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## The "Hero of the Day".

(Chang Tsun Chang.)

By A. Ivin.

Rumour has it that, before the occupation of Nanking by the troops of the province of Shantung, Sun Chuan Fang weepingly declared to the "prominent personalities" of the town of Nanking, who were gathered round him, that the defeat he had suffered was entirely due to the treachery of his subordinates. Sun Chuan Fang's complaints are, to some extent, confirmed by the special reporter of the "Times", whose telegram of February 20th gives the version placing the whole responsibility for the loss of Hangchow on the shoulders of General Bai Bow Shang, the Commissary for the defence of Hweichow. It is said that the latter succeeded in advancing as far as Chuchow and thus attacking the South Chinese troops in the rear. Instead however of bringing his operations into harmony with those of General Men Chow Sui, who was defending Hangchow, and proceeding to attack, General Bai is said

to have suddenly declared his neutrality and to have withdrawn to the frontier of the province of Nganhwei, which is alleged to have decided the fate of the campaign.

It is difficult to say how much truth there is in this version. Anyhow it is not a case of "treachery" alone, but also of the military superiority of the Canton army which led to a decisive defeat of the forces of the opponent. With what intense embitterment the fight in the district of Hanchow was carried on, can be judged from the fact that in Sun Chuan Fang's army, more than 14,000 strong, which took part in it, there were more than 4000 casualties, i. e. about one third. The rest retreated in disorder along the railway line to Sungkiang, plundering everything as they went. Although the positions reaching from Sungkiang to Hutchow (on the South West part of Lake Taihu) are very strong, as was proved by the

campaign in 1925, the demoralised troops of Sun Chuan Fang would not have succeeded in arresting the further advance of the Canton army.

At this moment, the Tupan (Governor General) of Shantung, Chang Tsun Chang, whose vanguard had already reached Sungkiang, appeared on the scenes. (In the meantime, Sungkiang, which is less than 40 kilometers to the South of Shanghai, has been taken by the Canton troops; the communications between Shanghai and Nanking on the one hand and the province of Shantung on the other hand have also been interrupted. Ed.) Furthermore, General Men Chow Sui and his whole staff has deserted; the whole defence of the surroundings of Shanghai has passed into the hands of the troops of the province of Shantung.

The military groups of Sun Chuan Fang are thus experiencing the process of final disintegration as did the groups of Wu Pei Fu, and now the Canton troops have, in essentials, only to deal with the block between Mukden and Shantung, with Chang Tso Lin and Chang Tsun Chang, who has already been mentioned, at their head.

Chang Tso Lin is already a well-known figure. It is a different case with Chang Tsun Chang, of whom only the name is probably known to most people, although, after Chang Tso Lin, he is the most powerful and at the same time the most typical representative of the militarists of the North.

Born in the province of Shantung, Chang Tsun Chang was for a time a petty clerk on the East China railway. Later on he placed himself at the head of a fairly important band. On the outbreak of the revolution in 1911, he went South and joined the revolutionary army. He soon however found it more to his advantage to join the reactionary side. He took part in the punitive expedition organised against Canton and lost almost the whole of the division under his command; he then returned to Peking where, as a regular frequenter of the gambling halls and the "tea houses", he became very well known through his excesses and his scandalous behaviour.

When, after the destruction of the Canton army in 1922, one of Wu Pei Fu's adherents (General Kao Shi Ping) began to advance in Manchuria at the head of mounted troops, Chang Tsun Chang was commissioned to dissolve this movement which greatly alarmed the "dictator of Manchuria". As a reward for the success of this undertaking, he was nominated Commissary for the Defence of the province of Kirin in Manchuria. Later, he was at the head of a special army, the most important military unit of which was the division of Russian White Guardists, 5000 strong, which he had recruited, the so-called "Netchaiev Division". In the Spring of 1924, he was nominated Tupan (Governor General) of the province of Shantung and thus became the autocratic ruler of a district with almost 40 million inhabitants.

Needless to say, all the Northern provinces of China are groaning under the arbitrary rule of their Tupan. Chang Tsun Chang has managed to beat the record by increasing oppression to virtuosity. By all kinds of taxes and levies and by the arbitrary issue of paper money, he is exploiting all classes of the population, from the bourgeoisie of the towns to the peasantry. In return for this he does not even offer the population the slightest security; there is no end to the arbitrary rule of the soldiers and to the deeds of robbery in the province under his guardianship. He devotes the whole of his energy to the suppression of any signs of public life. By sanguinary acts of revenge against students, workers and journalists, he is stifling the national movement in Shantung. He dissolves, not only organisations of workers and students, but also purely bourgeois ones, such as the Union of Bankers in Shantung. Since his nomination, the provincial assembly has ceased to exist, and the Chamber of Commerce of the town of Tsinan only meets when it is called upon by a special Ukase, to raise the sums required by the Tupan. Chang Tsun Chang, who has now become the "hero of the day", is however no exception, but is one of the most prominent and typical representatives of the Northern militarists who are trying to turn back the wheel of history in China.

## THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION

### Comrade Stalin on the War Danger and Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union.

Moscow, 2nd March 1927.

Comrade Stalin visited one of the meetings of the workers of the railway workshops in Moscow in connection with the soviet elections. He answered many questions put to him by the assembled workers. Most of the question papers handed to him concerned the possibility of war in the current year.

Comrade Stalin declared:

"Although the general danger of an imperialist war exists, there will be no war this year, for our enemies are not prepared for one, and because they fear the outcome of such a war because the workers of the West are not willing to wage a war against the Soviet Union, and without the workers it is not possible to carry on a war, and finally because we ourselves are firmly pursuing a policy of peace, and this circumstance renders a war against our country more difficult."

Answering questions relating to Anglo-Russian relations comrade Stalin said:

"The breaking off of diplomatic relations by the British government is of course possible, but I do not think that this will come, for such a break would bring nothing but disadvantage with it for the latter. Further, having regard to the peaceful policy pursued by the Soviet Union, a breach of relations would mean the adoption of a great responsibility by the British government."

Referring to the economic constructive work of the Soviet Union Comrade Stalin declared that the Soviet Government had been successful in building up industry out of its now resources. This year 1300 million Roubles had been set aside for the requirements of industry. The Soviet Power was industrialising the country on the basis of native accumulation, and not like the government of the Tzar, upon the basis of slave agreements and concessions to foreign capitalists. The Soviet Government built new factories, renovated old ones, introduced modern technical equipment and increased the working class numerically. The tremendous task of building a socialist industry was being performed from national resources, and that was the greatest achievement of the Soviet Power. In achieving this progress, the correct policy of the Party has played a decisive role. This correct policy would, however, have been worthless if it had not received the willing support of the millions of non-party workers. It was this support which made the Communist Party of the Soviet Union strong.

### The Fascist Ring Round the Soviet Union.

By M. G. Bach.

(Conclusion.)

#### III. Lithuania and Poland.

Whereas the Fascist dictatorship is still in course of preparation in Finland, Esthonia and Latvia, it is already at the helm in Lithuania and Poland.

Both in Poland and in Lithuania we see a complete collapse of parliamentarism; parliaments are only tolerated in so far as they are complaisant to those in power, the dictators and the social strata which support them. Woldemaras, Prime Minister of Lithuania, openly declares that he will immediately dissolve the Sejm if it passes a vote of non-confidence in the Government. (See "The Riga Review" of January 31st 1927).

Pilsudski still tolerates the Sejm, as the latter has eaten humble pie and as the Polish bourgeoisie has accommodated itself to the Pilsudski regime with all its dodges. Both in Poland and in Lithuania the Fascist Government is turning against the working masses with all the power of the apparatus of State; the Warsaw Government is severely sitting in judgment on the White Russian Hromada, an organisation of hundreds of thousands of White Russian peasants, it is terrorising the working population of West Ukraine and is setting in motion the most

unprecedented terror against the whole revolutionary movement of the country.

In the domain of foreign policy, we see in the Poland of Pilsudski, the growth of militarism and hear open declarations as to the necessity of extending the Polish frontiers "towards the East, — beyond the Bug and the Dnieper". Systematic preparations for the annexation of Lithuania are being made in Poland in order to create, under England's instructions, a convenient ground on which to draw up troops, in case of intervention against the Soviet Union.

We see the same in Lithuania. The "Christian" bourgeoisie is not satisfied with slaughtering the best leaders of the Lithuanian workers, but is having more wholesale death sentences passed by its courts. The trade union movement is shattered and deprived of its leaders. All "democratic freedom" is annihilated; strikes, meetings of workers are prohibited. A state of war has been declared and the censorship introduced. The unrestricted power of the Jesuits and priests has been restored. The national minorities are being terrorised in Lithuania as in Poland.

What is the orientation of Fascist Lithuania in its foreign policy? For "internal use", for deluding the masses, Woldemaras still demands that Poland return Vilna. In reality, however, semi-official and secret negotiations are being carried on with Poland, about which the Press of Berlin, Riga, Warsaw and Vienna give reports.

According to reports which have not been refuted, "unofficial" negotiations were carried on in Kovno at the end of January between an emissary of Pilsudski, the daughter of the Polish Prince Radziwill, and Woldemaras. At the beginning of January, as the Polish semi-official Press reports, negotiations were started in Vilna between the representatives of Lithuania and Poland and, as the Riga newspapers report, with the participation of Mr. Wohan, the English ambassador in the Baltic States, who came to Vilna especially for the purpose. We are not informed as to the concrete purport of these negotiations, but it is undoubtedly the task of the English ambassador to "reconcile" Fascist Lithuania with Poland as it is impossible to form a broad anti-Soviet bloc of the Baltic countries under the leadership of Poland and the general control of England without this "reconciliation".

It was no mere coincidence that, as the semi-official organ "Listuva" reports, Mr. Wohan, in his discussion with Smetona, the President of Lithuania displayed great interest in the question of establishing friendly industrial relations between Poland and Lithuania. Neither is the visit of Jurgutis, the Director of the National Bank of Lithuania, to London a coincidence; this visit was for the purpose of taking up a foreign loan, the prospect of which had been held out by England, whereas England had, up to that time, granted no credit to the Slaschewitz Government. There can be no doubt that Fascist Lithuania will, sooner or later, throw itself into the arms of Poland.

#### IV. Roumania.

In order to give a complete picture of the Fascist ring which surrounds the Soviet Union, we must deal briefly with Fascism in Roumania. In Roumania, the whole policy of the present Roumanian Government is Fascist, as it can only maintain its position by terrorising all those who are of a different opinion and by oppressing the strong national minorities which are trampled underfoot by the Boyar occupants. The oppression of the working population of Bessarabia, which is fighting obstinately against the abhorred "conquerors", is especially cruel.

The Roumanian bourgeoisie has also, by way of supplementing its arch-reactionary apparatus of administration and justice, created "voluntary Fascist organisations", which, from time to time, attract general attention by their programs. These Fascist bands are almost exclusively recruited from students and other strata of bourgeois young people, under the leadership of "Fascist ideologists" of the type of Professor Cuza (a kind of Roumanian Purishkewitch). The Roumanian Fascist students' organisations occupy themselves chiefly with organising pogroms against the Jews both at the Universities and in the Jewish quarters of the towns. Quite recently, in the middle of December 1926, such wholesale pogroms took place in Kishinev, Jassy and Klausenburg. The Roumanian bourgeoisie needs such pogroms against the Jews, no less than did the old Tsarist Russia in its time, in order to distract public attention from the social political reaction.

The Fascist movement, however, does not restrict itself to anti-Semitism alone. The Roumanian Fascists render other valuable services to the bourgeoisie; they smash up Labour organisations, disperse meetings, provide strike-breakers etc.

It is easy to foresee that in case of intervention against the Soviet Union, Roumania will be one of the most faithful servants of English imperialism. It was not for nothing that Bessarabia was recently transformed into a special military territory and that a military Governor General with great authority was appointed there.

A survey of the Fascist movement to the West of the Soviet Union shows that a Fascist ring is being successfully welded against the Soviet Union. The Western neighbours of the Soviet Union are joining into a Fascist, anti-Soviet bloc, with the direct support of English imperialism, which is arming for intervention against the Soviet Union.

As yet this bloc is not completed, nor is the ring round the Soviet Union closed. Up to the present, Germany has withheld its consent to English intervention. The bargaining continues in the foreign offices of the Great Powers. Germany is setting hopes which are not unfounded, on the support of England and demands that the frontiers laid down by the Treaty of Versailles be changed, above all that the Danzig corridor be removed. Poland, however, still remains inflexible and solemnly declares through the mouth of Zaleski; "not a hand's breadth of Polish soil; every man to the defence of the fatherland".

The danger of intervention, however, cannot be doubted, and the progress of Fascism in the border States involves an increase of this danger. It is of course not a mere chance that this coincides with the negotiations which are being carried on between the Soviet Union and the Baltic countries for the purpose of concluding a guarantee treaty for ensuring peace in Western Europe.

Should, however, the danger of intervention become a reality, the working masses of the Soviet Union, in close alliance with the revolutionary proletarian masses of the West, will fight for the defence of the only proletarian republic of the world against the imperialist robbers of the world, in order to prevent possible repetitions of intervention against the Soviet Union.

## POLITICS

### The Significance of the Fight round Coolidge's Memorandum.

By M. TANI (Moscow).

The official and unofficial answers in the various countries, to Coolidge's proposal for disarmament, reveal a number of political factors of the greatest international significance and provide extremely valuable material for throwing light on questions which have hitherto been somewhat obscure.

Great Britain, France and Italy have, in various forms, refused to accept Coolidge's proposal or have sabotaged it. Coolidge made the proposal to call a conference with the object of extending the restrictions of naval constructions laid down at the Washington Conference at the beginning of 1922 to fighting units of less than 10,000 tons.

We are here concerned, not with the military, but with the political side of the proposal. For the sake of clearness, we will only point out that, as was to be expected, the result of the Washington "Disarmament Conference" was that military competition amongst the Powers was transferred to the domain of medium-sized units, especially cruisers which do not exceed the Washington standard of 10,000 tons. As these types cost considerably less than ironclads (the average price of these "toys" is about a million pounds sterling), Great Britain and Japan, who had devoted especial attention to them, have succeeded in out-distancing the United States in this respect.

Now however, Coolidge, by his proposal, has said to his rivals: "Do not dare to dispute the hegemony of the United States. Put a check on yourselves, or I shall not stay my hands and it will be all the worse for you".

The rivals of the United States paid no attention to this threat and have rejected the proposal, actually if not officially.

This distinguishes the present international situation from that which existed at the time of the Washington Conference. Neither the European Powers nor Japan are willing to capitulate a second time to the imperialism of the United States. This resistance, however, will lead to a tremendous growth of militarism in the United States, a fresh, mad competition in armaments, further intensification of the contradictions within the imperialist camp. This fact is of extreme importance and significance at the moment when the "world bourgeoisie" is about to raise its mailed fist against the Soviet Union and China.

