nine trials are pending; among others, against the General Secretary of the C. P. of France, Comrade Pierre Semard, and against the General Secretary of the French Young Communist League, Comrade Henry Barbé. The whole of the editorial staff of "Humanité" as well as nearly every leading comrade of the C. P. of France and of the revolutionary trade unions have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, most of them on account of "inciting soldiers to disobedience".

Now that the French socialists, at the Congress of Lyons, have again proclaimed their fidelity to the capitalist State, and the reformist trade union leaders have for long been co-operating with the government, Poincaré considers the time is ripe for destroying the revolutionary organisations and exterminating Communism.

The prison regime has become more severe. A number of imprisoned comrades have gone on hunger strike in order to enforce their elementary rights and to obtain better food.

The French proletariat, which has shown by its history that it knows how to fight against the bourgeoisie, will reply to the campaign of persecution undertaken by the French bourgeoisie and its government with increased fighting energy. A great protest action against the imprisonment of its best champions has already been initiated. The international proletariat

must join in the protest action of the French working class; it must remember that the French bourgeoisie, which in May 1871, after crushing the Commune, cooled its hatred of Communism in the blood of tens of thousands of workers, proceeds with utter ruthlessness against its class enemies.

The Never-Ending Morocco War.

By Jar (Madrid).

The Morocco problem, especially the questions relating to the Spanish protectorate zone, are at present of extraordinary political interest. As in 1921, the tribes are, one after another, rising against Spain; and the Riffis "in the service of Spain" are aiding their countrymen in their fight against the Spaniards. The present situation is similar to that created by Abd-el-Krim in 1921, when he was the leader of the Riff troops against Spain.

The present leader, Tensamani, has for a long time been the chief of the Ketama tribe. This tribe is now in revolt. Tensamani, who fought at the side of Abd-el-Krim, never submitted either to Spain or France. When Abd-el-Krim surrendered Tensamani took to the mountains, where he prepared the present attacks. His war tactics are exactly the same as those employed by Abd-el-Krim, which consist in seizing the offensive by attacking the most isolated French or Spanish posts.

Tensamani follows in everything Abd-el-Krim's policy. He calls himself Abd-el-Krim's representative in order to arouse rebellion among the tribes. He sent out emissaries with letters in which Abd-el-Krim expresses his trust in him and tells how he (Abd-el-Krim) has been cheated by the French and Spanish governments. All these facts show that Abd-el-Krim, even after his surrender, still possesses a powerful prestige.

Sheriff Sulitin Kamliski has also played an important part in recent events. About a month ago, this Sheriff who is an important personage in the Riff district, joined the rebel forces. His secession and that of other members of his family brought matters to a head in the Sinhaja district. The Ketama tribe rose and on March 25, invaded the territory of the Tarjut tribe, which joined the revolt. The Spanish garrison of an important strategic post, at Bab Slib, considering the position to be untenable, crossed the frontier and entered the French zone. The effect upon the neighbouring tribes was to induce them also to raise the standard of revolt.

The situation of the Spanish troops in the last few weeks has really been difficult and wretched. The Riffis offensive was very fierce particularly in Ketama's districts. The columns of Generals Mola, Pozas, and Solans were for many days blockaded by snow; the condition of the ground was so bad that it was impossible to help them. Only a few Riffis with some provisions succeeded in reaching them. The bad conditions which the Spanish troops have to endure have caused demoralisation in the Spanish army. Primo de Rivera was compelled to set out immediately for the Spanish protectorate zone in order to restore authority. On the day when Primo de Rivera's trip to Morocco was decided on, General Jordana stated to some press representatives that a real disaster had occurred in the Riff which compelled the dictator to leave at once for Morocco. Owing to the censorship, however, General Jordana's statement was not published. Primo de Rivera himself declared that "the casualties were not so heavy as had been expected". These words only confirm the serious nature of the catastrophe.

Abd-el-Krim's surrender did not result in any favourable change for Spain in Morocco. It is officially stated that 57 tribes out of 69 tribes living in the Riff districts have surrendered to Spain; consequently only 8 are still in revolt. It is further maintained that 30,000 rifles have been collected from the Riffis, and that in the whole of the Spanish zone the Riffis only have 7000 rifles.

The surrender of the majority of the tribes has no political significance. These surrenders have been obtained by bribing the most important chiefs with large sums of money. But these chiefs can only command obedience from the Riffis when they succeed in the fight against the enemy. The recent attacks have shown that the Riffis have at any rate more than 7000 rifles. The Spanish authorities are trying to ascertain by what means munitions are conveyed into the Riff districts. The African League (Liga Africanista) affirms that France is supplying the rebels with arms.

In order to put an end to the present state of things the

Spanish army is using more cruel methods than ever. Brutal raids are carried out every day. Primo de Rivera himself has declared that the methods of the Spanish army in the Riff are most severe.

Some days ago regiments from Saragossa and Barcelona sailed for Morocco. Primo de Rivera has repeatedly declared that the number of Spanish soldiers in Morocco has been considerably reduced since Abd-el-Krim's surrender. The censorship does not permit anything to be published regarding the sending of fresh troops to Morocco. Press representatives who were present at the embarkation of troops say that the spirit of the soldiers reminds one of the mutiny of Malaga during the embarkation of troops in 1923. The Moroccan war is being conducted in spite of the hostility of the Spanish people.

The difficulties of the present situation are well understood by military experts who are familiar with conditions in Morocco. They know that the position will soon be disastrous for Spain. Tensamani's emissaries are visiting all the tribes and calling upon them in the name of Abd-el-Krim to take up the fight against Spain.

Primo de Rivera has decided to put an end to this state of affairs. For this purpose he is using any methods however violent. He wants to give other nations the impression "that Spain is capable of succeeding in any military enterprise". Should he fail in Morocco it will mean the failure of his imperialist plans in regard to other countries.

Great military preparations are being made in secret. The "Correspondencia Militar", the organ of the military party, published a picture of the first 40 cannons manufactured in Spain, and announced that the Spanish army will very soon have 400 more. "We will manufacture 4000 if necessary" it declares. The same article stated: "Spain may be called upon in the near future to participate in an alliance with its men and blood, and must be fully prepared in order to achieve its great ideal." The alliance, of course is with Italy.

Primo de Rivera's policy towards France is becoming more hostile every day. The Liga Africanista is conducting an active campaign against France. Primo de Rivera's organ and the newspapers in his pay are organising a similar campaign, particularly in regard to the Moroccan question.

The late Riffian offensive will render the differences between the French and Spanish imperialists more acute.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS

The Activity of the Government of the Soviet Union in Foreign and Home Politics.

Report of Comrade A. I. Rykov, President of the Soviet of the People's Commissaries at the 4th Soviet Congress of the U. S. S. R.

(Conclusion.)

Comrades, at the present time, it is impossible to give even a superficial characterisation of the internal situation and the home policy of the Soviet Union, without touching on the chief economic questions which have taken the most important place in the activities of the Government during the whole time that has elapsed. At the moment, when the civil war came to an end and the country was on the threshold of peaceful economic construction on the basis of the new economic policy, Lenin said at the 8th All-Russian Soviet Congress at the end of 1920:

This is the beginning of the happiest epoch in which there will be less and less politics, in which we shall speak about politics less frequently and at less length but in which the engineers and agriculturalists will speak more."

And again:

"We have undoubtedly learnt politics. In this field, we shall not be defeated, in this field we have a firm foundation. As regards economics however, our position is bad. From now onwards, the best policy of all is less politics. Encourage the engineers and the agriculturalists, learn from them, test their work, turn the congresses and the consultations not into organs for assemblies of the people, but into organs for testing actual results, into organs in which we can learn the right methods of economic construction."

If we disregard the difficulties in our foreign policy, Lenin's statement at the 8th Congress is still more justified now than it

was at the time when these words were spoken; for the power of the working class has established itself still more firmly, nothing threatens the whole system of the Soviets within the country, economic construction has entered on a new and higher phase of its development.

In the time which has elapsed since the great October, the chief support of the October achievements — the alliance between the workers and the peasants — has become consolidated, it has grown and in doing so expanded in the flames of civil war and in the tremendous work of overcoming economic devastation, which followed that period. The consolidation of the alliance between the workers and peasants, the joint action of both classes and the harmony in politics resulting therefrom should now ensure a successful advance on the lines of the transformation of our whole economics on to the basis of the latest achievements of world science and world technique.

In our circumstances, with the concentration of transport, the credit system and almost the whole of industry in the hands of the State, with the nationalisation of the land and the non-existence of a land-owning class and a class of large bourgeoisie, this transformation is identical with the construction of socialism. The construction of a socialist society is a lengthy process which will demand many years. Every step along this path will raise the economic and cultural level of the country and the well-being of the masses of the people, especially of those strata whose position is least stable.

I. The Policy of Industrialisation.

At this Congress, the question of the way to construct socialism should be discussed. What path leads to socialism? The path of industrialisation. Industrialisation alone increases the productivity of social work many hundredfold, adds to the well-being of the masses and provides the possibility of turning to account the inexhaustible wealth of our country in the interest of those masses.

It is hardly necessary to bring special proof that industrialisation is the very thing which forms the foundation of the construction of socialism — especially in our country which carried out the October revolution. Industrialisation was not "thought out" by the October revolution, it is a natural development of history. The analysis of history has given the founders of scientific communism the possibility of proving irrefutably that the development of the material productive forces, which are characterised by the existence of a large manufacturing and mining industry and an industrial proletariat, leads inevitably to socialism replacing the capitalist economic system. Industrialisation means, in our circumstances, a transition, let us say, from torches to electricity, from the wooden plough to the tractor, from ignorance to culture. In the Soviet State however it is not merely a case of the development of productive forces as such, independently of the social forms of the classes and of the direction taken by that development, but of the construction of a new economic organisation, the socialist one.

Industrialisation which, in its completed form means the organisation of Soviet economics, will lead to the complete wiping out of class distinctions and at the same time to the abolition of the abyss which yawns between rural and urban life, which is the historical legacy of a past which has seen many centuries.

In order to throw light on the concrete changes which have taken place in our economics during the last few years, I will quote the following numerical data of the Gosplan (Institution for Systematic Economy) of the Soviet Union:

Economic Year	Total Production (in Mill. Prewar Roubles)	Industrial Production in percent of total Production	Agricultural Production in percent of total production	Production of means of pro- duction in percent of industrial production	Percentage of the workers occupied in industry, com- merce and transport out of the whole working population
1923/24 . . .	12,272	27.8	72.2	51.7	9.3
1924/25 . . .	14,619	34.8	65.2	52.6	9.7
1925/26 . . .	18,306	38.2	61.8	54.4	11.0
1926/27 . . .	20,166	41.0	59.0	56.1	11.5

These figures show that, when there is a general increase of the production in industry, the following also increase: 1. The share in industrial production; 2. the share taken by the production of means of production in industrial production as a whole; 3. the percentage of the industrial population.

In order to give a complete characterisation of this change in the construction of the national economy of the Soviet Union, I will give data as to the rate of the development of industry and agriculture and the level they have reached as compared with 1913. It must however be remarked that we still have no exact and finally confirmed data for determining the level of production in the last few years as compared with that in 1913, as they vary according to the basis on which they are founded. These variations in calculations, which only move within very narrow limits do not however change the essential general trend of the development in the least.

Economic Year	Level of production in per- cent of 1913 (prewar prices)		Rate of Development in a year	
	Agriculture	Industry	Agriculture	Industry
1923/24	72.3	44.1	6.5	32.8
1924/25	77.9	65.6	7.6	48.9
1925/26	92.3	90.3	18.6	37.7
1926/27	97.2	106.6	5.3	18.1

(According to the calculations of the Supreme Council for National Economy, the growth of industry in the economic year 1926/27 will amount to more than 20%).

We must of course take into consideration that the level of industrial production during the years of the civil war was much lower than that of agriculture; this explains to a considerable extent the rapid rate of the development of industrial production in the last few years. In the years which have just passed, industry has caught up the growth of agricultural production and is now on a somewhat higher level than agriculture (as compared with 1913).

The data I have provided are a numerical expression of the fact that the country is developing on the lines of industrialisation. We must not of course over-estimate the significance of this fact, for we are only at the beginning of the lengthy period of development, in the course of which the final transformation of our agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian one must take place.

The industry of our whole country is very backward. The resolution of the Government to erect works for the construction of agricultural machinery in Rostov, tractor factory in Stalin-grad or to build the Siemiretchensk railway which is to link Central Asia with Siberia etc. is just as necessary for the development of the industry of the whole country as is the erection of a smithy in some remote district.

Of course another way is thinkable, that at which the bourgeoisie of Western Europe and America aims, the way of a "division of Labour" between our State and the capitalist States surrounding it, in which the Soviet Union would have to remain an agrarian country exporting grain and raw materials and buying industrial products abroad. This form of development however leads the colonies to fight with elementary force against their mother countries and has already led to insurrection in a number of cases. This way would lead, on the one hand, to the servile subjugation of our whole national economy to foreign capital and, on the other hand, to making a permanency of the economic and cultural backwardness of our country. This way means the complete renunciation of the construction of socialism in our country, but also of the actual, certain economic progress of the country.

The inadequate development of industry impresses the whole industry of the Soviet Union with the stamp of backwardness. This must be pointed out most decidedly. In our country, in which the dessjatine only yields one half or one third as much as does agriculture in the advanced bourgeois countries, in our country where the factories and works are badly equipped and do not guarantee to the population the necessary quantity of cheap and good wares, a further development of industry is only possible along the lines of industrialisation; this development can and must only proceed simultaneously in industry and agriculture.

Just at the present time it has become especially clear to everybody that the possibilities of agriculture and its rate of

development depend on the degree of development of industry and transport. If agriculture is a source of raw materials for industry and of food for the urban population, a support to export and, by means of export, a support of import, a market for industrial goods and a reservoir for the forces of Labour, the realisation of industrialisation guarantees the development and intensification of agriculture thanks to the fact that it provides the peasantry with cheap agricultural machines and other industrial goods, thanks to the increase in the demand for agricultural goods and thanks to the revival of the whole turnover of goods. Industrialisation increases the demand for workers both in the towns and villages to a considerable degree and leads, first of all to a relaxation of tension and finally to a complete disappearance of unemployment and of over-population in the rural districts.

We must recognise that the first years during which industrialisation is carried out are particularly difficult ones for the whole country.