Profound and sharp conflicts within the bourgeois camp show that there is no such thing as a "world bourgeoisie" in the sense of a force organised on world-scale, any more than there is, in this sense, a world capitalism. In recent times we have devoted special attention to weighing the factors which, on the one hand, make it seem likely that the United States might, in the immediate future, join the Bloc against the Soviet Union and China, which is led by Great Britain, and, on the other hand, the factors which prevent the establishment of a united front of this kind; we can now state that these latter factors have considerably gained in strength. This is one of the political lessons to be learnt from the fact that Coolidge's memorandum was given the cold shoulder.

In connection with this and in view of the American danger, the development of a certain community of interests may be observed in bourgeois Europe. It is a far cry from this partial solidarity to "Pan-Europe", the dream of various bourgeois politicians and those who wish to make social compromises. Nevertheless, the chorus of protests in the European Press against Coolidge's memorandum, a chorus which followed on the energetic campaign against the United States' attack on Mexico and Nicaragua is, at the present moment, almost drowning the sound of the embittered fight among the European States. As the "Kölnische Zeitung" recently reported, the League of Nations, which is predominantly an organ of the European bourgeoisie, is now making special efforts to persuade Brazil, which left the League of Nations, to return to its bosom, and is generally trying to attract the States of Latin America, which are hostile to the United States.

In connection with this, special significance is imparted to the fact that the League of Nations recently rejected certain reservations made by the United States with regard to their joining the International Court of Arbitration of the League of Nations, thus giving a public rebuff to the diplomats of the United States.

The history of the Coolidge memorandum is particularly instructive from the point of view of the relations between Great Britain and the United States. The "incident" with the Coolidge memorandum shows that the conflicting interests between these two States are at present assuming a more acute form than was anticipated. It suffices to point out the interesting fact that Coolidge's memorandum had been preceded by lengthy negotiations between Washington and London, with regard to the increase of the range of the guns on British warships, which had called forth protests on the part of the United States, and that even in these technical questions they could not come to an understanding.

For the British Empire, which is scattered over the "seven seas", the question of swift, fighting cruisers is a vital one. The imperialism of the United States, which until recently was still the "brave ally" of British imperialism, refuses to take this into account. Five years ago, it compelled Great Britain to renounce her traditional monopoly of supremacy at sea and is now unwilling to let Great Britain get her own back.

The United States' plan to construct ten new cruisers has aroused excitement, especially in Great Britain. The Conservative paper "The Outlook" wrote:

"It is a dangerous system to arm with the object of compelling others to disarm... American imperialism has started a campaign... Not only the events in the Caribbean Sea but also those in the Pacific Ocean should be carefully watched. For the time being (*italics mine, M. T.*) there is no need to worry about the Atlantic."

It is not by chance that the words "for the time being" found their way into the Conservative organ. It shows how the thoughts of British imperialism work, which is greatly upset by the aggressiveness of its rival.

In view of the increased tension in their relations with the United States, the more cautious British imperialists are subtly trying to gain the confidence of the latter and to get a free hand so as to be able to carry out their plan of armaments, by pointing out the danger impending from the Soviet Union and from China. The Conservative "Observer" in particular, is carrying on an active campaign in this direction. This wooing meets with little response from the United States. The "Chicago Tribune", the organ of the hundred per cent American militarists, proposes to the "advocates of the Anglo-Saxon Alliance" that they would be better occupied in considering the question why Great Britain, disregarding the protests of the United States, is increasing the range of her naval guns. This paper, which most certainly does not cherish the faintest affection for the Soviet Union, writes with regard to the Soviet Union and China:

"There is considerable tension in the relations of Great Britain to China and Russia. An Anglo-Saxon Bloc would pledge us to take Great Britain's side, should this dispute develop into a fight."

The organ of the United States' imperialists, however, declines this pleasure.

This of course does not by any means imply that the United States will pursue a friendly policy towards the Soviet Union and China. Not at all. The intensified struggle between the United States and Great Britain with regard to Coolidge's plan, makes it evident that for the present, there can be no joint action between the two world robbers, nor is any to be expected in the immediate future.

## The Situation in England.

By R. Stewart (London).

The British imperialists, driven by the force of events in Britain, the General Strike, the miners' struggle and the Labour victories in the bye-elections, are casting off all disguise of possible friendly relations with the U. S. S. R.

The events in China which fundamentally challenge the power of Britain, are shaking the nerves of the leaders of the Conservative government; hence the hysterical Note of Chamberlain and the blustering of Birkenhead, Chamberlain & Co. British capitalism looks upon the U. S. S. R. as the rallying centre of the world revolution, and the Baldwin policy has always been that of encirclement and capitalist coalition against the U. S. S. R. Even so the British government must proceed with caution as the British proletariat are steadily increasing their sympathy to the workers of the U. S. S. R. whose financial assistance, advice and support helped to save the British Labour movement from complete demoralisation after the betrayal of the General Strike by the capitalist agents within the General Council led by Thomas. This sympathy is not reflected in the speeches of MacDonald who is always nearer to the mind of Baldwin than to the mood of the workers.

The British proletariat have been taught severe lessons during 1926 and will not forget that the government which wants to break with U. S. S. R. and is engaged in war-like action to terrorise the Chinese nationalist movement, is the same government which stood behind the mineowners in starving the miners back to work on an eight hour day after the most stubborn struggle in British Labour history. The Conservative government knows how unpopular it is becoming and is therefore taking advantage of its present opportunities to weaken the workers' organisations, to put further pressure on the unemployed and to further secure and strengthen the House of Lords as a bulwark of reaction.

Parallel to the campaign of the government against U. S. S. R. and against Chinese nationalism runs the campaign of MacDonald against the Communists. He is joined by the trade union leaders like Clynes who are twisting their trade union constitutions to strangle the efforts of members of their unions who are actively engaged in the National Minority Movement. Threatened expulsions and actual suspensions are the means taken by these Privy Councillors against the active workers.

The response of the workers is seen in the growth of the Left Wing within the Labour Party and in the tremendous "Hands off China" campaign led by the Communist Party, and



leading through the Trades Unions and Trades Councils and the organisations of the Unemployed into the broadest strata of the working class. This Chinese campaign is opposed by MacDonald & Co. because of the practical action which it is urging, that is the stoppage of transport of munitions and men to China. Conferences of workers like that called by the London Trades Council have shown that the workers are becoming tired of parliamentary trifling and are desirous of organising real opposition to the offensive against China and the U. S. S. R.

The present situation is most correctly described as one of desperate struggle on the part of British imperialism to protect its interests in China. In all of its present difficulties British imperialism sees the hand of the U. S. S. R. But just as imperialism looks on the U. S. S. R. as the enemy so do the workers of Britain look upon the workers of the U. S. S. R. as allies and friends, and it is certain that positive resistance to any attempt to attack directly the U. S. S. R. will be made by British workers who are moving nearer to a clearer conception and understanding of the relation between the struggle for freedom of the Chinese workers and the struggles of British workers against capitalism.

This process is shown by the 80 Hands off China Committees already working actively especially in the transport and military centres. It is further seen in the organisational steps taken against such traitors as Spencer M. P. expelled from the Labour Party and by the victory of the C. P. and Minority Movement leaders in the election to official positions in the reconstructed Miners organisation in Fifeshire, Scotland. It is also to be seen in the intensive discussion taking place in the mining districts on the constitution prepared by the **Minority Movement** for one Miners' Union for Great Britain instead of the twenty different district associations which at present compose the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

This campaign for reorganisation and for a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions is an important contribution to the rooting out of the capitalist agents in the Labour Movement, and is being fought bitterly by the bureaucracy of the British Labour movement which is still very powerful and unscrupulous in defending its vested interests against the workers.

## A New Campaign against the Left Wing Labour Movement in Hungary.

### A New Pact on the Part of Social Democracy.

(Letter to the "Inprecorr".)

Vienna, March 5, 1927.

During the election campaign in the month of December in Hungary, several members of the government announced a trade union law which, following the Italian model, shall play the Hungarian labour movement into the hands of the counter-revolution. Although the Left Socialist Labour Party called upon the Socialist Party of Hungary to form a united front to defend the free trade union movement, the latter Party flatly rejected the offer and has not moved a finger on its part.

The social democratic trade union committee issued a feeble resolution from which one can conclude that a new Pact is being prepared between the bureaucracy and the Bethlen government. Various signs go to indicate this. For, in addition to the trade union law, the government has announced the re-establishment of the autonomy of the sick insurance authorities, the introduction of old age insurance and the creation of employment committees consisting of equal numbers of employers and workers. The bureaucracy is again beginning to bargain. At the Conferences of the trade unions and at the elections of local officials, the bureaucracy attempted to win over the opposition by promising them paid jobs after the re-establishment of the autonomy of the sick insurance authorities. At the same time it increased its campaign against the Communists and the Socialist Labour Party, which it denounces as a Bolshevik Party.

But the bourgeois press also, as if in response to a signal, proceeded to treat the Labour Party as a communist Party, although the court decision in the Rákosi trial established the contrary. In the last few weeks the entire Hungarian press has spoken of a "Communist Labour Party". For several weeks scarcely a day passed without members of the Labour Party, both in Budapest and in the provinces, being arrested, and regarding which arrests the press constantly reported as arrests

of "Communists". Several signs go to indicate that one of the most important points of the new pact contains the demand of the Social Democracy for the dissolution of the Labour Party by the government, to which the government is all the more inclined on its part, as the slogan of the Labour Party against the restoration of the Habsburgs and the setting up of the Republic has found an ever increasing response among the broad masses of workers and peasants.

During the parliamentary elections in December the Social Democracy could calmly leave it to the election terror of the officials to prevent the Labour Party obtaining a single seat by the simple expedient of rejecting all the latter's nominations. But at the approaching elections to the sick insurance committees and the employment committees it will be seen that the Labour Party has, in the course of its two years of existence, become a mass Party. This is the explanation for the increased denunciation on the part of the social democracy, the new Pact with Bethlen, the increased persecution of the Labour Party and the incitement of the whole press against it.

Late in the evening on Wednesday, 23rd February, the police forced their way into the premises of the Labour Party and arrested the three workers who were present there. In their report to the press the police state as a reason for the arrests that the arrested workers had read books on China. On Thursday night the leader of the Labour Party, Stefan Vagi, was arrested along with 17 of his comrades, and on the next day, Friday morning, the police occupied the streets of Budapest. There was given as a reason for this state of siege the assertion that the Labour Party had organised a street demonstration for Friday as a trial of strength for the 21st March (the 21st March is the anniversary of the setting up of the Soviet dictatorship in Hungary in the year 1919), and a deputation was to have been sent from the demonstrators to the Prime Minister, Bethlen, in order to submit to him a memorandum regarding the question of unemployment. This statement was an absolute fabrication, for nobody in Budapest knew of any demonstration. Three days later the police themselves were forced to admit that the story of the demonstration was only used as a pretext in order to have a reason for the mass arrests which had already been carried out and were to be carried out. Telegrams were sent to the provincial authorities, and in the whole country functionaries of the Labour Party were arrested and handed over to the police in Budapest. The number of the arrested amounted to 80.

These arrests were immediately followed by a bestial orgy of torturings and murders.

Franz Mozsy a young worker from Kaposvar was shot from behind by the detectives escorting him "whilst attempting to escape". He is dead. On Thursday the Budapest police reported that whilst being escorted to Budapest he wrested himself from his guards and leapt from the train in the neighbourhood of the capital and escaped. Under the pretence of accompanying him to the lavatory the detectives shot him down in the corridor of the train. The police are now attempting to construct an "attempt to escape".

The Prisoners in the buildings of the Budapest police headquarters are being subjected to fearful tortures.

Alexander Szerenyi was tortured with a pair of pincers, both nostrils being torn away from the flesh of the face.

Franz Normai was stripped and thrashed with a whip. During the torture the detectives tried to force him to tell them the whereabouts of certain alleged dollars.

Elizabeth Bruck, a 19 year old girl, was stripped naked and the examining detectives were only prevented from violating her by a timely interruption. Finally the unfortunate girl was "only" thrashed with a whip.

A young worker named Rubin, twenty years old, was so mishandled that both arms were broken. His whole body is covered with burns.

Johann Kocsis, an invalid landworker, who lost a leg fighting for the Hungarian Soviet Republic was arrested, forced to unscrew his artificial limb and to hop about on one leg. When he was so exhausted that he could jump no longer he was beaten with the artificial limb.

The hair of a young 19 year old worker named Bittitz was torn out and he was compelled to swallow it. When he fainted,

cold water was flung over him and his body burnt with a red hot iron.

These tortures lasted from Wednesday to Saturday without achieving any result. Even up to the present day the press has not reported anything regarding a "special" Communist "conspiracy". When, however, during the night from Saturday to Sunday, Comrade Zoltán Szantó was arrested on the frontier in a train proceeding to Vienna, the incitement and the hue and cry of the police and of the press was let loose against the Communists.

The Hungarian bourgeoisie has been seized with a panic.

"What is the use of the watchfulness of the police when fresh Communist conspiracies are being continually discovered and which assume ever increasing dimensions."

This is how a portion of the Budapest press wails, while on the other hand the outspokenly government press wishes to give an international note to the arrests in Budapest. Under the title: "Check to Bolshevism!" the "Pester Lloyd" calls for an international fight against bolshevism in which the Budapest police, who are watching over the security of all Europe, must play the leading role. The position of England, it declares, would not be so serious today if it had paid heed in good time to the warnings of the Budapest police. For the Budapest Police — writes the Pester Lloyd — pointed out already two years ago that Moscow was preparing an armed revolt in China, but the English government did not pay sufficient heed to the communications of the Hungarian police.

That this insane behaviour on the part of the press is not a chance phenomenon is shown by the fawning of the Prime Minister Bethlen on England. Bethlen declared before the Finance Committee of the Members of Parliament that

"so long as Russia did not give up revolution she could not hope to be recognised by Hungary".

The accompanying music to this campaign of incitement is naturally supplied by the social democracy. The Central Committee of this Party and the parliamentary fraction issued a declaration in which it is stated that the social democracy, as the deadly enemy of bolshevism, will continue its fight with all means against the Communist movement. This declaration of the social democracy could not be surpassed in its sharpness against the Communist movement, so that the fascist Minister, Bishop Vass, at the Conference of the government party expressed his thanks to the social democracy for this brave act. He characterised this declaration of the social democracy as a symptomatic phenomenon.

In the meantime the government press is arousing a pogrom mood against the arrested and is demanding that they be brought before a special court.