The chief difficulties arise from the temporary disproportion between the positive results arrived at immediately by industrialisation and the necessary outlay which, in our circumstances of general lack of means, necessarily produces a certain tension in the whole economics of the country. For instance, we begin to construct the Dnieprostroj, the railway between Turkestan and Siberia (Semiretshensk railway), the Volga-Don canal. For all this together we shall have to spend some hundreds of millions of roubles (not less than 350 to 400 million roubles). In the scheme for the next five years, this outlay is a "minus" as regards the achievement of immediate results; as long as the works mentioned are not completed (this will take longer than the five years under consideration) the country will have no actual profit from them. This of course imposes a considerable burden on the country. The Government has resolved to construct a number of large works (large foundries, machinery works etc.) in the current year.

II. Is the Rate at which our Industrialisation is Proceeding Adapted to our Strength?

Is the rate of industrialisation, of reconstruction, which we have adopted, in proportion to our strength? The present increase of prices of industrial products is of course largely due to the lack of sufficiently good organisation in industry, to the large extra costs etc. The most important cause of this increase, of prices and the one which it is most difficult to do away with, is the worn-out condition and backwardness of our industrial equipment. The renewal and repair of the equipment of industry was entirely neglected or only undertaken to a very small extent ever since the imperialist war and until two or three years ago (not to mention the fact that the civil war was responsible for a direct destruction of that equipment).

Our whole industry is extremely backward as regards its technique. This has made it imperative that we should make up for past omission as quickly as possible and re-equip industry in the shortest possible time.

During the time referred to, houses also have got into a condition of great disrepair. So far we have not been able to arrest the decrease of the dwelling space per head of the urban population. The housing question assumes a more acute character every year. Not only the well-being and the very existence of the population in the towns, but even the development of industry depends on it. The condition of housing is now at its lowest ebb and may form an obstacle to the development of industry and of our whole economics.

In this respect, things are not at their best as regards transport and especially railways. Railway traffic is developing at a tempestuous rate and, on some lines, has far exceeded the pre-war standards. In order to make any progress in the domain of transport, it is also necessary to invest large sums in the work. Whereas at present the capital invested in transport and housing is less than invested in industry, we must in future avoid the great discrepancy which exists between industry on the one hand, housing and transport on the other hand, otherwise the insufficient development of transport and housing may act as a drag on the development of our whole economics.

The total picture of the growth of the investment of capital both in industry and in other branches of national economy may be seen from the following table:

Investment of Capital in the National Economy of the Soviet Union according to the Data of the Gosplan.

(In millions of Tchervonetz roubles.)

	1924/25	1925/26	(Estimate) 1926/27
Industry	385.0	780.1	917.8
Electricity	39.0	109.0	153.0
Transport	104.1	223.0	278.7
Agriculture	272.3	349.8	509.4
Housing	203.3	309.0	373.8
Other purposes	137.3	247.8	312.2
Total	1,141.0	2,018.7	2,544.9

In this respect we should remark that in the sum estimated for industry in 1926/27 (917.8 millions) a reserve of 30 million roubles has not been considered, that, in the outlay for electricity in the economic year 1924/25 only the money was reckoned which was allocated from the Budget and that further, under "other purposes", the investment of capital for post, telegraph and telephone, for municipal economics, the local construction of roads, elevators and refrigerators, hospitals, schools and buildings for People's Commissariats are to be understood.

These figures testify to the tremendous efforts which are being made by the country in undertaking such investments, and the great burden which it places on the whole economics and population. Is the pace indicated by these columns of figures adapted to our strength and are we capable of keeping it up?

From this point of view it is of special interest to consider the experiences made in the investment of capital during the economic year 1925, the first half of which, as is well known, was characterised by the development of symptoms of crisis. These unfavourable phenomena arose through the investment of capital on a large scale being too forcibly developed at the beginning of the year. The extent of this investment was estimated rather higher than the accumulation of capital in the previous year admitted, and this with a simultaneous considerable increase of the measure of personal consumption. The Government succeeded in extricating itself from these difficulties by restricting the excessive measure of the investment of capital and also by adapting it in correspondence to the actual means of the country, by correcting the credit and financial policy (reducing the money in circulation, restricting credit), by carrying out a regime of economy etc. In order to prevent the possibility of a decrease of the purchasing power of the Tchervonetz, we were obliged to withdraw superfluous notes from circulation.

The measures taken made it possible for the Government to restore the economic equilibrium which had been upset and, as I have shown by figures, in ensuring a fairly large investment of capital in the whole national economy. Thus, after correcting the notorious "miscalculations" which had been allowed to take place in the autumn of 1925 and after restricting the exaggerated plans, we succeeded in maintaining the pace at which we had started and the measure of investments provided for and in raising ourselves to a higher level of economic development.

This year we are faced by the duty of carrying through a considerably extended programme of capital investment. The experiences of the last six months justify us in anticipating with every probability that in this year we shall succeed in avoiding the difficulties encountered last year.

The whole situation gives us reason to hope that the economic development which relies on a succession of good harvests, will take a more favourable course this year than last. Our arrangements for the provision of grain are fairly satisfactory. The condition of the money and currency market gives us no cause for anxiety, and we have not been obliged (as in the previous year) to resort to a supplementary issue of money in order to carry out the programme we have laid down. On the 1st of April, the sum of money in circulation was about the same as on October 1st (October 1st 1926, 1,343.1 million roubles; on April 1st, 1,346.5 million roubles); now there is not only no sign of a sudden fluctuation of the rouble but there are signs of our system of money becoming consolidated and of an increase in the purchasing power of the tchervonetz.

At the time of the Congress (to put it more exactly, in the first six months) we have already succeeded in accumulating about sixty million roubles.

The monopoly of foreign trade has had a considerable influence in this struggle for a favourable balance of our foreign trade and to consolidate our position with regard to currency. From time to time, rumours are circulated abroad that our atti-

tude towards the foreign trade monopoly is changing or must change. I take this opportunity of stating categorically that our foreign trade monopoly is one of the chief pillars of the whole economic policy of the Government and that no weakening of the monopoly can be admitted. The monopoly of foreign trade not only guarantees the possibility of a systematic management of all our relations in foreign trade but also protects the interests of the working population of the Soviet Union. The existence of the monopoly makes it possible for the Government to organise and develop our foreign trade in such a way that it can satisfy the requirements of the workers to the full.

The peasantry is more interested than any other class in the development of our foreign trade. If we secure the system of our foreign trade by the necessary equipment of technical material in the form of a vast network of elevators and plants for cold and dry storage etc. (this equipment is unfortunately still very inadequate in our country), a solution would be found to the problem of dealing with the mass of agricultural production which finds no market. This would improve the situation of the peasantry to a very high degree. The mere construction for instance of canning factories would ensure a tremendous sale of products, such as vegetables and fruit, which at present are at times simply wasted. Our weakness is to be found in the fact that the material and technical side of our commerce, including foreign trade, has not attained the desirable level. This is the first year in which the Government has allocated money for the organisation of cooling plant, dry storage, elevators, canning factories etc. The peasantry will find that the improvement of the apparatus of our foreign trade and the perfection of the apparatus for providing material within the country is a support for the development of agriculture.

I return to the question as to whether our investment of capital is adapted to our strength. Although there are no external, visible signs of general disorder in the economic situation of our country, we nevertheless sometimes hear complaints that the system might be overstrained. Here, at the Soviet Congress, we must not conceal the fact that this plan involves of course a great strain, but it would be quite impossible for our country to extricate itself from its extreme backwardness and to become a country of culture, wealth and industry without making tremendous efforts.

We must start from the premiss that the immediate task of the Soviet Union is the creation of conditions of living for the workers and peasants which recall those of Tsarist times as little as possible. Unfortunately we are still obliged to compare the wages of the worker with pre-war wages and the present situation of the peasantry with that in which they lived under the Tsar. We must put an end to the need for this comparison as quickly as possible by leaving the standard of living of Tsarist Russia far behind. It would of course be possible for us to use the money which we are spending this year on the Dnjeprstroj and the Semiretchensk railway, by distributing it to the poor in the villages and the unemployed in the towns or to spend the hundreds of millions of roubles intended for investment in industry on, let us say, a campaign against the destitution of children. What would be the result? Only that the distress we should have tried to combat in so simple a way, would increase still more in the next years. For this reason, the policy adopted by the Government in this respect during the last two years, seems to me absolutely right.

We must avoid the danger of letting the amount invested in work of this kind grow to such an extent that the position of the working masses would deteriorate. This would be a very great mistake, not only from the political but from the economic point of view. We must carry out industrialisation in such a way as to make it possible to arrive at the end aimed at in the shortest possible time whilst ensuring the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry, the two chief classes of the Soviet State, and maintaining the mutable equilibrium of our whole economic system.

In this respect it is worth while to call attention to the instructions given by the 3rd Soviet Congress with regard to the development of industry:

"In connection with the steadily growing requirements of the Soviet Union and with the requirements of the development and intensification of agriculture and its increased capability of production, we must not only maintain the rate of expansion entered on by State industry, but we must intensify it, with the imperative preliminary condition however that the expansion is carried out in a strictly systematic order corresponding to the financial possibilities and

requirements of the country, above all of peasant farming, and in keeping with the actual improvement of the quality of the products."

It is impossible at the present time to carry on economic work without a well thought out plan of economic development calculated for many years. It will take five years to construct the Semiretchensk railway or the Dnjeprstroj. If we proceed with the construction of the Volga-Don canal, it also will require no less time. A number of other works of construction will also require long periods. The Gosplan has now made a preliminary sketch of a five years' plan which will be laid before the Government for examination in the immediate future. From this plan it is evident that the measure of the investment of capital in national economy during the next five years will amount to about 15 to 20 milliard roubles.

To what purposes and in what way these means are to be invested, how much of them is to be devoted to agriculture, how much to industry and how much to transport, is at present one of the most important and most difficult questions of our economic reconstruction.

III. Industrialisation and the Economic "Smytchka" of the Working Class with the Peasantry.

After the slogan of the industrialisation of the country had been issued, many persons formed the opinion that this slogan was a spear-head directed against agriculture. In order to prove how utterly unfounded is such a view, I quote the figures of the expenditure on agriculture in the last economic years from 1923/24 to 1926/27.

According to the estimates of the People's Commissariat for agriculture, according to the local budgets, according to the financing of agriculture by extraordinary allocations, including the expenditure on the irrigation of Trans-Caucasia and Turkestan, the allocations from the State Budget alone and from local means amounted to 114.5 million roubles in 1923/24, to 239.9 million roubles in 1924/25, to 309.7 million roubles in 1925/26 and to 335.8 million roubles in 1926/27.

Thus, in four years, we have spent more than a milliard roubles on the requirements of agriculture out of the State Budget and of local budgets. Apart from this, agriculture receives money through the system of agricultural credit. These sums amount to 203 million roubles this year. We see from this that 550 million roubles will be spent on agriculture in the current economic year, a sum which is twice as high as the sum allocated in 1913.

The capital invested in agriculture through the Central Cotton Committee, the Sugar Trust and other organisations, the economic expenditure of which on agriculture amounts to many millions of roubles, is not included in the particulars given.

There is no doubt that the outlay mentioned is insufficient. It must be quite categorically admitted that our agriculture is not capable of developing with the necessary rapidity by itself, without the help of the State.

The need for this help from the State is being felt particularly acutely at present, because agriculture also has come to the end of its period of "reconstruction", in the sense that the peasantry, in view of its backward technique, cannot continue to develop agriculture — especially in the thickly populated districts — in spite of their having completely appropriated the whole of the land which was previously private property and is now in the hands of the peasantry and in spite of their exhaustive use of all the extensive methods of agriculture.

The chief trouble in the villages is the so-called surplus population, i. e. those hands who cannot find employment in agriculture itself. This over-population is the result of our extraordinary backwardness in agriculture. This backwardness is expressed in the very low produce of our harvests which is two or three times below the norm of the yield of the harvests in foreign countries where agriculture is practised on modern lines. Whereas with us, 50 to 60 poods of rye to the dessjatine are regarded as a good harvest, 140 to 150 poods are by no means rare abroad.

Signs are making themselves felt at present indicating that something is wrong in the domain of cattle-breeding and of the cultivation of raw materials. The Government has taken a number of measures directed towards overcoming the perceptible delay in the development of cattle-breeding and of the cultivation of raw materials.

It would however be wrong to regard the wrong policy concerning the prices of raw materials last year as the only cause of the difficulties in the matter of raw materials. It is indisputable that fairly serious mistakes were committed in this respect, but they are not the only basis of the difficulties by which we are faced in the whole question of raw materials. Only think! in Belgium the harvest produces 72 poods of flax per dessjatine, in our country it only yields 16 to 18 poods. In the districts where flax is grown, almost all the suitable land has already been taken into cultivation. In order to make further progress, we must cultivate new land in these districts, but there is no new land. We shall not therefore achieve great results, in view of the present level of agriculture, of the existing area under cultivation, of the yield of 16 to 18 poods. Measures must be taken at once to introduce organic changes into the system of agriculture itself. We must ensure a transition from the threefold to a manifold rotation of crops, the use of better seed, improved manuring etc. If we cannot equal the Belgians, we must at least, as quickly as possible, raise our production per dessjatine to half what is achieved by the Belgians.

I do not wish to be understood to imply that the way to intensify agriculture is necessarily a uniform one and that the same methods are applicable to all the 25 million peasant farms. In a State so enormous as the Soviet Union, however correct may be the policy of intensification with regard to the overwhelming mass of peasant farms, there will always remain districts which offer great possibilities for a profitable development of extensive agriculture. We have any amount of virgin soil in districts which are insufficiently populated, which can and must be turned to account.

But the methods of intensification itself, the methods of raising agriculture to a new and higher level must be individualised according to the character of each separate district.

Agriculture is at present carried on to a considerable extent on the lines of natural farming. This is particularly to be seen in the fact of the accumulation of so-called "invisible" stores of grain. The Central Statistical Office has given information in which it states that the possible measure of this accumulation in kind on July 1st was something approaching 700 million poods.

This is rather more than the stores which were reported by statistics in the pre-war time.

These stores indicate an undoubted improvement in the well-being of the peasantry. They form a reserve in agriculture for the event of elementary catastrophes, bad harvests and drought. By ensuring agriculture against such misfortunes, the peasants ensure at the same time the whole national economy, the whole country.

The negative side of the question is that accumulation in kind is limited by its very nature. The most important negative aspect is that this immense wealth in the form of 700 million poods of grain is completely tied up. Vast material is withdrawn from the turnover of the whole country in the form of these stores in kind, which of course results in a considerable check being put on the general rate of economic development. Those farms in which these natural reserves are stored, might use the reserves for the purchase of good machines, manures, cattle and altogether for improving their farming. It would mean an appreciable gain both to the farms in question and to the whole country.