In view of the events which have occurred up to now there remains not the least doubt that here it is a question of a well-prepared campaign against the Socialist Labour Party of Hungary. The campaign has its roots in the new Pact of the social democracy with Bethlen. The social democracy wishes to get rid of the Labour Party in order again to have the monopoly of the only legal workers' Party. The Labour Party is therefore to be dissolved as being a "Communist" Party. As evidence for this it is to be pointed out that among the arrested members of the Party there are communists. But the Socialist Party of Hungary could be also dissolved on the same ground, for among the arrested Communists there are some who are members of the social democratic party.

The constant campaign of the government is obviously directed against the Communist Party of Hungary. Behind every movement of the Labour Party and of the working class in general the government sees the activity of the Communists. The C. P. of Hungary will, of course, not be intimidated by any government terror. The arrested communists as well as the whole C. P. of Hungary will continue to carry on as in the past their fight against the present regime and for the re-establishment of the workers' and peasants' power.

The international proletariat must raise its voice in protest in order to wrest the brave fighters from the hands of the Hungarian terror.

## The Revival of the Labour Movement in Egypt.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

Under the reactionary dictatorship of Zivar Pasha, even those remains of the Labour organisations, which had survived the great attack on the trade union movement in 1924, were annihilated in Egypt. Since the victory of the Zaghlulists at the election in the summer of 1926 and the formation of the moderate Government of Adly Pasha, the Labour movement is gradually reviving.

Adly Pasha and the Zaghlulist majority in the Egyptian Parliament by no means, of course, favour the Egyptian workers or the Communists. All the measures of the fight against communism have been retained by the Adly Government. Every attempt of the workers at class organisation continues to meet with the most violent resistance, the anti-Communist laws are put into effect most meticulously, even with exaggeration, a special credit of 3000 pounds sterling has actually been demanded in order to form a "Department of the Ministry of the Interior to combat Bolshevism", the Communist Member of the English Parliament, Saklatvala, has been refused entry to Egypt or even a transit visa.

At the same time however, the discontent of the workers is finding more and more frequent and clearer and clearer expression; a number of papers have dealt in detail with the condition of the housing of the workers, their miserable wages and their oppression by the employers, and have called upon the Government to intervene at once lest Communism "should be nurtured by the economic distress". In Parliament, a commission has been appointed to work out a law for the protection and insurance of workers, which is to be linked up with a law regarding the right of coalition of workers (which has hitherto not existed legally). On the occasion of the discussion of the Saklatvala affair in Parliament, several deputies belonging to the Zaghlul party and describing themselves as representatives of the workers, have advocated the revision of the resolution refusing a permit of entry.

All this is going on under the increasing pressure of the discontent of the workers which is making itself felt with ever-growing intensity. The tramway workers in Cairo, who possess a well organised trade union, have several times threatened to strike. Smaller Labour conflicts, in private factories and in those belonging to the Government, are the order of the day. Small incidents often lead to partial strikes, as was the case in the printing-works of the "Wadi el Nil" (a large daily paper). One of the printing workers, who at the same time, published a weekly Labour journal of his own, was called upon by the owner of the printing-works to give up his paper. When he refused to do so, he was dismissed. Thereupon all the workers in the printing works went on strike in order to force the employers to take back their comrade. The printing-works were closed down.

The result of a by-election for Parliament in the working class district of Minet el Bassel is also characteristic. Whereas otherwise the candidates of the Zaghlul party are, without exception, elected wherever they put up, in this district a candidate recommended by Zaghlul Pasha was opposed by Dr. M. Sabet, the chairman of the trade union organisation of Cairo (at the same time a radical Nationalist), the latter doing his canvassing with pronounced Labour slogans. The election contest was very keen, and finally Dr. Sabet carried off the victory.

Shortly after his election, Dr. Sabet declared that he was going to found a general Egyptian Labour movement, with a paper of its own and with sections in every town of the country. This organisation, it is true, is to keep its activities within the scope of the law. A general Labour Congress is to take place in the immediate future, which is to declare the foundation of this organisation.

Within the Zaghlulist party itself, the workers form the Left wing, and it is just within the Zaghlulist camp that various functionaries have repeatedly demanded a more resolute policy with regard to the English.

Thus we see that the struggle to improve the economic situation is proceeding hand in hand with the revival of the Labour movement in Egypt and with an intensification of the anti-imperialist fight.

## HANDS OFF CHINA

### The Women's Part in the Chinese Revolution.

By Tineva.

In the civil war in China, which is spreading further and further, women are joining the ranks of the revolutionary combatants in ever increasing numbers. It is characteristic of China that women are joining in the civil war, women not only of the working class, but of almost all classes of society: women workers and peasants, the women of the intelligentsia, of the petty bourgeoisie and of the middle class and even the women belonging to the large bourgeoisie.

The participation of women was greater in the national revolutionary movement than has otherwise been the case in the history of similar movements, because women in China, as in the whole of the East, have a particular interest in any movement for freedom, they being the elements which are most cruelly oppressed by the semi-patriarchal laws and customs which still prevail.

For the bourgeois woman, national emancipation is a lever for her individual emancipation, which is being prepared for and demanded by the introduction of capitalist methods of production and thanks to the new economic and social conditions. The proletarian woman is of course also held down by the same fetters of individual and social enslavement, by patriarchal customs and laws... She however feels the capitalist methods of production directly as the lash of exploitation and thus, being like man an exploited wages' slave, she enters the arena with the class demands of the revolutionary proletariat, but she too, like man an exploited wage slave, she enters the arena with individual emancipation as a woman.

The feminist movement in China, which originally came into being among the petty bourgeoisie, the middle class and the intelligentsia, and which now embraces the revolutionary elements among the women workers and peasants who take their stand on the class war, is thus casting off its purely feminist character and is slowly but irresistibly merging into the general movement of the broad masses of the Chinese people. Thus for instance, in all speeches, at meetings and in the Press as well as in resolutions, it is being emphasised more and more frequently and by no means accidentally, that the feminist question is indissolubly bound up with the general question of national oppression and of the exploitation of the working class, and that the social revolution should make its own the cause of the complete emancipation of Woman.

Women workers first took part in the revolutionary movement in China by joining in the strike movement. Even in 1920, there were mass strikes in the textile factories, in the silk spinning mills and the cigarette factories of Shanghai, in which thousands of women took part. In sixty factories 30,000 women struck. The strike movement in Shanghai included 44 silk spinning mills in which 92,000 workers struck, most of them being women.

In 1923, the strike movement spread still further and embraced still larger numbers of women workers; in Shanghai alone, 54 strikes occurred, the largest of which included 15,000 women. The strike movement of 1924 assumed still greater dimensions and was chiefly of an organisatory character — strike committees cropped up and trade unions were formed. In February 1925, 24,000 persons went on strike in the cotton mills of the Japanese firm Nogai-Yata-Kaisha in Shanghai, the majority of them being women. According to the statistics of the Shanghai trades council, the number of workers on strike in the foreign factories in the Spring of 1925, was almost 200,000, 80% of them being in the textile trade, which employs almost exclusively women and children.

The chief causes which led to this strike were the low wages, the long hours of work and the corporal punishments, fines etc. which were the order of the day.

The events in Shanghai in 1925/26 contributed largely to the women workers joining in the strike movement. The cele-

bration of the Shanghai events was the occasion when the largest number of women took part. In Canton, the general strike was declared in all match factories, in which women alone are employed, as a sign of solidarity. In this period of the general revolutionary advance, there were even strike movements of children, as for instance in the English tobacco factory in Shanghai, in which 200 children struck.

This wholesale participation of women in the strike movement made the question of their organisation acute. This demand of the women workers to be organised is growing stronger and stronger and finds expression in the fact that women are being enrolled in the general trade unions (Shanghai) as well as that independent women's trade unions are being formed, as was the case in some branches of industry in Canton. On this basis a number of meetings and conferences have been held. In March 1926, a conference of women workers in the wool factories was called which was attended by about 500 delegates, representing something like 20,000 women workers. Another conference was called, which was attended by 800 delegates, representing the silk mills. The resolutions passed demand that the Canton Government organise a committee of inspection to carry out the new regulations in the factories, for maternity and child welfare and at the same time demanding equal pay for equal work.

Ever since 1925, when the Kuomintang issued the slogan demanding the convocation of a national assembly, the women who, after the Shanghai events, took an active part in the anti-imperialist movement, began to carry on a wide-spread campaign for this slogan and organised "Committees for Promoting the Convocation of a National Assembly". They published an appeal with regard to the fight against the imperialism of all countries and with regard to the abolition of the dictatorial treaties, organised propaganda groups, joined in the collection of voluntary contributions for the benefit of the strikers in Shanghai, took an active share in a number of demonstrations, published appeals etc.

The development of the women's movement from the point of view of organisation and ideology was greatly promoted by the close cooperation of the Communists and the Kuomintang. Both in the Communist party and in the Kuomintang there are women's sections having authority in the party, which direct the work among the working women in this spirit.

The events in Shanghai have greatly strengthened the revolutionary attitude of mind of the women workers and largely contributed to the consolidation of the movement among them. The chief centres of this movement are Shanghai, Canton and Tientsin, towns in which enormous masses of women of the proletariat are concentrated. In recent times, the women's movement has begun to consolidate its organisation and to develop a tendency towards coalition and the union of their forces. A number of women's organisations, associations and unions etc. are springing up, which include not only the intelligentsia, the women of the petty bourgeoisie, but also the women workers and even the peasant women. Thus, in Shanghai, "The Union of the Women of Shanghai" has been formed, with 300 members, a good half of whom are women workers. In the province of Kwantung, 60 local groups of the "League for the Liberation of Women" have been formed and have been joined by many peasant women. Further there is the "Women's Union of Hupey", which is composed chiefly of women workers. In Kaifun, there is a "Women's Union", in Guangsi "The Women's Union for the Protection of the Rights of Women", in Tientsin, the "Women's Union". Similar organisations exist in Chekiang, Nimbo, Nanking, Tshakish, Hunnan etc. All these organisations carry on agitation on broad lines with the help of their Press.

The increased influence of the Communist Party and of the Left wing of the Kuomintang finds expression in the participation of women in all the activities organised by the Kuomintang and the Communist party, as well as in the wholesale participation of women in the demonstrations of protest against the despatch of Japanese troops, against Wu Pei Fu etc. In Hunnan, the number of women who took part in these activities amounted to almost 30% of the whole number. As a reply to the murder of several women who took part in the demonstrations at Shanghai, a campaign was started in Hunnan to recruit women for the Kuomintang, which led to an increase of the number of women by 20%. In recent times, the number of women members of the Communist Party has also greatly increased, and instead

of the 320 women members at the end of 1925, the Communist Party now includes 2000 women members.

On the occasion of the **International Women's Day 1926**, the women's movement reached its highest point. This day was celebrated as a real national holiday, on which magnificent demonstrations against imperialism were organised. Fresh masses of women who, up to that time, had not been reached by our agitation and propaganda, took part in it. In some provinces, as for instance in Kwantung, Guangsi, Hunnan, Shansi, Chekiang, Hupeh, Shantung, Peking, Tientsin etc., the success was beyond all measure. The greatest demonstration that China has ever seen however, was undoubtedly the stupendous demonstration in Canton.

In recent times, the question has arisen of the ideological and organisatory consolidation of the influence of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang among the large number of proletarian women who have spontaneously taken part in the fight against imperialism. With this object in view, a "Central Chinese Women's Congress" is to be summoned in the near future, the chief task of which is to gather together and enrol the masses of women in the national movement for freedom and for the support of the Labour movement; the linking together of all existing women's organisations — of course excluding any which are openly reactionary — throughout China, under the leadership of a uniform Centre; the collection and study of the experiences of the women's movement.

All these facts signify a tremendous advance in the direction of a union of all the revolutionary elements into a consolidated advance and a fight of the anti-imperialist united front for the independence of the country. All these facts bear witness to the new phase in the development of the women's movement in China, of its expansion and its significance within the general fight for freedom.

## ECONOMICS

### British Bank Capital in the Critical Year 1926.

By L.....ng (Frankfort o. M.).

For British capitalists, the year 1926 was a year of crisis of the most serious character. Added to the "traditional" crisis in mining, in the iron and steel trade, and in the textile industry, there were the alarming events of the general strike and the seven months' struggle of the miners. The latter alone inflicted an immediate damage of 500 million pounds on Great Britain's capitalist economy. The total losses suffered by British capitalism in 1926, however, taking into consideration the serious events in China, the increasing difficulties in the British colonies, and the recession of capital exports as compared with the United States, by far exceed the 500 millions mentioned above. It is of interest to see what influence the industrial crisis, the obvious decline of British capitalism in general, had on the prosperity of the big banks and on the still powerful financial position of the London City.

The available annual balance sheets of the five leading London banks, the so-called "big five", i. e. Bank of England, Barclay's Bank, Lloyd's Bank, National Provincial Bank, and Westminster Bank, show that, while in all five cases the dividend rate remained the same as in the preceding year, the net profit recorded was in the case of three of these bank smaller than in 1925. Similarly, the total of profit carried forward to 1927 was smaller than a twelvemonth earlier. In general, however, it would appear that the industrial crisis, the social disturbances, and the political complications of 1926 have, for the time being at any rate, hardly impaired the prosperity of the banks.

Discount rates were slightly higher than in the year 1925, while the sum total of acceptances was lower. The crisis in the industrial capitalism of the country was reflected quite manifestly in the total of the "Debtors" account in the case of the five big banks. Loans to industry, and also to municipal corporations, were far higher in 1926 than in any other post-war year, figuring, according to a compilation by the "Frankfurter Zeitung", as follows:

Year	Million Pound Sterling	Year	Million Pound Sterling
1926	834.6	1922	660.0
1925	793.2	1921	678.3
1924	748.7	1920	777.7
1923	691.0	1919	689.7

In a percentage proportion to the "Creditors", the loans figured as under:

1926	53.3	1922	43.1
1925	52.3	1921	41.3
1924	48.9	1920	47.7
1923	44.8	1919	44.5

Part of the money loaned is designated by the banks themselves as "frozen" credits, while part is probably altogether forfeit. On the other hand, the domination of industry by bank capital has naturally increased in view of the larger "debtor" figures. In the columns of the Hamburg "Wirtschaftsdiens", an editor of the well-known London financial paper, the "Economist", writes as follows in regard to the English bank year 1926.

"Furthermore, the monthly balance returns of the clearing banks show that the total of loans and advances was higher throughout than in the preceding year and that in the last two or three months record figures were attained. At the same time, we must not forget that some of these advances were made with the intention of helping certain clients of the bank in question over an unusually difficult and abnormal time, by reason of which the banks have a number of "frozen" credits, which must be borne by them until the time of a final liquidation. Besides this, some industries have experienced an unusually bad business year, which means that much more than usual had to be written off for bad and doubtful outstanding debts."