This form of storing up in kind is the result, firstly of the elementary nature and the instability of peasant farming, which insures itself against elementary catastrophes in this way, and secondly of the insufficient connection between town and village. The chief cause which prevents the development of the connection between town and village, between industry and agriculture, is the unfavourable relation between the prices of agricultural products and industrial products. The reduction of the prices of industrial products, at which all the Soviet organs are working with all energy, is an absolutely indispensable preliminary both for the general improvement of the position of the mass of the people in general and of the peasantry in particular and also for ensuring on this basis the necessary economic *Smytchka* between town and village, and the most rapid development of agriculture.

Some comrades consider it a contradiction that on the one hand we set ourselves the task of promoting the progressive forms of the development of agriculture, the general use of machines in agriculture and the transition to more perfected

methods of the cultivation of the soil whilst, on the other hand, we wish to support our policy on the masses of the poor and middle peasantry, as we have done in the past. I must strongly emphasise that there is no contradiction in this. In the villages the Government has relied on the masses of the poor and middle peasants and will continue to do so in the future. Our policy, which is directed towards limiting the growth of the Kulaks and their efforts at exploitation, remains unshaken.

The development of agriculture on the basis of a higher technique will only be successful, if the whole mass of the middle and poor peasants is included in the process of intensification, of the qualitative growth of agriculture. The social position of the poor peasant makes him the nearest neighbour of the worker. Our whole policy is directed towards helping the poor peasant to get his farming on its feet and to lift him out of his poverty. We rely on the poor peasant, but it is by no means our object in supporting him, to keep him a poor peasant in the village for ever. In our country there will be less poor peasants in the villages every year. The co-operatives are and always have been the chief method of organising the peasants in the fight against poverty and to improve their farming. We are now trying to popularise the use of improved machines, improved seed and manures in the villages. All this of course costs money, and it is not every peasant who can buy them, not only among the poor but perhaps even among the middle peasants. If the middle and poor peasantry refuses to organise itself in co-operatives, the Kulak elements, the rich peasants, will introduce this re-organisation in their farming, will make use of tractors and become a stratum out of which may, in the end, develop landed proprietors.

The co-operative organisation of the peasantry is particularly necessary at the present time, when the peasantry must adopt a new agricultural system, must use such machines and such methods of working which are often beyond the means of the individual peasant. We are therefore bound, at the present time, to exert every effort to steer our course towards the organisation of the mass of the population which numbers many millions, in co-operatives, a course which has been the chief factor in the policy of the Government in past times, not only in the villages but in the towns.

When we speak of co-operatives, we must not fail to refer to a very important fact in our economic life, i. e. the successful way in which private capital has been driven out from important branches of trade. Whilst, in former times, the private trader had almost the whole retail trade and something like half the wholesale trade in his hands, so that he was in reality the master of the market, the private trader has now been ousted to a considerable extent during the past two years thanks to the increased activities of the co-operatives and of the trading organisations of the State. In 1924, the private trader took 22% of the turnover in wholesale trade, and in this year only 10%; in retail trade his share fell from 60 to 40%, 60% now being in the hands of the co-operatives and of State trading. The private trader has also, to a certain extent, been driven out of the domain of the trade in grain. Whereas last year the private loads of grain transported to the consumers by rail amounted to 20%, the amount fell this year to 5% and in the course of a few months to 2%.

* * *

Comrades, I started my report with Lenin's words about the importance of agriculturalists, engineers and technicians in our economic work. Now, that we have proceeded to carry out industrialisation, the question of technicians from the intellectual class has acquired special significance. We have proceeded to the reconstruction of the industry, transport and agriculture and the whole economics of the country on the basis of modern technique. Decisive results in this work can only be achieved if, firstly, cadres of people are found, who are sufficiently instructed in the domain of these achievements and who are able to apply them practically and, secondly, if these cadres work with the sincerity, the energy and the devotion to the interests of the workers which is due to the task of constructing socialism.

No satisfactory solution has hitherto been found to the question of our whole work being carried out by the intellectuals. We have endeavoured to enlist all the intellectuals living in our country in the work, we have enlarged the universities and provided them with students from among the workers and peasants, but the need for specialists grows much faster than these new cadres. In a number of cases we resort to making

use of the experiences of Western Europe and America by employing Western European technicians for our work, a very costly experiment.

In the future, the technical workers must take more responsibility, must take a greater share in economic construction. In accordance with this, their duties and rights in our economic bodies must be more definitely determined. In connection with the new, special tasks of the economic development of the Soviet Union, the share taken by the intellectuals, the specialists and the technicians in our regulating organs, must grow. In connection with this however it is particularly necessary to emphasise that the strengthening of the part taken by the specialists must in no circumstances be allowed to lead to a renewal of the caste interests in which the intellectuals of former times were brought up.

Still a few words, comrades, on the campaign against bureaucratism which is being carried on by the Government, especially by the inspection of workers and peasants. Lenin spoke innumerable times, we have all spoken, about the necessity of fighting against bureaucratism. It is our duty to construct an apparatus for the administration of the State, which is cheap, which answers its purpose and which appeals to the broad masses. I must admit that the experience of the past years convinces us that this work presents tremendous difficulties, that it is far more difficult than it seemed to be at first. Not until the last few years have there been any signs of some success in this campaign against bureaucratism. These achievements are the result of our having arrived at a more active and direct participation of the masses in the work of our Soviet and economic organs through the Soviets and through a number of other organisations.

At the present time, the worker and peasant inspection has started on a very necessary piece of work in the fight against the "red tape", which has seized the channels of our apparatus of State, not only in towns, in local districts, but in the centre, and is carrying it through. I do not for a moment mean to say that things are better in Moscow than they are in the districts and in the local communities. Conditions must be created which ensure the complete and all-round support of all the Soviet organs and of the whole mass of workers and peasants in this work of the inspection of workers and peasants.

At the 3rd Soviet Congress of the Soviet Union, the question of the improvement of the apparatus of State was discussed, above all from the standpoint of the situation in the villages and of overcoming the remnants of war communism. It was necessary to build up out of the whole system of Soviets and of co-operative organisations in which the activities of the broad masses of workers and peasants could find real expression, organisations through which their activity was steered towards the cultural and economic development of the village and of the whole country. In connection with this, we set ourselves the task of reviving the Soviets and of ensuring revolutionary legality.

At this Congress, we can boast of having accomplished much in this field. After the 3rd Soviet Congress, the share taken by the peasants and the workers both in the Soviet elections and in the work of the Soviets and further in the work of the co-operatives, increased greatly. The greatest increase of political activity was shown by the working class and the middle and poor strata of the peasant population. About half a million peasants and workers are now enrolled in the work of our institutions for administering the law. Through the last measures in the domain of financial politics, a financial foundation has been laid for the local Soviets, and their budget now amounts to 1,700 million roubles.

Are the results achieved in this field in any way adequate? It seems to me that it should be recognised that what was unwholesome, which made itself particularly felt at the time of the last Soviet Congress, has been, to a considerable extent, done away with. The campaign for reviving the Soviets which has been carried out in the last two years, aimed at overcoming all these morbid symptoms, and it must be admitted that appreciable results have been achieved in this direction. Are they however sufficient? It seems to me that we have not yet done even half the work.

Comrades, we have set ourselves tasks of extraordinary difficulty. In the course of two years we have fulfilled them with more or less success. The only and most important pledge that the government of our country does not commit the mistakes which can and must be avoided lies in the fact that the

Government's programme of work, every step it takes, all its economic measures are discussed throughout the system of the Soviets from the highest to the lowest. The Soviet system — the system of the all-embracing form of the organisation of the workers — must be turned into a laboratory in which all the best representatives of the workers and peasants are constantly being promoted and in which they take an active part in the whole construction of our Soviet Union. We can only fulfil the tremendous task of constructing socialism in our backward country with the help of the whole population, of the whole mass of the workers and peasants numbering many millions, or we shall never fulfil it at all. (Tempestuous applause.)

ECONOMICS

The Advent of a New Crisis in the European Mining Industry.

By F. R.

We are experiencing the beginnings of a new crisis in the European mining industry. The struggle of the British miners last year and the consequent exclusion of Great Britain from among the coal-supplying countries of the world may somewhat have relieved the status of European coal production by making it possible for the constantly accumulating stocks at the pitheads to be cleared, but this amelioration was no more than transient. No sooner was the struggle in Great Britain terminated, and British coal again able to compete on the world market, than the seemingly prosperous business position European coal production changed into the contrary again.

The British coal magnates had carried off a complete victory over the British miners. Not only did they effect a prolongation of the working hours; they also made a cut in wages and began to put through their comprehensive programme of rationalisation in regard to working methods, by reducing the number of shifts in the face of a simultaneous increase of output.

The ultimate effects of the mine-owners' victory is shown by a report in the "Manchester Guardian" of April 20th in regard to the situation in the Northumberland mining district, where just as much coal is being raised to-day as during the last four years, although 6000 fewer workers are now employed than in 1926 and even 10,000 fewer than in 1924. While in February 1924, 60,876 workers raised 1,205,047 tons and in February 1926, 56,915 workers raised 1,153,876 tons, the number of workers employed in this district sank in February 1927 to 50,516, while the coal output rose to 1,155,769 tons. This "rationalisation" is drastically expressed in wage returns. While in 1924 the miners in Northumberland still earned on an average 10 s. 2d. per shift, they now earn only 8½d, although the output per man per shift has increased by 2¾ or 3 cwt.

In spite of all the desperate efforts of the British coal magnates, to regain the lost world markets and to penetrate into fresh pastures, the possibilities of exportation get smaller and smaller. Production is already being restricted, fewer shifts being worked, and further miners are being dismissed, notwithstanding which, the stocks at the pitheads are growing so large that there is again talk of a necessity of reducing the costs of production, which means the wages. The course of procedure is so clearly outlined in England, that the miners' leader Cook only the other day pointed out that a fresh struggle was impending at no very distant date, in which connection the miners would have to withstand the attacks of the mine-owners.

These proceedings in British mining naturally affect the mining industry of all Europe most sensibly. The prosperous business cycle called forth abroad by the British miners' struggle is over, and the competition of Great Britain has become far keener than it was before. This is particularly the case in the Ruhr district and in Silesia. The "Berliner Börsen-Courier" of April 23rd reports:

"Sales have experienced a further decrease, which has been reflected in the decline of output and coke production, in the more frequent insertion of shifts, and in the augmentation of the pithead stocks of coal and coke."

The business report of the Schlesische Bergwerke & Hütten A. G. says, inter alia:

"In the first two months of the new business year the demand was still fairly satisfactory; the month of March,

however, again showed a substantial reduction of deliveries, so that in the second half of that month nearly 20,000 tons accumulated at the pitheads. British mining circles are making the greatest efforts not only to regain all the markets lost during the strike, but also to occupy new positions and to take up the competition with renewed energy in view of the more satisfactory working conditions attained at the close of the strike in the matter of prime costs."

In the Ruhr district the situation has become so acute that miners have been discharged and idle shifts introduced. On this subject the Bochum correspondent of the "Berliner Börsen-Courier" states that

"if the market crisis continues to obtain, further serious restraints will be inevitable."

That the coal-mining districts outside Germany have also been affected by this crisis may be seen from a report of the Belgian Labour Ministry, according to which the position of the Belgian hard-coal market is getting more and more critical. A number of small mines have been threatened with the necessity of closing down.

The situation in Poland, meanwhile, is catastrophic. The pithead stocks in Upper Silesia, which have at all times been the most reliable barometer to record the position of coal-mining, reached a total of 1,021,000 tons on March 31st, a figure which has up to the present only occurred once, during the customs war with Germany.

In keeping with the increase of pithead stocks, there is a decline in production and in sales. The daily output, which amounted to more than 107,000 tons in February, fell to about 80,000 in March. The sales and exportation totals are discussed as follows by the "Berliner Börsen-Courier"

"The deterioration of the coal position is yet more drastically expressed in the sale returns. In February the home market absorbed 1,566,477 tons, but in March only 1,263,000 tons. The development of export trade is altogether disastrous. While in January coal exports from Eastern Upper Silesia alone still totalled practically a million (or to be exact 995,499) tons, there was a drop in February to 766,691 and in March a further fall to 694,808 tons. In relation to January, exports have thus declined by about 30 per cent."

Everything points to the probability that the giant struggle of the British miners was no more than an prelude to still greater struggles. The success of the British mine-owners and the keen British competition will also drive the Continental coal magnates to force through their "rationalisation". Even now, workers are being discharged, idle shifts introduced, and pits closed down. The next move will be a general attack by the mine-owners on the miners. The miners of Poland, the Ruhr, and Czechoslovakia will have to suffer bitterly for failing to recognise a year ago that the struggle in Great Britain was fought in their own interests too.

All the forces of the working class will have to be called up if the imminent attack of the employers is to be repelled. The fate of the British miners should have taught the international proletariat that it is only a fight on a united international basis that can avert defeat.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The IV. Party Conference of the C. P. of Switzerland.

(Conclusion).

At the evening session held on April 17, Comrade Welti reported on the Fight of the C. P. of Switzerland against Fascism.

Swiss Fascism was born in 1918 and at first had the form of a Civil Defence force. This force was organised as a fighting organisation directed against the Left socialists. Its members were well armed and made themselves useful to the bourgeoisie during strikes, especially during the Basle General Strike in 1919. The bourgeoisie deliberately strove to introduce fascist elements into the Swiss army. In the autumn of 1919 there was founded as the head organisation, the "Partiotic League of Switzerland". In Italian Switzerland there arose the "Ligue Nationale".

In all places there commenced acts of violence on the part of the fascists. Labour leaders were set upon. The editorial offices of revolutionary newspapers were set on fire. The Swiss

fascists themselves prepared the ground for the murder of Vorovsky. The Swiss government held its protecting hand over Fascism. Thus it came that the murderer of Vorovsky was acquitted.

Fascism possesses special importance in Italian Switzerland, for the Italian fascists lay claim to Tessin, to the annexation of this canton to fascist Italy.

The C. P. of Switzerland is carrying on a constant fight against Fascism. Already in April 1923, in an open letter, it called upon the Social Democracy and the Trade Unions to form a united front and to take united action against Fascism, and demanded that a joint conference for this purpose be held. This proposal, however, was rejected by the other side. In spite of this, many workers' organisations expressed their approval of the proposal. The C. P. of Switzerland is also participating in the work of the Anti-Fascist Committees.