The effect of the industrial crisis on the status of the banks, therefore, in a certain measure still remains to be seen. The "creditor" items contain quite a large quota of foreign money, German among the rest, whereas short-termed foreign credits have receded.

The stock holdings of the five leading banks receded in comparison with 1925 and 1924. Capital emission in England amounted to:

#### Inland Emissions:

1926:

First Quarter	44.1 million pounds sterling
Second Quarter	24.3 million pounds sterling
Third Quarter	25.4 million pounds sterling

#### Foreign Emissions:

1926:

First Quarter	34.0 million pounds sterling
Second Quarter	29.3 million pounds sterling
Third Quarter	18.7 million pounds sterling

The curve of capital emission thus declined in the second and third quarter of the year.

In so far as the recorded returns permit of a verdict on the situation, it may be said that the year 1926 was not pronouncedly critical as far as banking capital was concerned. Nevertheless, the serious industrial crisis is reflected in the bank balances. The banks have already had to write off losses under the head of money out on loan, and they will have more such losses to record in the long run. It is, moreover, a fact that the decline of capitalism, if not manifested in the form of inflation, does not in the first place affect bank capital, which is liquid enough to find constant new possibilities of profit. It must, furthermore, be remembered that the big British banks, the so-called "big five" of the City, do not only govern the territory of the mother country as their sphere of exploitation, since, as the main mediators of capital exportation, they also "work up" and realise profit from the capitalist economy of the whole world.



## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### The Changed Policy of Native Leaders in South Africa.

By James Shields (Johannesburg).

A new danger to the advance and progress of Trade Unionism in South Africa has now made its appearance in the adoption of a reactionary policy by the leaders of Native Trade Unionism.

During the second half of 1926 it became noticeable that the leaders of the only non-European industrial organisation in the country, the I. C. U. (**Industrial and Commercial Workers Union**), were retreating further and further away from the class struggle, and this was subsequently confirmed by a series of events which have now culminated in their openly embracing reformism and declaring war on all militancy.

Indeed, when one comes to weigh up things closely it seems almost certain that prominent I. C. U. officials — particularly the National Secretary, **Clements Kadalie** — have been "got at" by the Government, and won over completely to its side. A short statement of the events of the past year and the existing position tends to bear this out:

At the 6th Annual Conference of Native Trade Unions held in Johannesburg last April, it was demonstrated that the majority of the rank and file were desirous of embarking on a more militant policy. For six years the native workers had been consistently fed on revolutionary phraseology and given to understand that by vigorous use of the trade union weapon they would quickly succeed in alleviating their terrible conditions of life. Judging therefore that the time had now arrived for taking action, the conference instructed the National Executive to proceed with the immediate organisation of a campaign for increased wages, removal of the Pass Laws, etc., etc.

Shortly after the Conference had concluded however, it became manifest that the leaders had no intention of conducting a practical fighting policy, and this fact soon led to a serious decline in I. C. U. membership. Many branches went out of existence, others lost badly in numerical strength, and gradually the remaining members began to express strong dissatisfaction at the existing state of affairs. The depth of the rot which had set in was reflected in the **Johannesburg Branch** by a drop in income from membership dues from £ 40 to £ 3 per week, and in the **Capetown Branch** by a drop in income of 50%. Realising the seriousness of the situation and its causes, the militant elements led by the Communists demanded that the struggle for immediate demands be taken up and pushed forward. This new pressure from below placed the I. C. U. leaders in a very awkward predicament. Either they had to move forward along the lines they had formerly advocated — direct action — or else devise some other method of trying to gain concessions for their followers, if they wished to remain in office. Faced with this position they looked around for a way out, and it was precisely at this juncture that the Government began to make its influence felt.

The I. C. U. National Secretary, **C. Kadalie**, visited Pretoria on business and it is surmised was given a "hint" there by a Government spokesman to the effect that if he would only steer clear of the Communists he would get many concessions in return. Whether there is any truth in this or not it is significant to note that immediately the official in question returned from Pretoria, his whole attitude underwent a sudden change. He now started to come out in strong opposition to Communist Party activity amongst the native workers, and went on to accuse the C. P. of interference in I. C. U. affairs.

This change of front was significantly succeeded by this same gentleman securing a successful appeal against a conviction for being in Natal without a permit, after the Minister of Justice had confidently boasted some time previously that he would undoubtedly be punished for so doing.

Then came a meeting of the I. C. U. National Council at Port Elizabeth on December 16th., which showed beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Native Trade Union leaders had

swung over to the Right. Practically only two items were discussed by the National Council, and these were, 1. An invitation from the League Against Colonial Oppression to send delegates to the Brussels Conference in February. 2. The attitude of the I. C. U. towards the communists.

Item 1. was the occasion of a fierce outburst on the part of the I. C. U. National Secretary, who declared that "the Brussels Conference was a bolshevik affair financed by Moscow" and that no delegate should be sent. His lead was followed by some of the others, and finally it was decided to turn the invitation down by not sending anyone to represent the union.

Item number two, after very disorderly proceedings and playing on racialist sentiments to the tune that some of the communists in the I. C. U. "were not full blooded natives" but Eur-Africans, resulted in the following resolution being passed by six votes to four: "That no officer of the union be permitted to become a member of the Communist Party, that officers already members of that organisation be prohibited from continuing their membership as such, and that the Council recommend to the forthcoming annual conference that ordinary members be not allowed to identify themselves in any way with such a political Party."

The immediate effect of this resolution was the expulsion of three prominent I. C. U. officials who refused to resign C. P. membership. A few days later the National Secretary made it known through the columns of a capitalist newspaper that the union now believed in "constitutional methods", that "the strike weapon was obsolete to-day", and that the three officials were expelled because they "wanted war (against capitalism) — not peace and progress".

The sudden expulsion measures and the new change of policy threw the rank and file into a state of confusion, and even to-day, owing to deliberate distortion of what actually transpired at the Council meeting, the majority of the members have no clear idea as to what has taken place. A number of branches protested against the expulsions, with the result that the union leaders proceeded ruthlessly to muzzle all criticism and ousted more members from the ranks, even going to the extent of cutting off one branch entirely.

The whole official machinery is now being utilised for attacking the Communist Party and extolling the merits of the capitalist law courts as the place to win relief from the oppressive Pass Laws, etc. That the rank and file do not share the same viewpoint as the leadership is evinced by the eagerness with which they still purchase the Communist Party organ, the "**South African Worker**" and attend Communist meetings. They are inclined in many places to be critical of the National Secretary's appeal to the Government to be sent as a workers' representative to the **International Labour Conference** at Geneva, which appeal, by the way, is based on the claim that the I. C. U. has now become affiliated to the Amsterdam Federation. Such affiliation, it is understood, was arranged through the efforts of a number of I. L. P's who visited South Africa during 1926, and who on their return to Britain urged the General Council of the British T. U. C. to recommend this course. It has yet to be confirmed by the annual congress of the I. C. U.

This is how the position stands at the moment when the great necessity is for a solid working class front to oppose the passing of the Hertzog slave labour legislation. How long it will continue so is very problematical. The Communist Party is increasing its work amongst the native masses, but it is still far too weak a factor to mobilise an effective opposition against the class traitors. Nevertheless the latter cannot hope to retain their positions for long unless they are prepared to put up a fight against the class enemy. It is the duty of all militants to rouse the rank and file to a realisation of how they are being betrayed, and to work increasingly for the building up of a fighting leadership that will correctly and courageously represent the aims of the oppressed native masses.



## REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN THE COLONIES

### Resolution of the Trade Union Delegates at the Brussels Congress.

The undersigned delegates, representing 17 trade union organisations with 7,962,000 members of all races and taking part in the International Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism held in Brussels from February 10th. to 15th., hereby declare their complete solidarity with all the oppressed people of the world, struggling for their liberation from the yoke of imperialism, and pledge themselves to support them with all their strength and with all the means in their power.

At the moment, when British imperialists are daily increasing the dispatch and the transport of arms, ammunition, war material and troops to China, at a moment, when they are sending out their airplanes and battle-ships to crush the Chinese revolution, the undersigned representatives affirm that the only effective means for the people of the oppressing countries to prevent the imperialist war which is being prepared, is the preparation and the international organisation of the boycott against the transport of arms and ammunition, and of the general strike.

To this end it is necessary to undertake in each country an active campaign for popularising the adoption of partial strikes and of the general strike. The decisions taken and resolutions passed by the Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism should be published in the trade-union press of the whole world and widely circulated among the workers in the towns and in the country.

In view of the permanent threat of wars created by the rivalries of the Great Imperialist Powers in the world, and in order to give effective support to the struggle of the peoples for the right of free self-determination, the trade union delegates to the Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism declare that international trade-union solidarity is more indispensable now than ever. They appeal to the Federation of Trade Unions of Amsterdam, to the Red International of Trade Unions of Moscow as well as to all the other organisations not affiliated to the existing Internationals, and demand in the name of the 7,962,000 trade unionists whom they represent, that an agreement be rapidly arrived at for the creation of a single trade-union International embracing the unions of the five continents and the workers of all races and of all colours.

A single trade-union International alone can constitute a solid dam against which all the attempts to organise imperialist war will be destroyed.

The undersigned representatives urgently call upon the trade unions of all countries to put an end definitely to the distinction that still exists between the white and the coloured workers. All workers without distinction should be grouped locally, nationally and internationally in the same trade-union organisations.

The trade-union right of coalition, of assembly, of strike, of freedom of speech and of the press must be obtained for all the workers of colonial and semi-colonial countries.

While the workers of the countries under the domination of imperialism should not forget that the right of union has to be won by severe struggle, the workers and unions of the imperialist countries must also fight energetically to wrest this right from their respective capitalists for the workers and peasants of the colonies.

The division into races, colours, and categories of workers, the divisions between trade-union organisations nationally and internationally, merely serve the interests of the capitalists and imperialists who are enabled to continue their domination solely by reason of this division and of the unorganised condition of far too large a number of workers.

**Down with Capitalist Exploitation and Imperialist Oppression!**

**Long live the Union of the Workers and of the Oppressed Peoples of the World!**

**Long live the International Unity of Trade Unions!**  
English Minority Movement Pollitt.  
Crom Mexico Edo Fimmen.

General Labour Federation of South Africa (white) Daniel Colrairie.

The Federation of the Agricultural Workers of Mexico Julio A. Molla.

General Federation of Unified Labour France A. Hercllet.  
The General Confederation of Labour Canton (Chen Chuen).  
The Hongkong and Canton Strike Committee (Chen Chuen).  
General Labour Confederation of Kuantong Li Kouetsai.  
General Labour Federation of South Africa (black) A. Laguma.  
The Chinese Federation of Metal Workers Likouetsai.

Union of Petroleum Workers of Tempico, Mexico  
G. Martines.

American Negro Labor Congress G. B. Moore.

Belgian Federation of Garment Workers Liebaers.

International Federation of Teachers Vernochet.

Federation of Canton Metal Workers Likouetsai.

Workers' Federation of Cuba A. Sotomayor.

General Labour Confederation of Venezuela C. Quijano.

Miners Federation of Great Britain S. O. Davies.

### Resolution of the Chinese Delegation.

In order to avoid an eventual armed conflict between China and Great Britain, the Chinese Delegation has the honour to submit for the approval of the Congress the following propositions:

1. The Chinese Delegation begs the Delegates of all Countries present at the Congress to act energetically towards their respective governments in order that the latter may enter into negotiations with the National Government of Canton and so that a movement may be created in favour of the recognition of the National Government of Canton which may be considered as the only legal Chinese Government.

2. The Chinese Delegation demands from the Congress:

a) To request by wire that all parties existing in all countries prevent their governments intervening in the National Chinese movement,

b) To beg the International Transport Union of Amsterdam to refuse any work for British Imperialism regarding transport of troops and munitions from England to China; an eventual catastrophe may thereby be avoided.

3. The Chinese Delegation begs the Congress to demand from the Liberal, Labour and Communist Parties of Great Britain, that they support an energetic action in order to get the British troops sent out to China recalled immediately; and in case the British Government should maintain its aggressive policy in spite of all, it would then be necessary to count on a general strike.

4. On behalf of the truth so often violated by the British papers paid by Imperialism, the Chinese Delegation proposes to the Congress to keep in mind the eventual sending of a delegation to China in order to study locally the criminal actions of the British authorities in China; especially concerning:

The massacres of Shanghai 1925.

The massacres of Cha-Käi (province of Canton).

The bombardment of Wan-Shien town from which resulted many thousands of victims among the innocent population; etc. etc.

5. The Chinese Delegation protests energetically against the open and hidden manoeuvres of world imperialism against the Russian Soviet Republic under the pretext that the latter is the power instigating the Chinese liberation movement.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The E. C. C. I. to the 11th Party Conference of the C. P. of Germany.

Dear Comrades!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International sends you heartiest greetings and is watching your work with the greatest expectations.

The 11th Party Conference of our German section occurs at a time of an extraordinary historical situation. The inter-

national situation, in spite of all the talk of the social democratic theorists and leaders regarding the new peaceable form of capitalism, is again becoming exceedingly acute. The United States of America which do not belong to the League of Nations, are carrying on an actual imperialist war against Nicaragua and are making preparations to absorb South America. Countries which belong to the League of Nations, in the first place England which bombards the revolutionary Chinese cities with long-range naval guns, are concentrating strong military forces in China in order to conduct the Spring offensive against the struggling Chinese people. The II. International which hypocritically protests against war and intervention, supports in practice, by the utterances of Mac Donald and his colleagues, the trade union leaders of the type of Thomas, the military hangmen's expedition to China.

The Soviet Union which struggling China looks to as an example of the freeing of the peoples from the yoke of their own and of the foreign imperialists, is being again attacked by the government of the King of England. The aggressive Note of Chamberlain is creating a tense situation in the whole of Europe. The II. International, which also in this case hypocritically protests against war, is in reality conducting an energetic preparatory campaign for intervention against the Soviet Union. Through the columns of the "Vorwärts" and other organs of treachery to labour, it openly justifies the English imperialist government. These very same people who defended Wilhelm the Bloody and at that time sang the "Hymn of Hate" against English imperialism, are today siding with this imperialism at the very moment when it is about to open a campaign against the Workers' State. The social democracy, so far as its leading circles are concerned, is becoming a party for the justification of the imperialist war against the proletarian dictatorship.

Italian imperialism which is employing the most brutal terror against the Italian working class, is creating by its exceedingly bellicose behaviour the danger of the outbreak of war in Southern Europe. The II. International and the reformist trade unions, who in hypocritical manner protest in words against fascism, in reality enter into an alliance with it against the „Communist danger". It is also acting in precisely the same manner within Italy. The best example for this is the dissolution of the Italian trade unions by the reformists, the bloc of D'Aragona and his confederates with the fascists.

Among the masses, on the other hand, discontent with the social democratic leaders is continually growing. The social democratic leadership is feeling the ever-increasing pressure of the working masses who are for the Soviet Union and reject most emphatically the treacherous coalition policy. The demand of the working class for revolutionary unity, the opposition to the treacherous coalition policy of the social democratic leaders, the defence of peace in the Soviet Union, the defence of the Chinese revolution — all this characterises the present mood of the working masses.

The "Left" social democratic leaders in Germany and some social democratic trade union leaders are now attempting to manoeuvre. The Communist Party must now correctly estimate this situation. The Communist Party of Germany must everywhere retain in its hands the initiative for realising the unity of the working class. This is especially necessary in the trade unions, the activity of which must inevitably receive a political content in the near future. The Communist Party must everywhere expose the coalition policy of the social democratic leaders who have sold the German revolution to the bourgeois bloc. The Communist Party must everywhere effectively defend peace and ruthlessly expose the intervention policy of the social democratic leaders, which stands in direct contradiction to the broadest strata of the social democratic workers.

The Communist Party of Germany can only solve the enormous tasks imposed upon it if it finally closes its ranks and adopts a correct Leninist standpoint, the standpoint of unyielding and systematic struggle for the masses.

Even the blindest are now recognising what sort of role the groups of renegades from Katz to Maslov have objectively played and are still playing. Their attacks against the Soviet Union and against the C. P. S. U. were merely a part of that working up of "public opinion" which has now found its expression in the Chamberlain Note. The more events ripen, the more clear the counter-revolutionary role of these renegades will become, the more rapidly will the Ultra-Left groups of Communist workers free themselves from their influence.

The illustrious German troop of the international Communist army will grow and become steeled in the fight against the Right and Ultra-Left opportunist deviations.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International expresses its firm and unshakable conviction that the Party of the revolutionary workers will do everything in order to fulfil its proletarian duty.

Long live the German working class and its Communist Party!

Long live the world Revolution!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

## The C. C. of the C. P. S. U. to the 11th Party Conference of the C. P. of Germany.

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of our Party, behind which there stands the revolutionary proletariat of the Soviet Union, we send you our comradely greetings and wish you best success in your labours. We can assure you that the proletarian forces of the Soviet Union are gathering firmly and unitedly around our Party. The present new elections to the Soviets bear witness to the tremendously increased activity of the proletariat. The Note of the English government and the threats against the proletarian Republic have called forth a storm of indignation among the broadest masses of the workers and peasants. Throughout the country there is proceeding a mighty campaign of meetings and emphatic protest resolutions are pouring in from the remotest corners of the Soviet Union. The proletariat of the Soviet Union which is unshakably continuing its policy of peace, is at its post.

In wishing you best success in your work we express our firm conviction that the Party of the proletariat will, in view of the approaching events, find the necessary forces for establishing inner firmness and unity and finally overcome the Ultra-Left sickness which is a hindrance to establishing contact with the masses and which drags the workers into the wake of the social democratic anti-Soviet policy. In view of the tense international situation and in view of the sharpening class struggle within your country in a situation where the social democratic coalition policy is more and more arousing the disappointment and indignation of the broad working masses, the C. P. G. is immediately confronted by the difficult but really enviable task of gathering together the proletarian forces on the basis of the revolutionary class struggle.

Long live the famous advance-guard of the International Revolution — the Communist Party of Germany!

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

## The 11th Party Conference of the C. P. G. to the C. C. of the C. P. of C. P. S. U.

The delegates to the 11th Party Conference of the Communist Party of Germany and thousands of revolutionary workers of the Ruhr district send you the warmest fighting greetings. We are proud of the power of the proletarian dictatorship which has revealed itself again just in these days on the occasion of the provocative Chamberlain Note. We feel ourselves to be at one with you in your fight against imperialism and for peace. We will exert all forces in order to lead the German working class along the way of Lenin, along the way of victorious revolution.

The victorious Russian revolution lives in the million masses of the German proletariat. Nothing can destroy the iron band of solidarity and comradeship in arms between the German and Russian working class.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin, the embodiment of the victorious proletarian revolution!

## Telegram of Greetings from the 11th Party Conference of the C. P. G. to the C. C. of the C. P. of China.

The delegates to the 11th Party Conference of the Communist Party of Germany and thousands of revolutionary Ruhr workers greet you, the leader of the heroic Chinese proletariat. We are one with you in your fight against the imperialist exploiters and oppressors, against the counter-revolutionary generals and all the other enemies of the working people of China.

The alliance of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole world with the national revolutionary struggles of the suppressed peoples guarantees the victory of the world revolution.

Continue to march along the path of Lenin. We promise, you to do our proletarian duty, to exert all our powers in order to conduct the fight against imperialism side by side with you.

Long live our heroic brother Party, the Communist Party of China!

Long live the victory of the Chinese revolution!

## The 11th Party Conference of the C. P. of Germany.

(Special Telegraphic Reports.)

### OPENING SESSION.

Essen, 1st March 1927.

The opening celebration of the XI. Party Conference of the Communist Party of Germany took place on the 1st March in the Great Nordpark Hall in Essen. The great hall was filled to overflowing with the Ruhr proletarians.

#### Comrade PIECK:

made the opening speech of welcome in the name of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party. He declared:

Twenty years ago the conference of the old Social Democratic Party of Germany took place here in Essen. In a speech Noske presented the idea of the new social patriotism, thus announcing the coming of the 4th August. Here in Essen twenty years ago the reformists fought against Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin.

The employers and the counter-revolutionists are preparing themselves for an increased exploitation and oppression of the proletariat. A new wave of imperialism and fascism is rising. The world is arming under the leadership of Great Britain for a new war against revolutionary China and against the Soviet Union. The social democrats are supporting the imperialist preparations for war. Defence is only possible by the creation of a united front of the toilers in town and country under the leadership of the Communist Party (Applause).

#### Comrade EBERLEIN declared:

The latest events have shown that the German bourgeoisie is prepared to join the world imperialist front against the Soviet Union. This Party conference must declare to the world that we communists are also no pacifists, and that we are prepared to fight with weapons in our hands, but not side by side with Hindenburg, but side by side with the proletariat of the Soviet Union.

Eberlein then proposed to send a telegram of greetings to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This was agreed to unanimously.

After a speech of greeting by comrade Becker representing the Ruhr district of the German C. P., Comrade Eberlein informed the assembled workers and delegates that 14 countries had sent delegations to the Party conference.

Comrade Gomez greeted the Congress in the name of the Workers (Communist) Party of America and was received with applause.

Comrade Tuan was greeted with protracted storms of applause and expressed the greetings of the Communist Party of China and the revolutionary Chinese proletariat.

The Party Conference sent its revolutionary greetings through Comrade Tuan who will soon return to China, to the Chinese proletariat and decided unanimously to send a telegram of greetings to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

### SECOND SESSION.

Wednesday morning 2nd March.

The second session was opened with the election of the conference chairmen. The following comrades were elected: Geschke, Pieck and Becker (Essen). The following comrades were elected as honorary members of the presidium of the congress: Stalin, Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky and Tchen Dno Sio (Chairman of the Communist Party of China).

The Party Conference honoured the memory of Comrade MacManus by the delegates rising from their seats and standing a moment or so in silence.

After the acceptance of the agenda which grants the most important oppositional group a lengthened speaking time, telegrams of greetings were read amidst great applause from the E. C. C. I. and the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, Norway and Australia.

Comrade Pieck then honoured in a few brief words the memory of the proletarian victims in the mine catastrophes in Great Britain and in the Ruhr district, who were, he said, the latest victims of capitalist rationalisation.

A representative of the Young Communist International addressed the conference and dealt especially with the work of the young communists in Great Britain. No ship has left Great Britain for China, he declared, without communist propaganda having been distributed amongst the crew.

Speeches of greetings were then made by representatives of the Communist Parties of Poland and Holland and of the International Red Aid.

A unanimous decision of the conference sent its revolutionary greetings to all proletarian class-war prisoners in the jails of capitalism.

Representatives of the Red Front Fighters League and of the Red Women and Girls League then addressed the congress.

#### Comrade DENGEL

then delivered the

#### Report upon the Work of the Party since the X. Party Conference:

The Party he said had altered the wrong non-bolshevist relation between the German C. P. and the Comintern established by Ruth Fischer and Maslov and established really fraternal relations with the brother parties. The opposition talked very much in great meetings about internal party democracy, but the Party had established democracy in all the nuclei where 30 to 40% of the membership were active in solving the political problems facing the Party. Apart from the necessary administrative measures against the fractionalists over and above the ideological struggle against the opposition, the Party had dealt with the utmost patience even with people who were obviously standing with both feet outside the ranks of the Party.

Mistakes still being made in the application of the United Front tactic were: Abstract schematic agitation; prejudices against the real united front from below, and the opportunist deviations of some factory, trade union, municipal and parliamentary officials of the Party. In particular the Party was compelled to interfere energetically to put an end to the opportunist deviation of the communist fraction in the Mecklenburg Diet with regard to its attitude towards a coalition government. Mistakes of the Party press in Thuringia were also corrected.

The Party had been successful through the campaign for the confiscation of the property of the princes in forcing the social democratic leaders against their will to take a part in the struggle. The Party however, had never failed to keep the dividing line between it and the Social Democratic Party clear and definite. However, the campaign was not utilised to develop a movement in the factories and workshops to strengthen the Party organisations and the Party press.

The Congress of the Toilers resulted in a resuscitation of the united front committees and succeeded in drawing great masses of the social democratic and non-party workers into the struggle. For the first time the Party was successful in extending its influence to large sections of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry. The weak side of the campaign was the fact

that the most important factories and trade unions could not be mobilised.

The united front campaign in the Berlin Town Council resulted in successes in exposing the social democrats, but the fault was that this was not done in connection with an active mass campaign. The policy of the Party in Saxony directed towards preventing the coalition policy of the Social democrats, was correct.

Now as before the trade union work was the greatest weakness of the Party. The criticism of the opposition against the unemployment policy of the Party was not valid, for everywhere organisations of unemployed workers existed, the Party had tried to attain a leading role in them, and where such organisations did not exist the Party had done its utmost to create them.

The weakness of the work in the country was caused by the lack of support points in the form of country nuclei. The Party leadership must now commence to remedy this defect. One of the most necessary tasks was the formation of oppositional fractions under communist leadership in the peasant organisations.

The work amongst the middle classes was sporadic. The error of certain communist fractions in the Saxon municipalities which voted for the occupational tax, discredited the Party in the eyes of the middle classes.

The recruiting work of the Party was not sufficiently systematic; the cause of this was to be found in the weakness of the work of the nuclei. Where the work of the nuclei was good, the membership has been greatly increased.

The greatest energy would have to be directed in the future to the large factories where the Party was still very weak.

The Party would systematically remedy its weaknesses. The main cause of the existing weaknesses and defects was that the Party leadership was compelled to concentrate the greatest part of its energy on countering the work of those disruptors within the Party. This Party Conference would create the guarantees for a real unity in the Party and thus make it possible to overcome the weaknesses and errors.

### THIRD SESSION.

Wednesday afternoon 2nd March.

The third session was taken up with a three hours' speech of Comrade THAELMANN upon the

#### Political Situation and the Tasks of the Party.

The fascist coup d'Etat in Lithuania, the Chinese revolution, the attack of the United States of America against Nicaragua and Mexico, the formation of a bourgeois bloc government in Germany and the Note of Chamberlain to the Soviet Union are all signs of a serious intensification of the national and social contradictions, and constitute a threat to the whole capitalist stabilisation which is relative and only a temporary episode in the epoch of the world revolution.

The Chinese revolution is advancing from victory to victory. It is the opening of the coming revolution of the oppressed Eastern peoples against imperialism. It is a great support for the class struggle of the European proletariat and, is a part of the world revolution.

The greatest counter-factor to the stabilisation of the capitalist world is the Soviet Union with its advancing socialist constructive work. The capitalist stabilisation is also internally threatened by the intensification of the class struggle of the European proletariat.

Since 1918 the danger of war has never been so great as it is today. There are three main causes for this: the conflicts amongst the imperialist powers themselves; the colonial struggles of the imperialist robbers against the oppressed peoples, and above all the preparations of world imperialism for war against the Soviet Union. Chamberlain has openly declared in the British House of Commons that the war against the Soviet Union is only postponed until the European imperialists are united by a strong League of Nations.

In this war Germany will not merely play the part of a base against the Soviet Union, but also the part of an advanced

post of imperialism. The German Social Democratic Party, the II and the Amsterdam Internationals will play the same part as they did in the war of 1914, they will attempt to prepare the workers ideologically for the war. Their theories of super-imperialism, of the inevitability of a peaceful development, of the impossibility of war (although British imperialism is taking up arms in China) the articles of Cohen in the "Socialistische Monatshefte", according to which the German proletariat has much to gain by a return of the colonies to Germany, and an article in the "Gewerkschaftsarchiv" pointing out to the workers that the whites are a dominant race and that the whole of human culture depends upon the maintenance of the dominance of the white race, all show that the social democrats have adopted the imperialist standpoint. The socialist press openly approves of Chamberlain's Note to the Soviet Union. The left-wing social democrats also represent the same point of view, basically speaking. Maslow adopts the same attitude as the social democrats by constructing an alleged contradiction between communism and the Soviet State. In this way the united front of the imperialist lackeys is being formed from General Hoffman to Maslow.

Our fight against the danger of war demands above all that we consolidate our position in the large-scale factories, particularly in the all-important war industries. By obstinate detail work we must organise the prevention of ammunition and war material transport and strengthen the sympathising mass organisations. Our struggle against the danger of war demands the preparation of the proletariat to transform the imperialist war — as soon as it breaks out — into a civil war. It demands the defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution, the struggle for the international unity of the trade union movement and the struggle against fascism.

Following upon the slump suffered by German capitalism in 1923 there is now a process of monopolisation and rationalisation, of accumulation and even of the export of capital. However, objective limitations exist for the process of stabilisation, for instance the shrinking of the external market and of the internal market and the weight of the reparations payments, etc. The tremendous and chronic unemployment is a living sign for the chronic crisis of capitalism. The rationalisation rests upon a basis of increased exploitation, upon wage cuts and the lengthening of working hours, and is connected with attacks of the bourgeoisie in customs duty, tax, rent and cultural questions. At the same time the bourgeoisie builds the necessary super-structure in the form of the bourgeois bloc government.

The government is working towards the prohibition of the German C. P. The latest events have shown that our legality does not depend upon the constitution, but upon our own forces, upon our own mobilisation capacity. We must so prepare ourselves that no legal prohibition can prevent the Party from organising the second revolution.