In view of the fact that fascist Italy is a neighbouring country of Switzerland, that there is active commercial intercourse between Switzerland and Italy, that the Fascists are aiming at the annexation of Tessin and are conducting a great anti-German campaign in this canton, and that they are also displaying great activity in the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, it is necessary that the C. P. of Switzerland conduct the anti-Fascist campaign much more energetically than hitherto. It has the greatest possibilities of helping in many respects the Communists in Italy, who are fighting under conditions of illegality.

In the discussion which followed on the report of Comrade Welti, Comrade Herzog (Zürich) pointed out the importance of creating workers' defence corps.

A comrade from Geneva called attention to the deep-going fascist tendency of the Italian-Swiss bourgeois and student youth.

Comrade Bodemann read a telegram of greeting from the Communist Party of Italy, from which it was to be seen that our Italian brother Party is undauntedly continuing its work. Amidst great enthusiasm it was decided to send a telegram of greeting to the C. P. of Italy.

In the session of 18th April, Comrade Wieser reported on the Peasant Question and laid down the lines of an Agrarian Programme for the Communists which the Conference then adopted.

The Theses on the Economic Situation of Switzerland and the Political Tasks of the Communist Party, to which there were also added the proposals submitted to the Conference by the editorial commission, were likewise adopted. The report of Comrade Bodemann on the Directions regarding the next Organisatory Tasks of the Party, which had been worked out by the organisation committee, were approved unanimously.

The election of the Central Committee was carried out on the basis of the new Party Statute that had been adopted. The Central Committee consists of 23 members, of whom nine reside in Basle and form the inner Central, while the remaining members represent the most important parts of the country. Of the 23 members elected, 16 are workers from the factories.

The Party Conference ended on the 18th April after a concluding speech by Comrade Wieser. It has accomplished serious and fruitful work.

Immediately following the close of the Conference, the Central Committee constituted itself and proceeded to elect the Political Bureau, which consists of Comrades Welti, Wieser and Bodemann.

The 15th Anniversary of the "Pravda" and the Tasks of our Press.

By N. L . . . r.

I.

The fifteenth anniversary of the "Pravda", the first mass Bolshevik paper gives us an opportunity not only to make a historical sketch of the glorious past of the "Pravda", but also to ponder over the problem of how to make our contemporary press adopt the "Pravda" spirit.

In what did the strength of the Bolshevik "Pravda" consist, which appeared in tens of thousands of copies in the epoch of ruthless terror, which can compare only with the terror of Fascist Italy, in the epoch when not only the proletarian parties, but also its youthful trade union and educational organisations were underground?

In the first place it was powerful because it was a true workers' paper, which was not only published at the workers'

expense but was also largely set up by the hands of workers both Party members and sympathisers. Workers' letters and articles filled largely the first issue of the "Pravda".

Secondly, the "Pravda", in preparing the working class to assume the hegemony in the bourgeois revolution, preparing the proletariat for the coming complicated tactical manoeuvres (it will suffice to mention the manoeuvres between the February and October Revolutions), was able to link up this historical perspective with the every day tasks and every day interests of the working masses. The Bolshevik working man, the Party sympathiser, through the medium of the "Pravda" shared their views as to how to fight for the political rights of the workers, how to limit the arbitrary rule of the employers, how to raise the standard of living of the working class. The "Pravda" carried on propaganda on behalf of the struggles for higher wages and humane conditions of labour in the various mills and factories.

While it served as a mirror of the every day struggle of the workers, the "Pravda" was at the same time also a leader of the masses. As it linked together the various facts of the struggle with the historical perspectives of the class struggle, taking examples from the individual struggles as given in the workers' letters, the "Pravda" pointed out the illusory character of the reformist methods of struggle and substantiated its own Bolshevik tactics. By drawing in workers correspondents and elucidating the workers battles in the factories, the "Pravda" trained an entire generation of Bolsheviks and played an enormous role in the struggle between Bolshevism and Menshevism for the capture of the masses.

II.

Can our papers maintain that they have assimilated the experiences of the "Pravda" and that they have the same qualities that the "Pravda" had? Of course not. An overwhelming section of our press has not yet been able to establish contact with the workers in the mills and factories, it has not yet created a cadre of workers' correspondents. There is a section of our press which imitates the old powerful bourgeois papers, and the Social Democratic papers. Another section (the provincial press) has a limited staff and is engaged primarily in reprinting what other papers publish. The editors of these papers instead of drawing in the advanced workers, fill the pages of their papers with dry economic reviews, firesome reports, long articles on general subjects, etc. The shortcomings of the provincial papers can best be seen in Germany. It is true we have in Germany such provincial papers as the "Hamburger Volkszeitung" and the "Ruhr Echo", which have already their cadres of workers' correspondents and have become, to a considerable extent, truly workers papers. Many central organs of our Sections would do well if they would study the experiences of these papers. But the overwhelming majority (30% papers in Germany) of German papers published in the large industrial centres are set up with the help of the scissors; they have no workers' correspondents, they do not reflect the complex and multi coloured life of the factories in their districts. Therefore they have no colour of their own. Sometimes we may take a paper from some heavy metallurgical district where there is a powerful Catholic movement among the workers, or a paper from a textile district where there is a weak influence of the "centre" and finally a paper of some large agricultural district and (without seeing the title) it is impossible to distinguish where any one of these papers is published.

Without creating a network of workers' correspondents, without devoting one or two pages to workers' letters and remarks, no provincial paper can establish its own individuality. It will always merely be a bad imitator of the "Rote Fahne".

It is primarily the central press (of course not all papers — it will suffice to mention the "Workers' Life" for instance) which suffers from desiring to imitate the bourgeois press. The comrades running the central organs apparently think that a paper must have illustrious journalists, sensational news, etc., they think that by publishing workers' correspondence, the paper will not be a "leading" paper; it will be primitive. This is an erroneous point of view and our contemporary "Pravda" proves it.

The "Pravda" is the central organ of our Party and has articles written by Professors about the theory of relativity, Freudism, etc., and devotes every day at least one page out of the six to workers' and peasants' correspondents. The "Pravda" being an organ of a ruling Party does not carry through a

single campaign without bringing the army of workers' correspondents into action.

The struggle against bureaucracy, the reduction of prices, the economy regime, the Soviet elections — all these and many other campaigns are conducted by the "Pravda" not only with the help of the responsible cadres and Peoples Commissars, but also with the help of the hundreds of thousands of workers' and peasants' correspondents.

Our question is: Can our German Party press, for instance, carry through an extensive campaign against capitalist rationalisation if the press will not elucidate the consequences of rationalisation with the help of workers' correspondents, if the concrete experiences of the conflicts in the various mills and factories will not find expression in the press? Can the Party carry out its campaign against Fascism without the help of workers' correspondents in pointing out the forms of Fascist methods in the factories?

The French Party, for instance, has made it its task to unite the trade union movement. But can this campaign be carried out properly without elucidating in detail and systematically the united front in the factories, by pointing out the joint struggles of the lower organisations of the reformist and unitarian unions? Our reply is in the negative.

The problem of workers' correspondents is bound up with the problem of a correct method of Party work in general. Without creating an army of workers' correspondents, without making the elucidation of the life and struggle of the workers in the factories our centre of gravity, we cannot raise the issue of fighting for the capture of the majority of the working class. In the struggle for leadership in the labour movement of Russia, the "Pravda" played a great role in dealing with every question of the workers' correspondents.

Let us hope that the fifteenth anniversary of the "Pravda" will serve as a stimulant to all Sections of the Communist International and all our papers to put into practice the experiences of the "Pravda". Let us create an army of workers' correspondents. Let us link up our press closely with the mills and factories, let us transform them into guides and teachers of the working masses — such are our slogans on the fifteenth anniversary of the Leninist "Pravda".

THE WHITE TERROR

The Trial of Pavlov and Comrades in Sofia.

In Sofia there has recently been held before the district court the trial of Todor W. Pavlov, Assen M. Boyadyeff and Petko G. Napetov. The accused were charged with having made insurrectionary propaganda, and in consequence had come into conflict with the notorious "law for the defence of the realm".

As was to be seen from the charge sheet of the Public Prosecution, no other charge could be brought against the accused than of building up an illegal Communist Party, and in this sense having attempted to carry on propaganda. The charge sheet expressly states that they are "old and brave Communists" who have worked as leading organisers in order to attract ever fresh members and sympathisers. With regard to the aims which the accused had set themselves, the charge sheet only mentions the following:

1. Actual creation of the Party; 2. it shall be a conspiratory Party; 3. the Party members shall be called upon to enter the legal economic, sport, refugee, national revolutionary, cultural and similar organisations in order to propagate the class struggle among the members of these organisations and to preserve them from the errors of fascism; 4. fight for the abolition of the law for the defence of the realm and similar laws; 5. everything possible must be done in order to enlarge and widen the breach between the different sections of the bourgeoisie, which have antagonistic interests."

Comrade T. Pavlov was the most prominent figure at the trial. In spite of the efforts of the Public Prosecution to represent him as an insurrectionary conspirator, the only thing they could bring against him in the charge sheet was the following:

"Todor D. Pavlov came into the Bureau as a possible substitute for the Political Secretary. He attended the meeting which was held in the month of June, 1926, in the

village of Dragalevci, at which meeting he expressed his opinion regarding the condition of the Party and delivered a report on the former activity of the Central Committee and of the Communist Party in general. He was also adviser and leader of the Bureau, although he refused formally to join the Bureau. He was, however, recognised as an authority in the Communist Party with regard to organising the working class; at the same time he has a good knowledge of Marxism. Thanks to these capacities he was provisionally nominated as delegate to the Conference of the foreign Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to be held in Vienna; he refused nomination however as being inexpedient, as if he once crossed the frontiers it would be doubtful whether he would be able to return, in which case the Party would lose one of the few capable people it had at its disposal. Todor Pavlov, in spite of this, was in connection with the foreign illegal Communist organisation."

It is to be seen from the above that the Bulgarian Public Prosecutor, whose unscrupulous means and methods against revolutionaries are sufficiently well known, had very little evidence to bring against the chief accused Pavlov and his two fellow accused. But the Prosecution was unable to bring forward any credible witnesses even in support of such a flimsy charge, but was only able to call police officials as "witnesses". The charge sheet mentions the following witnesses:

1. Svetozar Mitev, official of the police head-quarters,
2. Boris Petrov, agent of the Sofia police head-quarters,
3. Nikola Petrov, police officer at the No. 4 police district in Sofia.

It was under conditions as these that the accused were brought up for trial. In the police prison and while in prison on remand, the accused had to suffer the most terrible tortures, so that one of the accused made repeated attempts at suicide.

The well-known German social democratic member of the Reichstag, Dr. Kurt Rosenfeld and the Vienna lawyer Dr. Oswald Richter, the latter also a well-known social democrat, went to Sofia in order to attend the trial. They also intended to intervene with the Bulgarian Prime Minister Liaptcheff with regard to ameliorating the lot of a number of political prisoners and legalising the provision of relief for them and their families. The Bulgarian authorities arrested the two lawyers, subjected them to a strict search, cross-examined them in an insolent manner, and finally compelled them to leave the country immediately. The two social democrats thus gained at first hand an idea of conditions in Bulgaria. They were only half a day in Sofia, nevertheless they had the opportunity of attending the concluding part of the trial.

The trial ended on the 5th of May. The accused Pavlov, who courageously acknowledged his communist convictions, was condemned to 20½ years imprisonment, although nothing could be brought against him but that he is a communist. The two other accused had to be acquitted owing to the lack of any evidence against them.

The trial of Pavlov and his comrades is only the commencement of a whole number of further trials of opponents of the government. The object of the government is clear. The parliamentary elections, which are to be held on the 20th of May, are to be preceded by a fresh wave of white terror in order that they shall turn out favourably for the government. Already in the election campaign the terror has set in according to well-known Bulgarian methods.

The international proletariat must hasten to the aid of its Bulgarian class comrades who have now been suffering for years under the most terrible persecutions.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Attack on the Revolutionary Trade Unions in Roumania.

By I. Podpolnicu (Bucharest).

Since the split in the trade union movement in Roumania (September 1923), there have existed in this country two trade union organisations: a reformist (which calls itself "Socialist") and a unitarian (which is designated by the reformists and the Siguranza as "Communist"). The split was provoked by the

social democrats who are under the command of Sassenbach. It was carried through with the aid of the police, who proceeded with wholesale arrests and mishandlings of the revolutionary functionaries of the trade unions. The majority of the trade unions were Left inclined. The unitarian trade union federation, which was constituted after the split and which was robbed of its property, its premises, library and funds and had also to suffer most severe persecutions, nevertheless had 36,000 members, while the reformist federation numbered only 26,000.

To-day, the reformist trade unions have 22,000 to 23,000 members, the unitarian trade unions however, the membership of which, as a result of the persecution, had sunk two years ago to 13,000, now number 20,000 to 21,000 members. At the same time it must be mentioned that numerous important unitarian unions have been prohibited and dissolved.

Neither the reformists nor the authorities could or would tolerate that the revolutionary trade unions not only continued to exist, but were continually gaining in influence. The reformists in particular were seized with an increasing unrest, especially when Left tendencies arose in their own organisations and gained a firmer foothold, and this on a platform of friendly relations with the "Unitarians". The reformist leaders, therefore, began to speak more and more clearly as to the necessity, instead of uniting with the "Communists", of undertaking a new "purging" of their own ranks. The "purging" of September, 1923, appeared to them not to have been thorough enough; for it was clear that the reformist organisations, even after the "Communists" had been driven out, were anything but homogeneous. The reformists and the bourgeoisie, therefore, hit upon the plan of shattering the unitarian trade unions.

This plan assumed definite form on the occasion of the last reformist Trade Union Congress (August 1926). At this Congress the reformists, who up to then had rejected all the proposals for unity which had been made by the Unitarians (joint Congress, proletarian democracy within the trade unions), decided to take up the offensive on their part. They proposed unity to the Unitarian trade unions on the basis of affiliation to Amsterdam. They did this with the intention of representing the Unitarians, who were bound to reject this proposal, as the enemies of unity and in order to encourage certain supporters of the reformists within the Unitarian trade unions to provoke a split.

There is no doubt that the attack of the reformists was carried out not only in full agreement with the authorities but also with the "Rights" in the unitarian trade unions themselves. In fact some of the Bureaucrats in the unitarian federation accepted the proposal of the reformists in the belief that they could thereby offer the whole movement as a present to the reformists and the bourgeoisie.