The bourgeoisie is supported by its two supplementary troops, by fascism which has been forcing its way into the factories recently, and by the social democracy which theoretically and practically supports the capitalist rationalisation. The sharper the bourgeois reaction grows, the greater grows the treachery of the social democracy. D'Aragona and the old socialists in Saxony are good examples of this. There is no difference of principle between the old socialists and the social democrats, there is only a difference of degree, and the same is true of the difference between the left-wing social democrats and the executive of the Social Democratic Party. We must carry on a merciless struggle for the exposure of the social democratic leaders. We must not only enlighten the left-wing social democratic workers ideologically, but we must draw them organisationally into the ranks of the C. P. Our tactic in Saxony made it impossible for the social democracy to make us responsible for the formation of the bourgeois bloc.

We must pay the greatest attention to the trade unions and to the large factories. The struggle of the British miners showed that we were not strong enough to mobilise the masses.

The general lines of our policy are the following: the daily struggle of the German workers must stand in the middle of our whole work. Our policy is laid down in the Open Letter: correct application of the united front tactic to win the majority of the working class; organisation of the defence struggle for the working class; steady overcoming of the influence of the social democratic leaders; formation of a strong left-wing movement in the German working class movement.

We must fulfil our revolutionary duties as the leader of the proletariat, as the one Party which lives with the proletariat and has principles for the struggle of the proletariat. After the Party Conference all discussions must cease. The Party must advance in its struggle for the victory of the proletarian revolution! (Stormy of applause.)

#### FOURTH SESSION.

Thursday morning, 3rd March 1927.

The fourth session was opened with the presentation of the report of the committee on credentials. The report showed that 183 delegates with decisive votes and 89 with consultative votes were present.

The elections for the various commissions then followed. Whereupon a discussion was opened upon the political report and upon the Report of the activities of the Party since its last conference.

Comrade Koetter who received a lengthened time for his remarks then declared:

The differences between the imperialist Powers are being intensified from day to day. It is not possible to declare that in one part of the world a revolutionary situation exists and in another part a stabilisation of capitalism. The Chinese revolution and the capitalist stabilisation of Great Britain are open contradictions. The opportunistic deviations criticised by Dengel are no accidents, but products of the general policy of the German C. P. To regard the winning over of the trade unions as a necessary condition for victory is false and opportunistic. We are not opponents of the nucleus form of organisation, our antipathy is only caused by the fact that the Central Committee utilises this form of organisation to suppress the opposition. We wish to continue the representation of our opinions after the conference.

Comrade Weber denied in his speech the existence of any capitalist stabilisation. Such a stabilisation he declared was not reconcilable with the growing economic crisis. The theses contained concessions to the left-wing groupings he said (laughter).

Comrade Bartels then read a declaration in the name of Comrades Grilevitz, Schlecht and Bartels. The declaration demanded amongst other things the immediate calling together of the Anglo-Russian Committee (laughter). The representatives of the General Council would then do nothing and thus an opportunity would be created of exposing the General Council, something which was not done at the time of the General Strike. The declaration declared itself in solidarity with Maslow, Ruth Fischer, Urbahns, Scholem and Schwan, and stressed the fact that the undersigned comrades would continue to fight for their standpoint even against the decisions of the Party Conference (disturbance and noise).

Comrade Thaelmann declared in the name of the Central Committee of the Party that the latter refused to add the provocative declaration of Bartels to the conference material. He proposed that the Conference should warn the delegates against any participation in the national conference in Essen planned by the Maslovists. (Interruption of Grilevitz: "They are not planning any conference!" laughter.) The Party Conference, declared Thaelmann, should categorically point out that the participation in any such conference was irreconcilable with a continued membership of the Communist Party.

Comrade Schlecht: We know nothing of any Maslow conference. But we will not permit any decisions of the Party to prevent us from maintaining connections with the expelled comrades. (Storm of indignation.)

Comrade Wittorf (Hamburg): Bartels pretends to be a defender of the Soviet Union in the name of Urbahns, the same Urbahns who declared that he had no confidence in the soviet authorities. This shows the double game of the opposition.

Comrade Pfeiffer demanded that increased attention should be paid to winning over the workers in the large-scale factories and in the trade unions.

Comrade Mildentreit (Erzgebirge): Despite the pressure of the fascists and the apparently radical demagogy of the left-wing social democrats, we have captured important positions in the Erzgebirge district. The policy of the Party in the Saxon question was correct.

Comrade Boettcher: The left-wing movement is not being sufficiently exploited by the Party and thus a centrist danger is created. It is necessary to differentiate in our attitude to the various left-wing socialist groups.

Comrade Briefand (Ruhr): The denial of the opposition that there exists a capitalist stabilisation leads to an incorrect attitude in the struggle against the capitalist rationalisation. This latter struggle demands persistent trade union work.

Comrade Ernst Meyer: We must not permit the organisational successes which have been achieved since the Party Conference to be belittled. The opposition which at the time of the Ruth Fischer Central Committee always appealed to objective circumstances in order to cover up the lack of success, is no longer willing to grant the validity of this appeal, although today the objective difficulties mostly consist in heritages left to us by the Ruth Fischer Central Committee. A great lack is the fact that no real connection exists with the worker opposition inside the Social Democratic Party. The opposition has never made any concrete proposals for winning these left-wing workers.

Comrade Dickmann (Thuringia): The policy of the ultra-left Central Committee caused broad masses of the workers to turn away from the Party. Only in the last year and a half has there been any progress to record.

Comrade Ulbricht discussed the questions of Party education and the agitational and propaganda work in the Party.

Comrade Haussen (Breslau) gave examples proving the growth of the oppositional movement inside the Social Democratic Party.

#### FIFTH SESSION.

Thursday afternoon 3rd March.

The Chairman read a letter of greetings from the Communist Party of Denmark and greetings from various factory organisations of the Communist Party of Germany.

Comrade STEWART (Communist Party of Great Britain) who was received with storms of applause then spoke in the name of his Party:

I bring you the greetings of the Communist Party of Great Britain. It was only the great struggle of the British miners which prevented the British government from sending troops to China still earlier. The propaganda of the Communist Party of Great Britain against the sending of troops to China is achieving success far beyond the limits of the Party. 80 "Hands off China!" committees, consisting chiefly of non-party workers, have been formed in various parts of the country under the leadership of the Communist Party. We were successful in bringing a conference of the London Trades Council together. This conference adopted decisions in our spirit. The Party concentrated its chief forces upon enlightening the sailors and soldiers sent to China.

The membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain has risen recently from 5000 to 13,000.

The Chamberlain Note was occasioned by the growing fear of the British government in face of the revolutionary development of China and the successful work of building up socialism in the Soviet Union. Chamberlain is better able to judge of the situation of the Soviet Union than many ultra-left communists. The Communist Party of Germany must make an end to fractional work. (Great applause.)

Comrade Stern then greeted the Conference in the name of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Comrade Geschke proposed the publication of an Open Letter to the Italian working class. His proposal was unanimously adopted by the Conference.



Geschke then informed the Conference of the latest communist hunt of the Budapest police. The information was received by the delegates with great indignation. Comrade Szanto and 120 other workers, mostly quite young, were arrested.

The Party Conference unanimously decided to send a

#### Telegram of Protest to Bethlen

including the following:

The XI Conference of the Communist Party of Germany protests energetically against the mass arrests of youthful and adult workers who, even according to the police report, have done nothing more than found a school and prepare a demonstration.

The telegram calls to mind the trial in Geneva in connection with the box on the ears administered to Bethlen, in the course of which Bethlen's representative declared that he, Bethlen, was not responsible for the brutalities of his subordinates.

The new man-hunt against the communists, declares the telegram, which is being carried on with the approval of the Minister of the Interior, and which has caused the greatest indignation abroad, proves that Bethlen is personally responsible.

A delegation from the Essen unemployed then greeted the Conference.

Comrade Hanna Schulz (Berlin) reported upon the good results obtained by the system of women's delegates in the Berlin factories.

Comrade Ewert declared: The contention of Boettcher that imperialism creates the conditions for centrism is incorrect. On the contrary, imperialism forces the social democrats to take sides and leads them to become completely bourgeois. The demand of Boettcher that we differentiate between the various left-wing social democratic groupings is correct. In this respect however, he himself is guilty of errors. One cannot compare Cook with Lipinsky, for Cook has possibilities of developing towards the revolution, and therefore all his mistakes must be judged differently from those of the German left-wing leaders. The suggestion put forward by one of the delegates of turning the social democratic slogan of economic democracy into one for the control of production, is opportunistic.

Comrade Peter Maslovski: The Centre Party consists up to 60% of Catholic proletarians. In some districts the Centre Party has received more votes than the Social Democratic and Communist Parties put together. This proves the correctness of the united front tactic towards

Comrade Helen Otto (Cologne): It is necessary in our campaign for winning the working women of the Centre Party to connect our campaign with economic demands. The system of working women delegates is also very important.

A delegation consisting of the whole pit council of the Dieyardt mine whose members were all expelled from the Miners' Union for organising a solidarity strike in favour of the British miners, appeared at the Conference. One of the members of the delegation was an old social democrat who had been a member of the union for 32 years. As this old veteran commenced to speak the delegates rose from their seats and sang the "International".

Comrade Grube (Magdeburg): The struggle against imperialism must be strengthened. The Party must oppose the demonstration of the Stahlhelm ("Steelhelmet" a fascist organisation mostly ex-soldiers) on the 8th May, by mobilising the proletariat.

Comrade Overlach, a representative of the women members of the Party, demanded that the factory nuclei be better utilised for the work amongst the women. She gave instances showing that the social democrats are already beginning to fight energetically against the system of women's delegates as they see in this system a danger for the social democracy.

Comrade Blenkle (German Young Communist League) described in his speech the legal measures adopted by the bourgeois bloc government against the right of coalition and free press for the youth.

A Bavarian comrade described the oppressive measures used by the Bavarian reaction against the workers which the bourgeois bloc government now intends to extend to the whole country.

Comrade Kollwitz (East Prussia) pointed in his speech to the particular importance of East Prussia as a military base in a war against the Soviet Union. In East Prussia the Party had been successful in winning one union after the other from the hands of the social democrats. The work of the ultra-lefts causes a hindrance in the struggle of the Party in defence of the Soviet Union. The district Party conference has now settled finally with the opposition which received only a small fraction of the total votes.

#### SIXTH SESSION.

Friday morning 4th March.

The Conference was opened under the chairmanship of Comrade Remmele who read a telegram of greetings from the Workers (Communist) Party of America to the Conference.

The Party Conference accepted the news of the death of Comrade Ruthenberg standing in silence. Comrade Remmele and a representative of the Workers Party then honoured the memory of comrade Ruthenberg in short speeches. The Party Conference then unanimously decided to send a telegram of condolence to the Workers Party.

Comrade Moriens then greeted the Congress in the name of the Communist Party of Belgium.

Comrade Pieck read a telegram of greetings from the Communist Party of Sweden and a letter of greetings from the Communist Party of Hungary which was received with great applause.

#### Comrade THAELMANN:

in Reply to Discussion. The earnest discussion showed the internal growth of our Party. The latest "informational Bulletin" of Maslov and his friends show that they have sunk so low on the path of treachery that we are no longer prepared to argue with their representatives here, Bartels, Schlecht and Grilevitz. The opinion of Koetter that either there is stabilisation everywhere or nowhere, is opportunist, schematic and unlenient. It is also wrong to mix the attitude towards the social democratic ministers in Mecklenburg with the attitude towards the social democratic ministers in Saxony. To vote for social democratic ministers in order to prevent bourgeois ministers coming in their places is no hard and fast rule, but must depend upon the concrete situation. Weber thinks that there is a contradiction between the radicalisation of the working class and the consolidation of the bourgeoisie; but it is just the capitalist stabilisation of the bourgeoisie which causes in reality a sharpening of the class struggle. There is also no contradiction between the chronic crisis and the relative stabilisation. Bartels, Schlecht and Grilevitz declare themselves in agreement with Ruth Fischer and Maslov. After this Party Conference they will have to choose between the Party and the expelled renegades.

The opinion of Boettcher that imperialism furthers centralism is in contradiction with the facts and also in contradiction with the theory of Comrade Lenin concerning imperialism. The standpoint of the Central Committee in the theses towards the left-wing social democratic leaders is that they form a barrier to the development of the working class towards communism. The difference between Cook and the German left-wing social democratic leaders is that Cook does not sabotage the economic struggles of the workers, neither does he fight against the Soviet Union or against Communism. We must of course utilise the differences within the ranks of the social democratic leaders in order to expose them. The error of Boettcher is similar to the error of Brandler in 1923: both of them regard the left-wing social democratic leaders as possible allies.

The suggestion that the social democratic fraudulent slogan should be opposed with the slogan of control of production, is false. To make this slogan the centre of the struggle against the trusts today would be to divert the workers from the decisive struggles for wages and working hours. The slogan of the control of production is only of significance in an immediately revolutionary situation in connection with the conquest of political power. But the conditions for this must first be created.

Comrade Thaelmann then stressed the importance of the struggle against the danger of war, the campaign for the winning of the christian workers, the national and international tasks of the work amongst the women and finally the necessity for the support of the Communist Youth.

The Party, he declared was beginning to develop from its internal struggles into the leader of great struggles, for the leadership of the proletariat. All forces must be mobilised to strengthen and support this advance!

After the conclusion of Thaelmann's closing speech the resolution approving of the activity of the Central Committee and expressing the confidence of the conference in it was put and carried with all votes again 10 without any abstentions.

Comrade EWERT

spoke upon the Results of the Party Discussion and the Internal Tasks of the Party:

He began his speech by describing the history of the internal struggles of the Party from the time of the Leipzig Party Conference in 1923 and from the October defeat. These he said were due to the false theoretical opinions and the vacillations of the Party leadership in decisive moments.

The defective connection with the working class led the ultra-lefts to adopt a sceptical perspective towards the world revolution and towards the socialist development in the Soviet Union. The demagogic attitude that every opposition to the Party leadership was necessarily revolutionary could claim certain traditions in the mistrust of the workers towards the treacherous social democratic leaders. Such healy mistrust should not, however, be misused to disrupt the revolutionary Communist Party. The slogan here was "Hands off the Party!"

All the oppositional groups declared that the Party was driving towards liquidation and that it had abandoned the struggle against reformism. These oppositional groups sharply opposed the application of the united front tactic, despite the fact that they rendered lip-service to this tactic.

The offensive of the opposition was taking place in an era of regrouping within the German bourgeoisie, and in effect favoured the anti-soviet orientation. The opposition expresses the influence of the German bourgeoisie upon the proletariat, and particularly upon the vacillating petty-bourgeoisie. We differentiate between the various groups. Maslov and Urbahns represent right petty-bourgeois groups which have nothing in common with the Party. We are able to differentiate between petty-bourgeois pessimism and revolutionary impatience. The continuation of the fractional work will result in the Weber group coming under the influence of Maslov. The "internal Party united front tactic" with Maslov against the Party must be smashed.

The Urbahns group is working with the most shameful methods, with the denunciation of illegal comrades, with threats of exposures etc. The last number of the "Informational Bulletin" are good examples of denunciations such as can only be made by paid agents of the Police. (Prolonged applause).

When the Maslov people saw that the campaign against the Soviet Union found no supporters amongst the workers, Maslov issued the opposite slogan, he attempted to represent himself as a defender of the Soviet Union. In this way they are attempting to use the tactic of the united front which they always refused to use towards the social democratic workers, against our own Party comrades.

The declaration of Comrade Ernst Meyer before the Enlarged Executive was the result of a long if somewhat loose co-operative work, and represented a welcome sign of the consolidation of the Party. But we must condemn the hindrances to this development as represented in the standpoint of Boettcher very sharply. Comrade Boettcher must give a clear answer. Is he of the opinion that the declaration of Meyer is a step calculated to assist in the consolidation of the Party? If no, then what steps does he propose? The disciplinary decision with regard to Brandler and Thalheimer had to be rescinded sooner or later as they had both ceased to carry on fractional work. The Party membership distrusts them still however, because they have not recognised their mistakes. As long as they do not do this openly and without reserve, then there can be no question of their application for responsible Party work.

Our tasks are: Above all, the concentration of all the forces of the Party particularly in the districts and in the factory nuclei, for otherwise the best decisions and the most united Central Committee are useless; an extension of the internal Party democracy and at the same time a consolidation of the centralisation. Destruction of all fractions is the condition for a real Party democracy. Despite numerous opportunities of addressing the Party membership in opposition to the speakers of the majority, and despite an electoral system favourable to the minority, the opposition has only been able to obtain 10 delegates to the

Party Conference. Strict discipline inside the leading bodies is also absolutely necessary and the central leadership must be improved and new leading forces educated.

The Party Conference must forge the Party into a united whole. In reporting the decisions of the Conference, the question must not be put, for or against the decisions, but the mobilisation of all forces for the carrying out of the decisions. (Prolonged applause.)

## SEVENTH SESSION.

Friday afternoon, 4th March 1927.

The seventh session was opened with the reception of a delegation of the Essen Young Spartacus League.

The chairman then read letters of greetings from various factories. The Party Conference adopted a protest resolution against the persecutions of the workers and the national minorities in fascist Poland.

Comrade Riese (Berlin) was the first speaker in the discussion upon the speech of comrade Ewert:

The Party Congress does not represent the real state of affairs in the Party as we were not everywhere able to get at the Party membership (laughter). We are in favour of the Soviet Union. Great sections of the membership regard the decisions of the Enlarged E. C. C. I. as a rehabilitation of Brandler and Thalheimer.

Comrade Blau (Berlin): In a discussion lasting a year and a half we have defeated the opposition. The majority of the Berlin districts support absolutely the policy of the Central Committee. The Wedding comrades were also compelled to protest against fractionalism.

Comrade Neubauer (Duesseldorf): The opposition has no ground under its feet in the Rhineland. The still existing differences of opinion can best be settled by an intensification of the Party work.

Comrade Boettcher: I am in favour of a concentration without diplomacy and without reservations, upon the line of the Party. I am opposed to any restoration of the Party leadership of 1923. I am opposed to demanding any declarations, for not declarations but the Party work is the real test. By my justified opposition to the Ruth Fischer group I earned the reputation of being an incorrigible Right. I am opposed to the maintenance of this fiction. Criticism is a living element of the Party life.

Comrade Grilevitz: All the mistakes of the former left Central Committee are put down to the account of Maslov and Ruth Fischer although many of the present members of the Central Committee were also members at that time. Grilevitz then protested against his group being termed informers (interruption: It is proved in black and white in the "Informational Bulletin")!

Comrade Stahl (Hamburg) demanded that fractionalism come to an end. The Hamburg social democrats in their anti-soviet campaign referred to the utterances of Urbahns.

Comrade Rosenberg: The ideological argumentation with the opposition is now closed. The further development is only possible by an understanding inside the Party itself. The resolution of Bartels abuses the Party Conference as a meeting of trade union officials. As a matter of fact, there are exactly three trade union officials here, although speaking honestly, I would be very glad if at least 40 were here. Every deviating opinion must not immediately be dubbed social democratic or fractional. It is wrong to try and turn Boettcher into a right-wing fractionalist.

Comrade Ernst Meyer: Just those comrades call the party concentration a party liquidation, who have brought the Party to the verge of destruction: Our opposition against Ruth Fischer furthered the maintenance and not the liquidation of the party. Without terming Comrade Boettcher a Right wing fractionalist, it is necessary to oppose his wrong opinions. I made my declaration before the Enlarged Executive in order, as far as possible, to remove existing prejudices and to overcome the difficulties. Comrade Boettcher at the conference of party secretaries declared that my action was damaging to the Party. At this conference he has certainly not repeated his allegation. The

declaration of Boettcher that my action was equivalent to an abandonment of the right of open criticism, is incorrect. The truth is that in essential questions there are no differences between me and the present Central Committee. Criticism for criticism's sake is damaging. Experience has shown that my action was correct and assisted in consolidating the collaboration of the membership and in concentrating attention upon political questions.

Comrade Wesche (Chemnitz): The differences which existed between the district Erzgebirge-Vogtland and the Central Committee have been settled. The attitude of Boettcher contradicts his standpoint in 1924.

Comrades Fugger (Stuttgart) and Bauer (Erzgebirge-Vogtland) demanded that the internal party discussion fever should cease.

Comrade Vogt (Leipzig) declared that Rosenberg had no right to speak against the Ultra-Lefts, because formerly he had assisted in bringing the Party to the brink of destruction. The new leadership, he declared, was continuing the internal party methods of the Ruth Fischer Central Committee. (General disagreement.)

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After numerous written and verbal greetings had been conveyed to the congress, Comrade Pieck read an Open Letter from a number of subordinate trade union officials in the Ruhr district including 32 social democrats and 25 non-party workers. The open letter was addressed to the party conference and also to the ADGB (German Trade Union Federation) and to the German Social Democratic Party and demanded, in view of the attack of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois bloc government, the anti-proletarian laws, the class justice and the danger of intervention against the Soviet Union, the immediate creation of trade union unity. The open letter demanded further that the trade unions should cease expelling oppositional members and abandon the class collaboration policy.

One of the signatories of the open letter, the social democratic worker Venski (Essen) was received with storms of applause and the singing of the "International". He declared:

The oppositional social democratic workers must appeal to public opinion against the terroristic methods of the social democratic leaders. The present bourgeois bloc government is the consequence of the policy of the social democratic leaders who surrendered the weapons in 1918. The self-criticism of the party conference and the attitude of the Communists towards the social democratic workers as their class brothers is giving the social democratic workers confidence in the communists. He then appealed for a common struggle, if necessary with force, against the class enemy and against any attempt to throttle the Soviet Union. (Prolonged applause.)

Comrade Thaelmann answered the speech of Venski in the name of the Party Conference and welcomed the will to establish a revolutionary united front.

Comrade Auer (West Saxony) refuted upon the basis of the experience of the sharp internal party struggle in West Saxony, the contention of the Wedding opposition and of Comrade Vogt that internal party democracy is not being carried out.

Comrade Auer (Young Communist League): In the strongholds of the Ultra-left in Wedding and in the Pfalz, the members of the Young Communist League are unanimously on the side of the Central Committee.

There followed speeches by Comrades Schnell (Baden), and Tittel (Thuringia) and the afternoon session was then closed.

#### EIGHTH SESSION.

Friday evening 4th March, 1927.

The eighth session was opened with the **Concluding Speech of**

**Comrade EWERT**

**upon the Internal Party Situation.**

He began his speech by reading a declaration of the Central Committee in answer to the wrong interpretations of the E. C. C. I. decisions with regard to Brandler and Thalheimer. The declaration of the Central Committee declares that as long

as Brandler and Thalheimer do not openly admit their errors, the party leadership will entrust them with no functions whatever.

The discussion at the party conference was very successful. In Erzgebirge-Vogtland where the Party had been split into two halves by the internal party struggles, a unification is being accomplished upon the line of the Party.

Justified criticism will never be suppressed, but Comrade Boettcher insists upon the right to criticise formally and in an unbolshevist manner. His standpoint towards the declaration of Ernst Meyer hinders the consolidation and shows, if not the existence, at least the danger of a Right wing grouping with the tendency to accept the standpoint of Brandler and Thalheimer.

What does Comrade Rosenberg wish to intimate when he says that the chief enemy is not the bourgeoisie but pseudo-radical phrases in the Communist Party? Pseudo-radicalism has been more or less overcome. The chief enemy in the working class movement is reformism. The class enemy can be defeated by destroying reformism alone. Rosenberg made the most Right wing speech at the conference. After overcoming the Left violations he has fallen to the Right. We hope that he will improve.

The speech of Comrade Vogt in comparison with the utterances of other speakers shows that there is a thin layer in our Party which never learns and never sees where our strength in the working class movement lies, but continually repeats the same old phrases. If these comrades cannot grasp that our task is to win millions of social democratic workers for the revolutionary class struggle, then they must be pushed into the background. The Ultra-Left hinder this development, and thus they serve the social democratic leadership as an object of exploitation.

The mistakes of the party leadership must be criticised. Every comrade must see to it that the party leadership makes no mistakes. We will prevent, however, individual comrades being attacked on account of mistakes which they have long ago admitted and long ago abandoned, and thus distinguish themselves in this respect from Brandler and Thalheimer.

The Party is becoming ever more firmly concentrated. The discussions have strengthened the recognition of the role of the Party. The work in the mass organisations was done more energetically and with greater force, although mistakes are still present. The question of the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union has been clearly understood by the overwhelming majority of the membership.

Every communist must be an organiser of hundreds of thousands of workers, in order to lead the tremendous power of the proletariat which is frittered away by the reformists, into the path of the class struggle. This demands unity in the Party. Our immediate task is therefore: A struggle for the destruction of the ultra-Left remnants in our Party. An end to the discussion and to those who wish to continue it!

After a speech by Comrade Schneller upon the work in the non-party mass organisations, the evening session was closed.

#### NINTH SESSION.

Saturday morning 5th March 1927.

The session was opened with the report of the representative of the E. C. C. I.

#### Comrade JANSEN

who was greeted with the singing of the "International":

I bring the greetings of the Executive Committee of the Communist International not only to your Party conference, but to all German proletarians, including the non-party social democratic and Christian workers who, for the most part, will march with us in the future.

The Note of Chamberlain which was not only directed against the Soviet Government but also against the speech of Bukharin in the Enlarged E. C. C. I., was a protest against the revolutionary perspective with which the British Empire is faced and a protest against the revolutionary movement in China. Two unpleasant realities spoil the sweet expansionist dreams of the British bourgeoisie: the Chinese revolution and the progress which is being made with the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union.

With regard to the question of the possibility of socialism in one country alone, we are already able to make a balance

of the first steps upon the basis of facts. In the Soviet Union people do not merely talk about the possibility of building up socialism, but work for it concretely. The forces of production which were destroyed by the imperialist and civil wars, were not merely rebuilt within the space of a few years, — this was even recognised by the Memorandum of the League of Nations to the Economic Conference — but important new productive forces, great electrical works, factories, railway tracks, etc. have been built, and all this without the assistance of American credit.

The relation of the Soviet economic system with the capitalist economic system through the exchange of commodities abroad, which takes place under the control of and is determined by the proletarian state, contradicts the contention of Trotzky that the Soviet Union is becoming ever more dependent upon the capitalist world economic system. After a few years of passivity, our trade balance has become favourable. The economic pressure of the capitalist world is not able to throttle the development of the Soviet economic system, at the most it can cause us difficulties, but these will only spur us on to still greater work. The tempo of development in the Soviet economic system is increasing rapidly. Industry is growing faster than agriculture, not merely in absolute figures, but also relatively. Similarly, heavy industry is growing faster than light industry, and the State industry faster than the capitalist and petty bourgeois industry. The pre-war level of real wages has already been reached, but apart from this the working class has also tremendous cultural and social advantages. One sign of this is the astonishing decrease of infant mortality as compared with the period before the war. The economic displacement of private capitalism by the economic policy of the Communist Party is making good progress. The industrialisation is proceeding not upon the basis of a ruined middle peasantry, but upon the basis of an increased productivity of the middle peasantry and thus strengthens the alliance of the workers and peasants.

The opposition is of a different opinion, although today it has apparently retreated on this point. At the last Plenum of the Central Committee it was compelled to approve of the economic and political proposals of the Central Committee. The prophesies of the opposition have not been fulfilled. The shortage of commodity was not intensified, but reduced by the increase of production. The governmental plans for the provision of grain were not hindered by the kulaks, instead, the campaign was very favourable and even exceeded official calculations. The proletarian state economic system has captured the grain market from the Kulaks. There were, of course, difficulties. There was unemployment, not caused by dismissals but in consequence of the migration of the village population to the towns. There were further difficulties in connection with the acquisition of raw materials and also in connection with the price policy. But these difficulties can be overcome, they are merely growing pains. The fundamental basis of socialism is being successfully laid down and there is no reason to believe that the work cannot be continued, provided, that is, that it is not interrupted by a capitalist intervention.

The Ultra-Left deny the existence of a relative stabilisation in a number of capitalist countries. However, it would be superfluous for me to attempt to prove the existence of a relative stabilisation, say in Germany, where the workers feel the pressure of this stabilisation, this capitalist concentration and rationalisation on their own back. A recognition of the existence of a partial stabilisation is not irreconcilable with the fact that we are living in an epoch of world revolution. This capitalist stabilisation is not in accordance with our wishes but we must not attempt to supplant facts by our wishes. The existence of capitalism itself is a very unpleasant fact which we are doing our best to abolish. Only those who are incapable of fighting against the yoke of stabilisation, will attempt to deny its existence. The outcry of the Ultra-Left against the capitalist stabilisation is reminiscent of a small child, who, faced with disagreeable facts, closes its eyes and cries.

In our revolutionary struggle against the yoke of the capitalist stabilisation we have still greater opponents than the Ultra-Left, for instance the Second International and above all the German Social Democratic Party, which has saved German capitalism more than once since 1918 not only with economic methods, but also with the methods of Noske, and which since that time has made possible the carrying out of the capitalist

rationalisation and which serves German capitalism continuously through the policy of coalition and class collaboration. The results are to be seen in an impoverishment of the German proletariat and a political reaction. The radicalisation of the working class shows that now the best conditions are present for the exposure of the role of the social democratic leaders. An intensified struggle is necessary not only against the Right wing socialists, but also against the pseudo-radical social democratic leaders who only attempt to camouflage the treachery of their Right wing colleagues. No one can contend that this intensified struggle against the centrist leaders is not correct in the spirit of Lenin.