In this they deceived themselves however. The Hermannstadt Congress (February 1927), at which affiliation to Amsterdam was to be decided, gave a deadly blow to the hopes of all those who wanted to shatter the revolutionary trade union movement of Roumania. This congress represented a powerful demonstration for the continued existence of the class war trade union movement. Of the 250 delegates present, only five or six declared themselves in favour of unity on the basis of affiliation to Amsterdam, and at the same time this handful of delegates declared that they did not wish to leave the unitarian trade unions and would submit to the decisions of the majority.

When the authorities observed the mood prevailing at the Congress, they decided to prevent it altogether. Before the Congress could proceed with its main business, it was violently broken up by a band of Siguranza agents who forced their way into the hall. But the Congress had had sufficient time to give expression in the main question to the class will of the workers in the Unitarian trade unions.

The combined manoeuvre of the reformists and the supporters of capitulation was foiled. The bourgeoisie now resorted to its old and tried methods of brute force, which at the same time represent the best assistance for the reformists.

After the arrest and condemnation of the members of three successive trade union councils of Bucharest by a military court, there followed the long prepared blow: the Minister for Labour called upon the Public Prosecutor to dissolve the unitarian trade unions, "because they engage in politics instead of occupying themselves with professional questions", and because "they incite the workers to class war against the capitalist class and to fight against the legislation relating to the workers". At the same

time, before the court pronounced its decision, all meetings of the unitarian trade unions were dissolved by the authorities and the May Day festival forbidden throughout the country, "because the unitarian trade unions are to be regarded as illegal and non-existent."

The Executive of the Roumanian Trade Union Federation mobilised all its forces, appealed to the broad masses of the Roumanian working class, to the reformist unions, to the Anti-Terror League, to the League for Human Rights etc. in order to prevent the threatening coup. But the government continued its brutality. The chief public prosecutor announced the dissolution of the unitarian trade unions.

The government has already commenced with fresh persecutions and arrests of class fighters.

The Roumanian working class however has learnt to fight under the most difficult conditions. It will also now prove steadfast in the fight. But it must be assisted in this fight by an international campaign, a protest action by the workers in the other countries. The Roumanian working class must be given the legal right to maintain and to build up its class organisations.

MAY DAY

The Bloody First of May in Fascist Poland.

By K. Leski (Warsaw).

This year the First of May was awaited with special interest in Poland. Both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie were aware that in this year, the first year of the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski, the May demonstration of the working class would be a protest against this dictatorship, an indication of the revolutionary mood of the masses towards the government of increased exploitation and white terror.

The press and the appeals of the Polish Socialist Party (P. P. S.) incited even more than in the past year against our Party, against our slogan of defending the Soviet Union against British imperialism and against the imperialism of Pilsudski, and forbade the socialist workers to take part in joint demonstrations with the Communists, who summoned all workers to a united front.

The bourgeoisie, the fascist government and the leaders of the reformist P. P. S. — united and conscious of their common aim — adopted every measure in order to prevent the revolutionary demonstrations of the workers on May Day.

Already in the last weeks of April those workers who were suspected of communism, and their organisations also, were subjected to increased persecution. In Warsaw the police forced their way into the premises where the commercial employees were holding a social evening and arrested about 40 persons. In Zyrardow and Blon, not far from Warsaw, about 50 workers were arrested. Wholesale domiciliary visits took place in Upper Silesia, Lemberg, Przemysl and in other places of West Ukraine (East Galicia and Wolhynia). In Grodno 20 workers were arrested. In the district of Vilna 16 etc. The proclamations of the police everywhere announced that in every place where demonstrations were held under slogans hostile to the State they would be broken up by armed force. In the whole of Pilsudski's Poland there was created that atmosphere which was so well known in the time of Tsarism.

But the working masses of Poland, steeled in many fights, did not shrink before the fascist terror. Under the red banners of Communism they marched through the streets in the towns, and also in the villages. The number of those participating in these demonstrations exceeded in many places, and especially in Warsaw, the number of those participating in the demonstrations of the P. P. S.

Pilsudski could not permit the slogans which the proletariat flung in the face of the fascist dictatorship. His police and the fascist bands tried to disperse the demonstrators.

In Warsaw a detachment of mounted police was let loose against the procession of communists which was led by Comrade Varski. These blood-hounds of Pilsudski wounded 10 persons. More than 100 participators in the Communist demonstration were arrested; and the demonstration, in spite of the fact that it was twice broken up by the police, again assembled

before the police prison. In answer to the cries demanding the release of the political prisoners, there resounded from behind the prison bars the singing of the "International".

In the red industrial district of Lodz, where the reformist leaders had so shamefully throttled the heroic struggle of the 150,000 textile workers, the proletariat for the greater part gathered under the Communist banners.

In Lemberg, Vilna, Vloclavek, everywhere the police and the P. P. S. proceeded together against the demonstrating communists.

There were also killed among the victims!

In the district of Brest, in the village of Stavy Vielke, the police fired on a demonstration consisting of some hundred of peasants, killing one of them.

It also came to bloodshed in Brest (Western White-Russia). When the Communists attempted to release some arrested demonstrators, the police opened fire, killing one person and wounding several others.

The fascist dictator has added several fresh items to his ever-increasing list of crimes.

TEN YEARS AGO

The War Memorandum of the Provisional Government and Its Consequences.

The Text of the Memorandum.

Petrograd, May 1st. — The Minister for Foreign Affairs has instructed the Russian diplomatic representatives with the Allied Powers, to hand the Governments to which they are accredited a memorandum, containing the following passage:

"Our enemies have been attempting of late to call forth dissension among the Allies by spreading the nonsensical report that Russia is willing to conclude a separate peace with the Central European Powers. The enclosed text of the statement made by the Provisional Government on April 9th, cannot possibly give rise to the impression that the upheaval has brought about a weakening of the rôle played by Russia in the common struggle of the Allies. Quite on the contrary. The endeavours of the entire nation to continue the world war until the ultimate victory, has only been confirmed by the recognition of the joint responsibility of every citizen. This endeavour has become all the more effective by reason of the fact that it has been concentrated on the task which is the most immediate and the most urgent for us all, the repulsion of the enemy occupying part of our territory. In defending the rights of our native country, the Provisional Government will naturally fully and completely comply with all obligations undertaken by us in relation to our allies. With full confidence in the victorious conclusion of the present war, in perfect harmony with its allies, the Provisional Government is wholly convinced that the questions raised by this war will be solved in a manner forming the basis for a lasting peace."

Indignation of the Masses of Workers and Soldiers.

Petrograd, May 3rd (Report of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The memorandum of the Provisional Government published by the Press to-day, has caused lively dissatisfaction among the Socialists. The executive committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council discussed the memorandum at special sessions on the evening of May 2nd and the morning of May 3rd, though without arriving at any resolution. Finally, it was decided that prior to the passing of any further resolution on the subject, the Government should be requested for information as to the reasons prompting the publication of this memorandum. To this end the executive committee suggested a common session to the Government, which latter gave its consent thereto.

The same afternoon, the executive committee was informed that the Government memorandum had also caused discontent among certain military units. The Finnish infantry regiment demonstrated in front of the "Maria" palace with banners, the inscriptions on which called upon the Ministers Gutchkov and Miljukov to retire. The executive committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council took steps to induce the soldiers to return to their barracks. Other formations joined the regiment in question.

The executive committee considers some counter-measure to the memorandum of the Provisional Government necessary, but by no means intends to bring about the retirement of the Government.

In labour circles, too, the memorandum caused excitement. In the course of the day, demonstrations and assemblies took place in the capital; the demonstrators displayed banners with the devices "Down with the Provisional Government", "Down with Miljukov", "Down with Gutchkov".

Rotterdam, May 5th. — According to the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, the Petrograd correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" reports as follows: On the occasion of the demonstrations in front of the Tauric palace on Thursday (May 3rd) in the afternoon, the crowd was joined by a reserve battalion of a Finnish regiment. The soldiers bore banners with the device "Down with Miljukov. Down with conquests" and the like. Other troops also joined in, until at length about 15,000 soldiers had assembled with their flags and posters. Counter-demonstrations in favour of the Government were also organised. But the workers were very hostile in their attitude towards the Government. In conversation with soldiers and officers, many of the public tried to find out what had induced the troops to their line of action. Such questions generally remained unanswered. Some said they had been called together by "old soldiers", others that they were acting according to instructions. They appeared to be of opinion that there remained nothing for the Provisional Government to do save to publish the conditions of peace, which Germany would then accept.

In some factories the workers passed resolutions on May 1st, in which they condemned the Government and demanded that governing authority be transferred to the committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council. In the evening, processions of workmen went to the Duma with banners bearing the slogans of the most extreme elements. Soon a large number of adherents of the Government likewise assembled there, including numerous soldiers of the Volhynski regiment. The two groups, however, peaceably dispersed.

Sanguinary Demonstrations in Petrograd on May 4th.

Petrograd, May 4th. (Report of the Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The executive committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council has again met for the purpose of resolving on its line of action in view of the Provisional Government's memorandum to the Allies. During its session, the committee was informed that numerous workers from certain factories and workshops in the suburbs had laid down their work and were marching towards the centre of the town with banners, the inscriptions on which called upon the Government to resign. Almost simultaneously a powerful counter-demonstration in favour of the Provisional Government was formed and proceeded to advance against the anti-Government demonstration. The Government adherents started first to call upon the other party, which comprised several dozen workers armed with rifles, to support the Provisional Government. During the altercation, some of the more impetuous among the Government adherents proceeded to tear down the flags bearing the inscription "Down with the Government"; this called forth some shots on the part of the armed workmen, to which several persons fell victims. The executive committee immediately sent its representatives to the town so as to avert further collisions and to call upon the demonstrators of both parties patiently to await the issue of the negotiations between the Provisional Government and the Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

The Menshevist Leaders Save the Bourgeois Government.

Rotterdam, May 5th. ("Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant.") Yesterday reminded one of the great days of the Revolution. Hundreds of thousands accumulated on the Nevsky Prospect and the other broad streets, while motor-lorries packed with soldiers dashed aimlessly through the town. Thousands of people marched around with flags and placards, every shade of political sentiment being manifested. In the morning the entire city seemed to be divided into two camps, the adherents and the opponents of the Government. The intellectual circles were in favour of the Government, the workers opposed it. In the course of the day, the number of Government adherents grew, so that its opponents

could no longer appear on the Nevsky Prospect in the later afternoon hours. The crisis was over; the Government stayed. The leaders of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council had saved the situation. But for them, the Government would have been overthrown and civil war and anarchy would have been the inevitable results. The danger was greater on this occasion than ever before since the outbreak of the revolution.

In the late evening of Saturday, May 5th, a discussion took place in common between the Provisional Government, the executive committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, and the Duma Committee. It was immediately obvious that all parties desired to come to an understanding. The members of the Government reported in full on the situation, the gravity of which they made no attempt to hide. Prince Lvov declared the willingness of the Government to retire in favour of other men, who would find more support among the people.

Gutchkov, Minister for War, reported on the conditions at the front, which he said were very serious. The state of the army gave rise to grave misgivings. Immediate measures would have to be taken to restore discipline and revive the drooping spirits of the troops. The situation could not be called hopeless, but, supposing the present state of affairs to continue, evil results might ensue. The broad masses of the population lacked due seriousness in their attitude towards the talk of peace; they believed that peace could be ensured simply by laying down arms. Gutchkov ended by saying that he did not aspire to conquest and that annexations were generally unpopular at the time. (As to the details of the conference, compare the report of Comrade Stalin which appears on another page. Ed.)

The Bolsheviks Stigmatize the War Policy of the Provisional Government in the Eyes of the International Proletariat.

(From the Appeal to the Soldiers of all Belligerent Countries; published on May 4th, 1917.)

The new Government of Russia, which deposed Nicholas II, just such another crowned bandit as William II, is a government of capitalists. It is carrying on the same sort of capitalist war of robbery as the capitalists of England, Germany, and other countries. It has confirmed the secret treaties concluded by Nicholas II with the capitalists of England, France, etc. It refuses to publish these treaties, just as the German Government refuses to make known its equally rapacious secret treaties with Austria, Bulgaria, etc.

On May 3rd, the Russian Provisional Government published a memorandum in confirmation of the old treaties concluded by the Tsar, declaring its readiness to carry on the war to its victorious close. It thus aroused the indignation even of such circles as had formerly trusted and supported it.

The Russian revolution, however, not only created the Government of the capitalists, but also gave birth to independent revolutionary organisations representing the great mass of the workers and peasants, viz. the Soviets of the workers' and soldiers' deputies at Petrograd and most of the other Russian towns. Up to the present, the majority of the soldiers and part of the workers unconsciously trust (as do many of the workers and soldiers in Germany, too) the capitalist Government and their empty and mendacious talk of a peace without annexations, a war of defence, and similar things.

But, contrary to the capitalists, the workers and the poorer peasants are interested neither in annexations nor in the defence of capitalist profits. Thus every day and every step on the part of the Government serves to unmask, in Russia as in Germany, the treachery of the capitalists and demonstrate that as long as the capitalists are predominant, there can be no really Democratic peace, opposed to violence and based on a real renunciation of all annexations, i. e. on the liberation of all colonies and all oppressed or not fully self-determining nations. Until this is attained, the war according to all probabilities, will be prolonged, growing all the while in violence.

It is only when in all the belligerent countries, e. g. both in Russia and in Germany, the power has passed wholly and completely into the hands of the revolutionary workers' and soldiers' councils, which are capable, not only in words, but also in deeds, to tear to pieces the entire network of capitalist relations and interests, that the workers of both belligerent countries will be filled with confidence in one another and can put a rapid end to the war by means of a really Democratic peace, satisfactory to all peoples and nations of the world.

Brethren! Soldiers!

Let us do all that is in our power to hasten that day and gain the object just described. We shall fear no sacrifices, for the sacrifices made in the interest of the workers' revolution will be less heavy than the sacrifices imposed by the war.

Each victorious step of the revolution will save hundreds of thousands and millions from death, misery, and starvation.

Peace to the cottages. War on the palaces! Peace to the workers of all lands! Long live the fraternal unity of the revolutionary workers of all countries! Long live socialism!

The Central Committee of the R. S. D. L. P. (Bolsheviks).

The Petrograd Committee of the R. S. D. L. P.

The Editorial Staff of the "Pravda".

The Note of the Provisional Government.

By N. Lenin.

(Published in the "Pravda" of May 4, 1917.)

The cards are on the table. We can be grateful to Gutchkov and Miljukov for the Note which has been published to-day in all newspapers.

The majority of the Executive Committee of the Soviets of the workers and soldiers deputies, the Narodniki, Mensheviks, in fact all who have hitherto called for confidence in the Provisional Government, are sufficiently punished. They hoped, expected and believed that the Provisional Government, under the influence of the beneficial "contact" with Tcheidse, Skobelev and Steklov, would renounce annexations for good. Things have turned out somewhat otherwise.

In its Note of April 18, the Provisional Government spoke of "the efforts of the whole people to continue the world war up to the final victory".

"It goes without saying", declares the Note, "that the Provisional Government will unconditionally fulfil the pledges undertaken with regard to our Allies".

That is short and clear. War to a victorious end. The alliance with the English and French bankers has become sacred . . .

Who concluded this alliance with "our" allies, i. e. with the English and French millionaires? The Tsar, Rasputin, the Tsarist gang, of course. But for Miljukov and Co. this treaty is something sacred.

Why?

Some reply, because Miljukov is not an honest man, he is a sly fellow etc.

That is not the question. The fact is that Gutchkov, Miljukov, Terechenko, Konovalov are representatives of the capitalists. And the capitalists need annexations of foreign countries. They thereby win fresh markets, new spheres for the export of capital, new possibilities of placing ten thousands of their sons in lucrative positions etc. The fact is the Russian capitalists have the same interests as the English and French capitalists. For this reason, and for this reason alone the treaties of the Tsar are so dear to the hearts of the Provisional Government of the Russian capitalists.

The new Note of the Provisional Government is oil to the flames. In Germany it can only encourage the war feeling. It helps William the Robber to deceive "his" workers and soldiers further and to continue to drive them into the war to the "end".

The new Note of the Provisional Government raises in the sharpest form the question: what next?

Ever since the first moment of our Revolution the English and French capitalists have maintained that the Russian revolution was only made for the purpose of carrying on the war "up to the end". The capitalists require the robbery of Turkey, Persia and China. If for this purpose some ten millions of Russian peasants are to be sacrificed, what does it matter? If only the decisive victory is secured . . . And now the Provisional Government is openly following the same path.

Fight — for we wish to rob.

Let ten thousands perish daily, for we have not yet fought hard enough, for we have not yet received our share of the spoils!

Not a single class-conscious worker, not a single class-conscious soldier will continue the policy of "confidence" in the Provisional Government. The policy of confidence has suffered bankruptcy. Our town Conference declared in its resolution that every day will now confirm the correctness of

our standpoint. But we never expected such a rapid development of events.

The present Soviet of workers and soldiers deputies is now faced with the choice: either to swallow the pill which Gutchkov and Miljukov are offering them, and that means to abandon once and for all an independent political role (tomorrow Miljukov will put "his feet on the table" and reduce the Soviet to a mere cypher), or to offer resistance to the Note of Miljukov, i. e. to break with the old policy of confidence and to follow the path indicated by the "Pravda".

It is true, one could find a rotten middle course. But for how long?

Workers, soldiers, declare now before all: we demand that the whole power be ours — the Soviets of the workers and soldiers deputies. The Provisional Government, the government of a handful of capitalists must give place to the Soviets.

On the Conference in the Maria Palace.

By J. Stalin.

(Published in the "Pravda" of May 8, 1917.)

The bourgeois press has already reported on the Conference between the Executive Committee of the Council of Workers and Soldiers Deputies and the Provisional Government. The report is in general not . . . quite correct; some of the facts are even distorted, so that the reader is misled. We are not speaking of a one-sided presentation of the facts, which is characteristic of the bourgeois press. It is therefore necessary to give a true picture of the Conference.

The purpose of the Conference was to clear the relations between the Provisional Government and the Executive Committee in connection with the Note of the Minister Miljukov, which had led to a sharpening of the conflict.

The Conference was opened by the Prime Minister Lvov. His opening speech can be summed up in the following sentences: Up to quite recently there prevailed in the country confidence in the Provisional Government, and things were developing not at all badly. But now it seems as if confidence had disappeared; in fact one sees the exact contrary. This has been particularly noticeable in the last two weeks, since certain socialist circles known to everybody opened a press campaign against the Provisional Government. Things cannot go on like this. Decisive support on the part of the Council of workers and soldiers deputies is necessary. "Otherwise we shall go."

This speech was followed by the "reports" of the Ministers (for war, agriculture, transport, finance and Foreign affairs) in which Gutchkov, Shingarov and Miljukov came forward very energetically. The speeches of the others only repeated the conclusions of the first speakers.

The speech of Minister Gutchkov contained a substantiation of the well-known imperialist view of our revolution, according to which the revolution in Russia is to be regarded as a means for conducting the war "to a victorious end". I was convinced — he said — that a revolution was necessary in Russia in order to avoid a defeat. I wished the revolution to be a new factor for victory, and I hope that it will become one. Defence of native country in the widest sense of the word — defence of native country not only for the present but also for the future, that is our aim. During the last weeks, however, things have become worse in many respects. "The country is in danger" . . . the main reason for this is "the flood of pacifist ideas propagated by certain socialist circles". The Ministers plainly hinted that this propaganda must be prohibited and discipline restored, for which purpose it requires the support of the Executive Committee . . .

Minister Shingarov describes the food crisis in Russia . . . The main question is not the Note, nor the foreign policy, but bread. If we do not solve this problem, we will not solve anything at all. The sharpening of the food crisis is partly due to the bad roads and to a number of other passing phenomena. Shingarov, however, saw the main cause in the "deplorable fact" that the peasants "have begun to occupy themselves with the land question"; that they are cultivating on their own account the land belonging to the big landlords, removing the war prisoners from the estates, and in general giving themselves up to agrarian "illusions". This movement of the peasants, which according to Shingarov is very harmful, is being "instigated" by the agitation of the "Leninists" for confiscation and by the "blind party fanaticism" of these people.

An end must be put to the "harmful agitation proceeding from the Palace of the Kchessinskaya, this plague spot." Either the existing Provisional Government enjoys confidence, in which case there must be an end to the agrarian "excesses", or some other government power must take its place.

Miljukov: The Note does not express my personal opinion but the opinion of the whole of the Provisional government. The question of foreign politics is, how far we are prepared to fulfil our pledges to the allies. We are bound to our allies... We are looked upon as being a power which is either suitable or unsuitable for certain definite purposes. We need only prove ourselves to be weak in order to worsen relations... To renounce annexations, therefore, would involve serious dangers. We need your confidence; give it to us and then we shall be able to proceed to the attack in the interest of the unity of the front, then we shall exert pressure on the Germans and divert them from the French and the English. Our pledges to the allies render that necessary. You see therefore — concluded Miljukov — that in such a state of affairs, and in view of the desire not to lose the confidence of the allies, the Note could not be otherwise than it is.

Thus the long, speeches of the Ministers were very short in their content: The country is passing through a severe crisis, the cause of which is the revolutionary movement. The way out of this crisis is to curb the revolution and continue the war. In order to save the country it is necessary: 1. to restrain the soldiers (Gutchkov), 2. to restrain the peasants (Shingarov), 3. to master the revolutionary workers who expose the Provisional Government (all the Ministers). Help us in this difficult matter; help us to conduct a war of attack (Miljukov), then everything will turn out for the best. Otherwise we shall go.

Thus spoke the Ministers.

It is extremely characteristic that these arch-imperialist and counter-revolutionary speeches of the Ministers did not call forth any protest from Zeretelli, the representative of the majority of the Executive Committee. Intimidated by the blunt manner in which the Ministers put the questions, Zeretelli lost his head at the prospect of the Ministers resigning, and began to beg that they make a concession which would not be too late and give an "explanation" of the Note in a certain sense desirable for the Executive Committee, even if it were only for "home consumption". "The democracy", said he, "will support the Provisional government with all its energies" if the latter would make such a concession, consisting of mere words.

The desire to remove the conflict between the Provisional Government and the Executive Committee, the readiness to make concessions, that runs like a red thread through the speech of Zeretelli.

Comrade Kamenev spoke in precisely the opposite sense. If the country is on the edge of the abyss, if its economy, its food supply etc. are passing through a severe crisis, the way out lies not in continuing the war, which only intensifies the crisis and threatens to swallow the fruits of the revolution, but solely in speedily liquidating the war. The existing Provisional Government is, according to all appearances, incapable of this, as it is aiming at a "war to a victorious end". The way out, therefore, is to transfer power into the hands of another class which is capable of leading the country out of the cul-de-sac.

After the speech of Comrade Kamenev, there was heard from the benches of the Ministers cries of: "Then take over the power!"

The Days of Crisis in Petrograd.

Stockholm, May 10th ("Frankfurter Zeitung").

According to descriptions given by eye-witnesses, the demonstrations in Petrograd on May 4th and 5th resembled revolts. Soldiers took possession of the tramways. The Workers' Soviet tried with might and main to prevent the outbreak of civil war. Its representatives, who drove about in motors wherever there was the greatest disturbance, tried to persuade the masses to keep quiet and to go home. Soldiers streamed out of dozens of barracks and declared themselves ready to support the Workers' Soviet by armed demonstrations; the Workers' Soviet thanked them with the words: "Calm yourselves, brothers, we know that we are backed by millions of bayonets."

The Government "Explains" its War Note.

Berlin, May 7th. The semi-official Petrograd agency reports:

The doubts as to the interpretation of the note of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the allied Governments which contained the communication as to the proclamation of the Provisional Government on April 9th regarding the aims of the war, prompt the Provisional Government to state:

1. The note was the object of a long and exact investigation by the Provisional Government and was adopted unanimously.

2. It is true that this note, when it speaks of the decisive victory, particularly refers to the solution of the problems mentioned in the statement of April 9th, which is expressed in the following words: The Government considers it its task and its duty to state that from today onwards free Russia does not aim at ruling over other peoples and at conquering their national possessions, nor at seizing foreign territory, but at the consolidation of a permanent peace on the basis of the free development of all nations. The Russian people does not seek to increase its external power at the cost of other peoples, nor does it strive to humiliate or enslave anybody. In the name of the highest principles of justice, the Russian people is breaking the chain which fettered the Polish nation. It will not however suffer that its own country should issue from the fight humiliated and with its vital force undermined.

3. Under the conception: sanctions and the guarantees of permanent peace the Provisional Government understood disarmament, international courts etc.

The above statement will be communicated to the ambassadors of the allied countries through the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Crisis Settled for the Time Being.

Petrograd, May 4th. (Petrograd telegraph agency).

At 5 p. m., the Provisional Government transmitted to the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet the text of a communication which it had resolved to publish in explanation of its note of May 1st, which had given rise to such serious disturbances.

In consequence of this communication, the Executive Committee resolved by 34 votes to 19 to regard the Government's statement as satisfactory and thus consider the incident closed.

Petrograd, May 5th. (Communication from the Petrograd telegraph agency). In consequence of yesterday's disturbances, the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet unanimously resolved to prohibit any meetings or demonstrations for two days. Any person instigating an armed demonstration or firing shots shall be regarded as a traitor to the cause of the revolution. The Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies shall make an investigation into the origin of the firing which took place in the streets of Petrograd yesterday. The Executive Committee is having an appeal posted in the streets calling upon the population to observe peace, order and discipline and demanding that the soldiers should not go into the streets armed and should obey the orders of the executive committee when they have been properly authenticated. The appeal is addressed both to the workers and the civic guard, and recommends them to avoid attending meetings and demonstrations when carrying arms.

The Moscow Bolsheviki Opposed to the Social Patriotic Delegates to Russia.

Moscow, May 3rd. ("The Social Democrat"). At the reception of the French and English Social Patriots, the representative of the Moscow committee of the Bolsheviki read a declaration to the following effect:

The Russian revolution caused a panic in the bourgeois circles of Western Europe. The bourgeoisie of Western Europe is anticipating with dread that the Russian revolution will turn into a European revolution. Such an extension of the Russian revolution is prevented by those Labour parties which have joined forces with the bourgeoisie and support their imperialist policy. Consequently, the representatives of these parties are, whether they will it or not, partisans of the subordination of the interests of the proletariat to those of the bourgeoisie. We protest vigorously, against the representatives of the newly arrived delegations presuming to speak in the name of the whole socialist proletariat of their countries. We know that the peoples do not desire war and consider it necessary to do everything possible to put an end to it at once. We also consider it

necessary that the business of putting an end to the war must be transferred from the hands of the bourgeoisie and its diplomacy into the hands of the international proletariat; the international Labour organisations, however, which wish to embark on this course, must definitely break with the bourgeoisie and take up a revolutionary fight against imperialism. The newly arrived delegation consists exclusively of representatives of the Right wing of the French and English Labour parties, and we consider it impossible to enter into negotiations with them without the participation of the French and English comrades who share our views.

The Lessons of the Crisis.

By N. Lenin.

(Published in the "Pravda" of May 6th 1917.)

Petrograd and the whole of Russia have experienced a serious political crisis; the first political crisis since the revolution.

On May 2nd, the Provisional Government decided to issue a note which has since acquired unfortunate celebrity. This note confirmed the predatory aims at conquest of the war sufficiently clearly to rouse the indignation of the broad masses who, up to that time, had honestly believed that the capitalists were willing to "renounce annexations" and were capable of doing so. On May 3rd and 4th, events in Petrograd reached boiling point. The streets were packed; during the whole day and night, handfuls and groups of people gathered into meetings of various dimensions; there was no end to mass demonstrations and manifestations. Yesterday evening, May 4th, the crisis seemed to be ended; its first stage was closed at any rate; the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers Soviet and then the Soviet itself stated that they approved of the "explanations", i. e. corrections of the Government note (these explanations consisted of empty, meaningless phrases which altered nothing and pledged it to nothing) — and "considered the incident closed".

The future will show whether the broad masses "consider the incident closed". It is now our task to study attentively the forces, the classes, concerned in the crisis and to derive from this study the lessons for the party of the proletariat. The great significance of all crises is that they reveal what was hidden, that they wipe away the conditional, the superficial, all that is petty, that they sweep away political rubbish and expose the true driving force of the class war which is actually going on.

What the Government of the capitalists actually did on May 2nd was only to repeat their former notes which cloaked the imperialist war with diplomatic turns of speech. The masses of soldiers became indignant, because they had honestly believed in the uprightness and the desire for peace of the imperialists. The demonstrations began as soldiers' demonstrations, under contradictory, senseless and aimless slogan: "Down with Miljukov" (as though changing a person or a group would alter the nature of the policy!).

This means that the broad, unstable, vacillating mass which, in its position, is nearest to the peasantry but which, according to its scientific classification, is petty bourgeois, has veered round from the side of the capitalists to the side of the revolutionary workers. And it was this swing of the pendulum or movement of the masses, whose power can decide everything, which brought about the crisis.

It was then no longer the middle, but the extreme elements, no petty bourgeois intermediary stratum, but the bourgeoisie and the proletariat which got into motion and began to parade the streets and to organise.

The bourgeoisie occupied the Nevsky Prospect (the "Miljukovsky Prospect" as one paper called it) and the adjacent parts of the wealthy Petrograd, the Petrograd of the capitalists and officials. The officers, the students, the "middle class" demonstrated in favour of the Provisional Government. Their flags could often be seen inscribed with the slogan "Down with Lenin!".

The proletariat came out of its own centres, out of the working class suburbs and organised itself round the slogans and mottoes, of the central committee of our Party. On May 3rd and 4th, the C. C. passed resolutions which were immediately transmitted to the proletarian masses through the apparatus of the organisation. The processions of workers overflowed into those districts of the town which were less rich and less cen-

trally situated, and penetrated in sections into the Nevsky Prospect. The compact demonstrations of the proletariat are sharply distinguished by their mass character from the demonstrations of the bourgeoisie. Their flags bore the slogan: "All the power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets!"

Conflicts occurred on the Nevsky. The flags of the "enemy" demonstrations were torn down. The Executive Committee received reports by telephone from different points that there had been firing on both sides, that there were dead and wounded; the communications in this respect were extremely contradictory and uncontrolled.

The bourgeoisie expresses its fear lest the masses of the people should really seize the power, by clamouring about the "spectre of civil war". The petty bourgeois leaders of the Soviet, the Mensheviks and Narodniki who had no clearly defined party policy either after the revolution or in the days of the crisis, allowed themselves to be intimidated. The executive committee which, only the day before, had been against the Government by almost half the votes, now voted by 34 to 19 for a return to the policy of confidence in the Government and of coming to terms with it.

The "incident" was declared to be "closed".

What is the nature of the class struggle?

The capitalists are in favour of continuing the war and of cloaking their war policy in phrases and promises; they are caught in the net of Russian, Anglo-French and American bank capital.

The proletariat, represented by its class-conscious vanguard, is in favour of the power passing into the hands of the revolutionary class, into the hands of the working class, the semi-proletarians; in favour of the expansion of the proletarian world revolution, which, in Germany also, is visibly increasing, in favour of putting an end to the war through such a revolution.

The broad, chiefly petty bourgeois mass, which still puts faith in the Menshevik and S. R. leaders, is thoroughly intimidated by the bourgeoisie and, vacillating first to the right and then to the left, is carrying out the bourgeois policy with reservations.

War is a horror; it is just the broad masses who feel this most acutely; it is just in their ranks that the consciousness is growing, though it is still far from clear, that this war is a crime, that it is being carried on on account of the rivalries and disputes among the capitalists, with a view to dividing up the spoils of the capitalists. The situation throughout the world is becoming more and more intricate. There is no other issue than that of the proletarian revolution, which is at present more advanced in Russia than in other countries, although it is obviously growing in Germany also (strikes, fraternisation). The masses are vacillating between confidence in their old rulers, the capitalists and resentment against them; between confidence in the proletariat, the new and sole consistent revolutionary class, which is opening the path to a happy future for all workers, and an indistinct recognition of its part in history. This is not the first and not the last vacillation of the petty bourgeois and semi-proletarian masses.

The lesson is clear, Comrades! Time presses. The first crisis will be followed by others. Concentrate all your forces on enlightening those who are backward, on a wholesale, brotherly, direct approach (not only in meetings) to every regiment, every group of the working strata which are not yet ripe.

All forces should work for our own unity, for the organisation of the workers, from the lowest to the highest, in every district, in every factory, in every quarter of the metropolis and its suburbs. We must not allow ourselves to be distracted either by the petty bourgeois defenders of the country, by the advocates of an "understanding" with the capitalists, the advocates of "support", nor by individuals who wish to act too rashly and cry: "Down with the Provisional Government" before the majority of the people is firmly united. A crisis cannot be overcome by single persons exercising force over others, by partial action on the part of small armed groups, by Blanquist attempts to "seize the power", to "arrest" the Provisional Government.

The slogan of the day is: Explain more exactly, more clearly, on broader lines the policy of the proletariat, the way it would end the war. Close the ranks and columns of the proletariat more firmly and more extensively wherever they are! Hold firmly together in your Soviets and try, within the Soviets, to win over the majority by brotherly persuasion and by the exchange of individual members through new elections.

The Soldiers at the Front Demonstrate against the War Note of the Provisional Government.

Petrograd, May 8th. When the serious occurrences in Petrograd became known, great demonstrations took place at the front. The first report published, transmitted through a telegram to the "War Gazette" from Malmö, and relating to the third army are to hands. In many places, whole formations left the reserve positions and took part in the riotous assemblies of soldiers. In most cases, the assemblies declared their solidarity with the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet. They stated that they would not fight a day longer for any kind of conquest. No one dared to speak against these resolutions, although the greater part of the officers sympathised with the Provisional Government.

In Riga, great demonstrations took place in the Tsar Park and in the Rifle Brigade Park. Thousands of soldiers took part in them. They demanded that Russia immediately make an offer of peace to Germany on the basis of a general renunciation of annexations. If Germany refused this offer, they would know what they were fighting for. Should Germany accept the offer, but the allies reject it, the allies should be left to fight alone for their demands in the future.

The soldiers sent a telegram to the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet, congratulating it on its fight for peace. They suggested that the Workers' Soviet should compel the Provisional Government to make an offer of peace. According to further reports of the social democratic papers, there seems to be much excitement at the front.

MILJUKOV CLINGS TO THE SECRET TREATIES.

Petrograd, May 12th. (Communication From the Petrograd Telegraph Agency). At the request of the representatives of the army in the field who met at Petrograd, Miljukov, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, made statements regarding certain questions of foreign policy.

Miljukov said, amongst other things, that secret treaties existed, but that they could not be published because it would mean revealing secrets which might injure the interests not only of Russian Democracy, but also of the allies, since it might lead to a breach between Russia and its allies.

Kerensky's Anxiety about seats in the Ministry.

Petrograd, May 9th. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency). Kerensky the Minister of Justice, has addressed a letter to the Executive Committee of the Duma, the Soviet of the Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates and the Socialist parties of Petrograd, in which he reminds them how he had taken on himself to represent the interests of democracy in the temporary government, and expressed the opinion that this task had now become too difficult for a single person. The general position of the country was becoming more and more complicated. The forces of democracy on the other hand, were organising and developing. For this reason, democracy could no longer be excluded from participation in the Government of the State. In these circumstances, concludes Kerensky, I am of the opinion, that representatives of democracy, chosen and expressly empowered by the organisations to which they belong, should take on themselves the burden of government.

Towards a Coalition Government.

Petrograd, May 11th. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency). In view of the invitation of the temporary Government to the representatives of the political parties which are not directly represented in the government of the country, to join the Cabinet Prince Lvov, the Prime Minister, has addressed a letter to Tshaidse, the President of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet and to Rodzianko, the President of the Duma, requesting them to make the fact known to the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet and to the Duma, so that the plan may be put into effect.

As we hear, the Executive Committee of the workers will be represented by three or four of its members as ministers without portfolios but with votes in the Cabinet. The plan is said to have been discussed by members of the workers' committees of Petrograd and Moscow on Thursday. Conferences have already been held with the temporary Government.

The Soviet Executive Declines for the Present...

Petrograd, May 11th. (Communication from the Petrograd Telegraph Agency). The Executive Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council decided by 23 votes to 22, against joining the Coalition Ministry, eight abstaining from voting. The question will be laid before the general meeting of the Workers' Soviet, at which it is probable that the result of the voting will be different.

"... for Fear of an Attack by Lenin's Adherents."

Petrograd, April 11th. ("Petit Parisien"). The idea of a concentration ministry with the participation of members of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council is making great progress. It seems necessary that there should be a uniform policy between the Government and the Workers' and Soldiers' Council; it is no good concealing the fact that, in the present circumstances, the Workers' and Soldiers' Council has the authority and that it is obeyed. It may, however, be that the Workers' and Soldiers' Council will still wait for fear of being attacked by Lenin's adherents.

The "April Conference" of the Bolsheviki.

Moscow, May 8th*). ("Pravda" 1917, No. 40). The National Conference of the Party was opened yesterday. Delegates arrived from all parts of Russia, altogether 140 delegates with authority to vote and 40 delegates as advisory members.

The following agenda was passed: 1. The present situation (the war, the Provisional Government). 2. Our relation to the Soviets of the workers' and soldiers' deputies. 3. Revision of our programme. 4. The situation of the International. 5. Union with the internationalists. 6. The agrarian question. 7. The national question. 8. The Constituent Assembly. 9. Questions of organisation. 10. Elections.

After the election of the credentials committee Comrade Lenin delivered the political report.

He pointed out that the forms of the class war change according to the objective conditions, that the victory of the people under arms over Tsarism and the establishment of complete political freedom made any other fight against the class enemy of the proletariat than one in the form of political training and socialist enlightenment of the masses superfluous and even harmful (provided, of course, that the capitalists do not resort to force against the majority).

The whole of mankind is involved in a bloody tangle. It is not possible to put an end to the war simply by the soldiers of one of the belligerent countries refusing to fight any longer. The solution is — the passing of power out of the hands of the imperialists into those of the proletariat and of the semi-proletarian strata which are in sympathy with them in consequence of their class position.

The Soviets of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies are spreading their net further and further over the whole of Russia; they represent a new and peculiar organisation of the power of the State, or at least the nucleus of such an organisation. These organisations differ in essentials from all which have existed hitherto and are absolutely unsuited for the erection of bourgeois institutions, for the creation of a bourgeois, parliamentary republic with a standing army, police and a bureaucracy.

At present the power is directly in the hands of the people which is organised and armed. The means of power are at the disposal of the majority. The Government still enjoys the confidence of this majority. It is therefore our task to enlighten the people as to the necessity of the power passing into the hands of the revolutionary class, of winning over the masses for revolutionary social democracy.

The socialist revolution, which is developing in the West, is not immediately on the order of the day in Russia, but we have already entered on a stage of transition which leads to it. The Soviets of the workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies are an organisation of power through which the socialist revolution can be brought about.

*) According to the old style, the conference began on April 24th, hence the name "April Conference".

It is therefore up to us to strengthen them. For this reason, the concrete tasks of the Soviets of the workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies are: 1. The nationalisation of the land (the abolition of the private ownership of the most important means of production); this is demanded by the peasants. 2. The amalgamation of all banks into one national bank, the nationalisation of the branches of production joined in syndicates. 3. The introduction of general conscription for work.

If the Soviets of the workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies refuse to fulfil these tasks, it is inevitable that they should cease to exist. The same fate awaits them as overtook many organisations of the bourgeois revolutions of the 19th century; they will either be dissolved or dispersed or they will dissolve themselves without having completed the tasks set them by the revolution.

There are only two ways: forwards to resolute economic and political measures or backwards — into nothingness. There is no third possibility.

The meeting received Comrade Lenin's speech with enthusiastic applause.

* * *

Moscow, May 9th. ("Pravda"). The evening session on May 7th was entirely taken up with the discussion on Comrade Lenin's speech.

Comrade Kamenev declared that it was necessary to put the question in a more practical way. Our revolution was not one of the classical bourgeois revolutions. Nevertheless it cannot be anything but bourgeois. Until the block between the S. R., the Social Democrats and the Provisional Government is torn asunder, the revolution will proceed within the scope of the bourgeois order. This block cannot be disrupted suddenly without the masses being prepared, without the masses being enlightened as to true revolutionary democracy and the real aims of the imperialist war. It is therefore necessary to prove to revolutionary democracy, which up to now has placed confidence in the bourgeois Government, that the latter is incapable of concluding a truly democratic peace without annexations and compensations and that it does not want to revoke the treaties of the Tsarist Government with the Anglo-French capitalists. For this reason it is necessary to persuade the masses to join in the movement, in the fight for concrete demands. Comrade Lenin's resolution does not point out practical ways, does not show for which demands the Bolsheviks must fight in all their existing organisations — in the Soviets of the workers' peasants' and soldiers' deputies etc. — until the double rule is abolished.

Comrade Bubnov said that he was in favour of the Soviets of the workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies exercising an energetic control over the Government, under pressure from the masses, a control which should not consist merely of an exchange of resolutions, but of practical steps. The discussion returned repeatedly to the question as to whether an indirect support of the existing conditions in the form of control was admissible.

Comrade Zinoviev emphasised that we ought at present to direct our course towards the world revolution which was ripening under the blows of war. The question of the completion of the Russian revolution, which is condemned to perish unless it is supported by the international proletariat, is facing us in a new form.

The resolution proposed by Comrade Lenin was handed over to a commission.

The morning session on April 25th was entirely taken up with the discussion of the mission of Borgjberg in connection with the summoning of a conference by the majority of the official socialist parties — and with the peace conditions of the German Government (Stockholm Conference. — Ed.)

The invitation to the conference is addressed to all the socialist parties of Russia — explained Comrade Lenin — consequently to us too, and we cannot pass over in silence a fact of such international significance. The social chauvinists of all countries are appearing at the congress as the unofficial representatives of their governments and of the ruling class in their countries.

Under the pressure of the fermentation within the country, the German Government is prepared to renounce some of its annexations, and Borgjberg is its diplomatic representative. He has nothing in common either with the German or the Scandinavian workers. The conference of the social patriotic majorities is being used by ruling circles in Germany as a good oppor-

tunity for attempting to come to an understanding with the robbers on the other side. The social patriots, who are taking part in the disgraceful war, are prepared to take part in a disgraceful termination of the war. The negative attitude of the social patriots of the Entente, on the other hand, clearly reveals their desire for conquest. This should be turned to account by revolutionary social democracy in its own interest to unmask the fraud on both sides. The party which comprises more than 70,000 workers, should warn the internationalist workers of all countries of this deception.

A special commission (Lenin, Kamenev, Leshnev) worked out a resolution to this effect, which is to be laid before the Soviet of the workers' and soldiers' deputies.

THE EFFECT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ABROAD.

Fraternisation at the Front.

Petrograd, April 4th. ("Pravda"). Fraternisation at the front has begun.

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The leading article of "Pravda" of May 4th, 1917 writes: General Brussilov demands that our soldiers should desist from the fraternisation which has begun on all fronts. "There should only be one answer to all attempts of the enemy to get into touch with our troops: "Bayonets and bullets!"

The first attempt at fraternisation at the front took place as early as Easter 1915. The first to fraternise at the time were the English and German soldiers; they exchanged gifts of food and cigarettes, carried on conversation and sang together. Two years have passed since then. Millions have died on both sides. At last we have got so far that whole regiments begin to fraternise. In Germany, too, the revolution is beginning and the time is not far distant when Germany also will have her workers' and soldiers' Soviets. They are becoming convinced that they have carried on the war not for "the defence of the fatherland" but in the predatory interests of the German Gutchkovs and of William the Robber.

The fraternisation of soldiers and workers offers the only hope of putting an end to this fratricidal war by a just, democratic peace. The capitalist governments of Bethmann-Hollweg and Gutchkov will never put an end to the war unless they see that the workers and soldiers are prepared to take over the government themselves and to take the fate of their country into their own hands.

Fraternisation has begun. A number of communications to this effect have reached the Executive Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets. The Front Congress at Minsk has also reported on it.

And just at this moment we are told: Bayonets and bullets — the only answer! General Brussilov maintains that the German General Staff is turning the fraternisation to account, that the German and Austrian soldiers bring cameras with them and photograph the fortresses etc.

Is this true? We do not know.

We say: Of course we do not wish fraternisation to become a trap. We shall not allow fraternisation to be used as a means of spying out military secrets.

But who can discover what is the actual state of affairs?

Only you yourselves, soldiers. Examine for yourselves what is happening in the fraternisation. Rely on yourselves alone!

Bayonets and bullets — is the only answer, we are told. But we reply: Enough of bayonets and bullets! Is it not high time to put an end to this war instigated by a handful of rich people?

Before the Stockholm Conference.

Stockholm, May 6th. It is reported to us that, in Stockholm, members of the international socialist bureau have held the first constituent assembly. Branting was elected president and Huysmans secretary. A programme of work proposed by Stauning was approved. From May 15th onwards, a number of separate conferences of the party representatives of the various countries are to take place. This should make it possible to get a clear idea about certain conditions and guiding lines so that all can take part in the conference on June 10th.

At the suggestion of the members of the Peace Conference which is planned, who have already arrived in Stockholm, the permanent committee of the Labour organisations of Scandinavia will hold a conference in Stockholm on the 9th inst. to discuss the work for peace which is before us. This conference will be attended by the leaders of the national trade union centres of

the three Northern countries. Norway is sending Magnus Nielsen and Ole Lian, Denmark C. F. Madsen and Stauning, Sweden will be represented by Herm. Lindquist and Gust. Möller.

The French Social Patriots will not speak of peace till after the war.

The Hague, April 28th. Havas reports from Paris: The permanent administrative council of the French Socialist party has replied to the appeal of the Dutch comrades to take part in the international conference in Stockholm on May 15th to the effect that it disputes the authority of the Dutch delegation to speak in the name of the International. The council reproaches the Germans and Austrians with the fact that socialism in their countries was an accomplice in the attack. It will not be possible to resume relations with them until after the war. The so-called Stockholm Conference might in any case help to promote the efforts made to bring about a separate peace. The French party, however, cannot co-operate in such plans and, for this reason, no single member of the party will be commissioned to attend the Stockholm conference.

The French Socialist party cannot commit itself to such intentions at a time when the German Government is refusing to make its war aims known.

Minister Vandervelde Cannot "of course" Negotiate with "the Enemy".

London, May 3rd. (Reuter). Vandervelde will not attend the Stockholm conference.

Stockholm, May 6th. ("The Social Democrat"). Vandervelde's refusal has, of course, given rise to all sorts of discussions, but no great significance is attached to his reply. As a member of the committee points out, Vandervelde has taken no part in the work of the International since the outbreak of the war. As a member of the government of one of the belligerent countries, the attitude he takes is of course different from that he took formerly.

Revolutionary Criticism of Stockholm.

Zürich, May 6th. ("Volksrecht"). If the conference takes place, its object will be that of uniting the social patriotic counter-revolutionaries against the commencing European revolution. They desire a peace of compromise concluded by international capital so that the forces of the revolution may be put in chains.

Strike of Protest in Buda-Pest.

Buda-Pest, May 4th. (T. U.) After the May celebrations yesterday had passed off with perfect calmness and dignity, speeches being made by the leaders of the workers in favour of peace and democracy and against the election reform planned by Count Tisza, the workers of all the factories and works downed tools this morning at 11 o'clock. It was a strike of protest, which lasted an hour, until midday. The workers drew up an memorandum as to their wishes.

The Preliminary Conference in Stockholm.

Stockholm, May 11th. (Communication from the Svenska Telegram Byran). The delegates of the parties which had agreed to organise the Stockholm conference, met to-day under the presidency of Hjalmar Branting. The committee acknowledged the demonstration of confidence given yesterday by the Scandinavian delegation, and the affiliation of numerous parties belonging to the International. It expressed its approval of the initiative of the Petrograd workers' Soviet which, by its resolution of May 9th, had determined the parties which still hesitated, to act in common. The Dutch-Scandinavian Committee is firmly determined to carry on its work which, as is confirmed by the Petrograd resolution, is only possible in a neutral country. The committee has finally resolved to confer with the German minority on May 15th, 16th and 17th, and with the representatives of the Finnish socialists on May 18th and 19th.

The Leaders of the Swiss Party and the Stockholm Conference.

Berne, May 8th. The party leaders of the Swiss Social Democratic party met in Berne the day before yesterday. The first question discussed was that of sending a delegation to the Stockholm Conference. Platten (Zürich) proposed that delegates be sent in any case to the meeting of the Zimmerwalders in Stockholm which had been prepared by him, and that they

should reserve their decision with regard to taking part in the Stockholm Conference of the International Socialist Bureau. Schmidt (Olten) recommended sending a delegation to the Stockholm Conference of the I.S.B., but that no resolutions should be passed which were contradictory to the Zimmerwald programme. Both motions were rejected; the question of participation in the Stockholm Conference of the I.S.B. is to be laid before the party congress which will take place on June 9th and 10th in Berne.

From the Resolution on the Stockholm Conference.

Drawn up by Lenin.

"... Borgjberg himself has acknowledged that he is acting in agreement with Scheidemann and other German socialists who have taken the side of the German Government and the German bourgeoisie.

This shows us without any doubt that Borgjberg is at bottom a direct or indirect agent of the German imperialist Government.

For this reason, the conference regards the participation of our party in a conference attended by Borgjberg and Scheidemann as inadmissible on principle, for our task is not to unite the direct or indirect agents of the various imperialist Governments, but the workers of all countries who are carrying on a revolutionary fight against all imperialist governments even during the world war.

Indeed, the only way to bring about a conclusion of peace is through an understanding and friendly approach between such parties and groups.

We warn the workers against placing any confidence in this conference organised by Borgjberg, for, in reality, this conference of the sham socialists is a farce which will serve the purpose of covering the diplomatic bargaining which is going on behind their backs, by means of which annexations will be exchanged.... The Socialists cannot take part, directly or indirectly, in this dirty, self-seeking bargaining of the capitalists of various countries about the distribution of the spoils they have stolen, without betraying the proletarian cause....

.... The conference further notes that the English and French socialists who have united with their capitalists, refuse to take part in the conference organised by Borgjberg. This fact clearly shows that the English and French imperialist bourgeoisie, whose agents are these sham socialists, wish to continue and prolong the imperialist war, that they will not even discuss the question of the concessions which the German imperialist bourgeoisie is compelled to promise through the medium of Borgjberg....

The Conference therefore resolves to make all these facts known amongst the widest circles of the masses, and especially to explain them in detail to the soldiers at the front, so that the Russian soldiers may know that the Anglo-French, and with them the Russian capitalists, are prolonging the war, that they will not even admit of discussions on the conditions of peace.

The Russian soldiers ought to know that England's ambition to strengthen its power in Bagdad and in the German colonies in Africa, the ambition of Russian capitalists to rob and oppress Armenia, Persia etc., the ambition completely to destroy Germany, are hidden under the slogan: "War to a victorious end!" Let the Russian soldiers at the front, in every division, in every regiment, in every company vote as to whether they wish the war to be prolonged by the capitalists or whether they wish that, in the interest of putting an end to the war more rapidly, the whole power should pass exclusively into the hands of the Soviets of the Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies.

The party of the Russian proletariat will only discuss and fraternise with those Labour parties in other countries which are carrying on a revolutionary fight in order that, in their own country, the whole power of the State may pass into the hands of the proletariat.

From the Resolution Regarding the Coalition Government.

The party of the proletariat declares that anyone joining a government which is carrying on an imperialist war, becomes an accomplice of the imperialist policy of the capitalists.

For this reason, the party of the proletariat most energetically opposes the Soviets of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies allowing their representatives to join the Coalition Ministry.

The party warns the people against the attempts to concentrate their attention on the question of replacing one Minister by another or a group of bourgeois politicians by others. To the fight of the parliamentary cliques, which they carry on on principle, revolutionary social democracy opposes the class war and above all the demand for a thorough change of the whole policy of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets and for the taking

Chronicle of Events.

April 27.

Lenin makes a speech at the Petrograd Conference of the Bolsheviks about the tasks of the day.

He points out that the peculiarity of the situation lies in the lack of class-consciousness among the masses which prevents the creation of a lasting and self-conscious majority in favour of a proletarian policy. It is not at present the duty of the Party to overthrow the Provisional Government, as it is supported by the confidence of the petty bourgeoisie and, to some extent, of the working masses, but to give careful instruction as to the tasks of the class and its organisation.

After prolonged discussion, a resolution on the lines of Lenin's exposition was passed by a large majority.

The Front Congress at Minsk resolves to send all former members of the gendarmerie, the police and the secret police to the front. These persons have no right to occupy any commanding post.

April 28.

A proclamation of protest by the C. C. of the Bolsheviks to parry the campaign of lies against the Bolsheviks.

Confirmation of the election decree for the communal elections: general franchise for both sexes, lowest age limit 20 years.

The Moscow Conference of the Bolsheviks passes a resolution in favour of the foundation of a Third International.

April 29.

The Executive of the Petrograd Soviet adopts a resolution opposing bolshevist propaganda.

Great protest demonstrations of soldiers and sailors in Petrograd against the campaign of incitement which has been initiated against Lenin and the other Bolsheviks.

Command of the War Minister regarding the creation of elected military organisations and disciplinary courts.

April 30.

Opening of the Finnish Provincial Congress of the workers and soldiers councils. In most questions it adopts the standpoint of the National Conference.

May 1.

Magnificent demonstrations throughout the country. In Petrograd and Moscow not only the workers and soldiers, but representatives of other classes take part in the demonstrations. The demonstrations are held under the slogan: "Long live the International!", "Peace and fraternity of the peoples!". There is not a single flag with slogans for the continuation of the war until victory, in spite of the fact that representatives of the bourgeoisie take part in the demonstrations.

In Jassy in Roumania the Russian troops organise a great May-Day demonstration. On their demand Comrade Rakovsky, who was in prison on account of his anti-militarist activity, was released. The delegate of the workers' and soldiers' Council referred in his speech to the necessity of a revolution in Roumania.

Note of the Provisional Government to the allies for the continuation of the war to victory.

May 2.

The Moscow Soviet, by 242 votes against 128 bolshevist votes, pronounces itself in favour of supporting the Freedom Loan.

May 3.

Great demonstration in Petrograd against the Note of the Provisional Government. The soldiers of various regiments demonstrate first with placards: "Down with Miljukov!", "Miljukov shall resign!". Later, placards appear with the words: "Down with the Provisional Government!". On the Nevsky Prospect the procession collides with a bourgeois counter-demonstration bearing placards with the inscription: "Long live Miljukov!". Finally the placards of the bourgeoisie are torn down, whereupon the counter-demonstration disperses.

Great joint Conference of the Provisional Government, the Executive Committee of the State Duma and the Executive of the Petrograd Soviet on the Note of the Foreign Minister Miljukov.

The C. C. of the Bolsheviks, in an extraordinary session, decides on its attitude to the Provisional Government's Note of May 1. The adopted resolution declares that the Provisional Government is an out and out imperialist government, which is bound hand and foot by Anglo-French and Russian capital; that all its present and future promises can be nothing else but deception, that the Provisional government, no matter what its composition, cannot renounce annexations as it is dependent on bank capital. The policy of the petty bourgeoisie, which is carried through by the Narodniki and Mensheviks, by the majority of the leaders of the present Soviets, supports the deceitful hopes that the policy of the government can be "improved". Every personal change within the government will only be imitating the worst methods of bourgeois parliamentarism, which replaces the class struggle by the competition of persons and cliques. The only salvation for the petty bourgeois masses, who are vacillating between the capitalist and the working class, consists in the complete going over of these masses to the side of the revolutionary proletariat which is alone capable of thwarting the intentions of finance capital and the policy of annexation. Only by taking over the whole of the State power, supported by the majority of the people, can the revolutionary proletariat create, together with the revolutionary soldiers, such a government, in the shape of the workers and soldiers councils, which shall have the confidence of the workers of all countries and which shall be in a position to end the war by a real democratic peace.

May 4.

During the whole day, demonstrations take place in Petrograd, both of the adherents and of the opponents of the Provisional Government. Armed conflicts occur at different places and several persons are killed and wounded.

Kornilov, the Commander-in-Chief of the Petrograd military district, orders two batteries to be brought up on the square before the winter palace. The officers and soldiers however unanimously refuse to carry out the order.

The Government issues an explanation of its note, whereupon the Executive resolves, by 34 votes to 19, to regard the incident as closed, but at the same time to re-inforce its control over the activities of the Provisional Government, but above all, over the activities of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Petrograd Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet resolves not to organise any demonstrations and meetings in the public streets during the next two days, and further to regard as a traitor to the revolution anyone who calls upon the people to go into the streets armed, or who fires shots.

Great demonstrations take place in Moscow under the slogans: "Down with the Provisional Government!" "Down with Gutchkov and Miljukov!"

The Provisional Government publishes a decree regarding the formation of land committees to regulate the question of the land and, at the same time, calls upon the population to refrain from any independent action with regard to the question of the land.

May 5.

In connection with the fifth anniversary of the founding of "Pravda", a "Labour Press Day" is organised in Petrograd, Moscow and other towns to canvass for subscribers to the Bolshevik Press.

The Petrograd Conference of the Bolsheviks concerns itself with the communal elections, and expresses its disapproval of the formation of a block with the Social Patriots.

The Soviet Executive prohibits any demonstrations on May 6th.