Fortunately, the discussion shows that all speakers, with the exception of the Ultra-Left demand an end of the empty phrases and a commencement of the practical revolutionary tasks with which we are faced. The greatest activity is necessary, above all against the coalition and the trade union policy of the social democracy, against the effects of the capitalist rationalisation, against the reaction itself and against the imperialist war policy. In China an imperialist war is already raging and this is becoming more and more related to the preparations for war against the Soviet Union. Students of British diplomatic history declare that Chamberlain's Note was formulated exactly according to the scheme always used by British governments preparing for imperialist wars.

The Soviet Union is prepared to defend itself. To this end it must produce not merely grain, electricity textiles and machines, but also rifles and bayonets, guns and aeroplanes. (Applause.) Perhaps it is also necessary to use foreign specialists to assist in the production of these latter necessities. (Laughter.) And in this way, much to the annoyance of the "Vorwaerts" (Interruption: And MacDonald too!) we have come into the possession of certain secrets of the bourgeois war industry. (Applause.) To protect itself with all the forces at its disposal, is not only the right but also the international duty of the Soviet Union. The first international duty of the Communist Parties in all capitalist countries is to become stronger, as this is the best condition for a defence of the Soviet Union against imperialist war. Even Comrade Bartels now finally has decided to oppose the anti-Soviet plans, but we must continue to doubt his honesty as long as he declares himself in agreement with the apostles of the "second revolution in Russia". In any case, we shall place these latest utterances of Bartels on the credit side, not it is true of Bartels' account, but of that of the Ultra-Left workers to whom Comrade Bartels was compelled to make this concession as they refused to tolerate his ambiguous standpoint any longer. Stresemann has also given up ambiguity, but in favour of a definite orientation towards the British plans against the Soviet Union.

To-morrow in Geneva, Stresemann, as representative of the German bourgeoisie, will open the session of the imperialist League of Nations and take the chair. Of course, the leading role of the representative of the German bourgeoisie there is like the so-called leading role of the German Social Democratic Party in the various coalition governments, in reality the British government is the leading force.

The Comintern is growing steadily, although perhaps somewhat more slowly than some of us hoped. The parties have learned to work under difficult conditions. The Ultra-Left say that we want to liquidate the Comintern. That is nonsense. We want first of all the liquidation of capitalism, then the building up of socialism and until this is completed we will not liquidate the Comintern. By that time the last Ultra-Lefts will have been liquidated also.

The connection of the German C. P. with the Left social democratic workers is becoming stronger. The development of the whole situation is increasing the international importance and the role of the German C. P. It would be good if the "Rote Fahne" were made more the leading organ of the Western parties than has previously been the case. The German Communist Party has splendid revolutionary material within its ranks and great experience of the struggle. The justified hatred of the German revolutionary workers against opportunism, hatred which was misused by the Ultra-Left leaders to disrupt the Party, must be transformed into practical revolutionary work.

A party concentration is necessary, but not quite in the way suggested by Boettcher. Ideological differences of opinion within the Party without fractional work are permissible, but united action on the part of the Central Committee and all other leading party organs is absolutely necessary.



The Left wing workers must understand that there can be no victory for the proletarian revolution without revolutionary discipline. We must oppose the steel pact of the bourgeoisie with the steel pact of proletarian discipline.

In opposition to the preparations for imperialist war, we demand peace, peace to prepare thoroughly for the inevitable reckoning with world capitalism. We demand peace, but we do not fear war. An imperialist intervention against the Soviet Union would not be the first. But today the times are very different. Today the Russian revolution and the Comintern has far more allies and we have learned to fight better than before. (Prolonged Applause. Singing of the "International").

After the speech of the representative of the E. C. C. I. Comrade Thaelmann proposed that the party conference should instruct the Central Committee to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Soviet Revolution by tremendous mass agitation and mass demonstrations.

The proposal was unanimously adopted with great applause.

#### DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT OF THE E. C. C. I. REPRESENTATIVE.

Comrade Fried (Halle) stressed the importance of the happenings in Geneva.

Comrade Winterich (Cologne) declared that the question of a war of intervention against the Soviet Union was ripe for discussion in the Party.

Comrade Ludwig (Berlin) declared that the German workers were learning through the capitalist rationalisation itself the meaning of relative stabilisation.

Comrade Grasse (Berlin) declared that the Berlin organisation would do everything in its power to bring Chamberlain's "sweet dream" to an unpleasant awakening.

Comrade Riese (Berlin) said that it was not Zinoviev who has changed, but Stalin. The Central Committees in Germany and Russia were in the wrong. Trotzky had gone over to Zinoviev and not Zinoviev to Trotzky. The Weeding opposition would not split the Party and the International. (Laughter).

Comrade Scheer (Hamburg) declared that the language of Riese was not the language of the German workers.

Comrade Weber (Duesseldorf) said that the chief task at the present moment against the danger of war was to win the sympathies of the masses for the Soviet Union.

Comrade Tenner (Thuringia): We must connect the economic struggle and work for trade union unity.

Comrade Bartels: The speech of the E. C. C. I. representative was made in an objective tone. However, he made certain errors. We have drawn a sharp dividing line both politically and ideologically between us and Katz and Korsch. (Interruption: You say that now! Swindle!) The speaker demanded patient treatment for the Ultra-Left elements but a sharp attack against the Right wing parliamentarians. The theory of Bukharin upon national defence was incorrect, he said, and similar to the standpoint of Vandervelde in 1914. The Russian opposition had in no way withdrawn its declaration to the Plenum of the Central Committee. We have also voted for proposals of the Central Committee, he said, for instance for the freedom of the political prisoners.

Comrade Lenz polemised against Bartels. The informational Bulletin of the Urbahns group, he declared, supplied munitions against Soviet Union.

Comrade Richthofer (Hannover) declared that the party conference was the commencement of a new advance.

#### Closing Speech of Comrade Dengel:

The utterances of the opposition have become worn out gramophone records. The comparison between Germany in 1923 and Belgium in 1914 shows that Bartels has not grasped the problem of national defence. The opposition does not believe in the victory of the Russian proletariat. We will no longer tolerate the game of the opposition in the party. (Storms of Applause.)

Our promise to the world proletariat is that we will stride over all those who stand between us and the defence of the Soviet Union. (Applause.)

Further letters of greetings were then read to the Conference.

Comrade Geschke then made his speech upon the Party and the Young Communist League.

#### TENTH SESSION.

Saturday evening 5th March 1927.

At the beginning of the session there appeared a delegation from the 700 workers of the zinc smelting-works in Hamburg consisting of one communist, one social democratic and one Christian worker. The delegation which was received with storms of applause and the singing of the "International" spoke in favour of a united front of all workers against capitalism.

In the discussion upon the speech of Comrade Geschke upon the work of the Party in the Young Communist League, a great number of delegates took part, including Comrade Thaelmann who stressed the international importance of the Young Communist Movement.

#### ELEVENTH SESSION.

Sunday morning 6th March 1927.

After reading various new letters of greetings and receiving various delegations, the congress listened to a report upon the trade union work by Comrade Heckert. He dealt in detail with the problem of rationalisation and stressed the necessity of industrial unions for the struggle against the trusts. He criticised the errors of the trade union work of the German C.P. and dealt in detail with the most important tasks of the Communists in the trade unions.

In the name of the French Communist Party Comrade Berlioz greeted the party conference and the workers of the Ruhr who had felt the yoke of French imperialism. At the conclusion of his speech the Party conference gave three cheers for the French C.P.

Essen, 6th March 1927.

This afternoon a great mass demonstration took place in Essen in honour of the XI. Party Conference of the German Communist Party. 30,000 Ruhr working men and women marched for hours through the streets in a storm of rain and hail to the meeting place which was crowded with demonstrators. In the working class quarters every house, almost every window was decked with red flags.

In the hall demonstrators, representatives of the foreign Parties, social democratic workers, communist peasant delegates and finally comrade Thaelmann spoke. The demonstration then marched in close ranks to the Saalbau where, after a speech by Comrade Eberlein, it dissolved.

#### CLOSING SESSION.

Monday morning 7th March 1927.

At the commencement of the session the chairman informed the conference that having regard to the lack of time, the trade union discussion could not be carried out with the thoroughness originally intended. It was nevertheless the intention of the Central Committee to open up a thorough discussion on this point in the near future.

After the closing speech of Comrade Heckert the political resolution was adopted with all votes against 8. That section of the resolution prohibiting the formation of groups inside the Party was accepted unanimously. The following were then adopted: The theses upon the trade union question, unanimously; the organisational resolution unanimously, two votes being withheld; the resolution upon the work of the Party in the non-party mass organisations, unanimously; the resolution on the struggle against reaction in the school, unanimously; the resolution referring to the Young Communist League, unanimously; one paragraph in which the Wedding opposition demanded that the question of confidence should be raised on the general political line, against 9 votes; the agrarian resolution, unanimously; the communal resolution, unanimously; the resolution upon the work amongst the women was turned over to the Central Committee. A resolution against the Centre Party and appeal to the Christian workers was handed over to a conference to be called in the near future.

A proposal to remove Comrades Bartels, Grilewitz and Schlecht from all their posts for the space of one year and to demand from them that they lay down their mandates on account of continual breaches of discipline and an attitude contrary to the best interests of the Party, was carried with all votes against 9, one vote being withheld.

After the closing speech of Comrade Pieck and the singing of the "International" the Party Conference was closed.



## INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

### International Connection among Women Workers.

By S. Boyarskaya (Moscow).

The **International Women's Day** coincides on this occasion with the tenth year of Soviet rule.

In the course of the last ten years, the Soviet territory has continued more and more to gain the sympathies of the proletariat of the capitalist countries.

The interest of workers of both sexes in the Soviet Union has of late increased quite particularly by reason of the deterioration in the position of the working classes in the West and in view of the vigorous development of Socialist economy in Soviet Russia.

A series of workers' delegations from the capitalist countries were able, when visiting Soviet Russia, to observe the great tenacity and perseverance, the inviolable belief in their powers, and the staunch courage in the face of difficulties which characterise the Soviet workers in the construction of their Socialist economy, whereby they contribute to hastening the world revolution.

Women workers likewise took part in these delegations.

In the autumn of last year, a **deputation of women workers** for the first time visited the Soviet Union. It was the female workers of Germany who sent their deputies to Russia. Even the Social Democratic participants and some of the non-party members, who were at first sceptical or even hostile in their attitude towards conditions in Soviet Russia and made no secret of the fact, became sincere friends of the proletarian State once they had had occasion to make the closer acquaintance of the achievements and successes of its national economy, and witnessed the improvement in the material position of the workers and the full emancipation of the women workers in the Soviet Union.

The experiences and sentiments of the members of the German women workers' delegation found eloquent expression in the farewell words, addressed unanimously by the entire delegation to the women workers of the Soviet Union on the occasion of their departure.

"We shall put our whole energy into the task of making the working masses of Germany look upon the destinies of the Soviet Union and of its work of construction as a matter of intimate importance to themselves and to stay the arm of the bourgeoisie whenever it prepares an attack on Soviet Russia and incites the world capital against the workers' State.

"The adherence of the broad masses of proletarian women to the red proletarian united front will prove to you that we are and always will be united with you by a profound sentiment of international solidarity.

"Long live the united front of all workers!"

On their return, the members of the delegation, undeterred by the persecution they were exposed to by the bourgeois Governments, related the full truth in regard to the Soviet Union.

Not only in numerous meetings in the factories and in full publicity, but also at all greater meetings of workers, at the delegate meetings at Berlin, Hamburg, Stuttgart, and Chemnitz, at the congress of the workers, and at the first National Conference of the Red Women's and Girls' League, members of the women's delegation bore testimony to the unforgettable experience they had gained during their sojourn in Soviet Russia. For many of them, especially the Social Democrats and non-party members among them, this experience appears to have come in the light of a complete revelation, directing them towards a new, vital, and active attitude in regard to matters of political and public life. In this connection, many of them for the first time essayed to appear before the public on the rostrum or in the press. Others became active propagandists in the works and trade unions, all these being signs of the fertile effect of direct contact with the proletarian State.

On the **International Women's Day**, it is meet for all delegates loudly to proclaim the truth regarding the tremendous creative work of the millions populating the Soviet Union.

On the **International Women's Day**, all assemblies should hear the voice of those who were fortunate enough with their own eyes to see the land of growing Socialism and who call

upon the masses to defend the first proletarian State of the world, the bulwark of revolution, against all intrigues and machinations of the world imperialists.

In the liberation of the broad working masses from the influence of the hypocritical bourgeois press, the international connection between the women workers of the Soviet Union on the one hand and those of the capitalist countries on the other is bound to play a great part.

The women workers of the Soviet Union pursue with vivid interest the hard fight which the world proletariat is obliged to put up. In their letters they not only describe their achievements but also the great difficulties they had to overcome on their path while endeavouring by their example and by their firm belief in the final victory of world revolution, to arouse in the hearts of their sisters too, the spirit of sacrifice, determination to fight for Communism, and a belief in their own powers.

On the **International Women's Day**, this international connection among the individual revolutionary groups of the female proletariat must be knit yet closer and more firmly.

The **International Women's Secretariat** must become the nucleus of a systematic and methodic linking up of the women workers of the various countries by an interchange of letters and an exchange of female labour correspondents. This international connection must also extend to the exploited slaves in the colonial countries of all continents. A first attempt at correspondence has already been made between the revolutionary proletarian women of China and the women workers of other countries.

Such an intimate international connection cannot but contribute to the formation of a united front of all workers, foster the education of the women workers in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism and the feeling of international solidarity, and cause the broad masses of women, who are to-day unfortunately still to a great part an obstacle to revolution, into an essential means of hastening its achievement.

## THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

### For the 20th Anniversary of the First International Youth Conference.

Nearly 20 years have passed since the International Proletarian Youth Movement entered on the scene of political struggle. With the active participation of Karl Liebknecht the **First International Youth Congress** met together in Stuttgart in the time from 24th to 26th of August 1907 and established the international connections of the socialist youth organisations. The great historical importance of this Congress for the proletarian youth movement lies in the fact that it set up the first international fighting programme for the working youth.

During the war, when the social democratic parties went over to the camp of the war criminals, it was the proletarian youth movement which with revolutionary determination opposed the social democratic treachery and initiated actions against the imperialist war.

The **Young Communist International**, the sole inheritor of the traditions of the Youth International founded in Stuttgart, took over the fighting aims and demands which were set up at the first international Youth Conference. The Y. C. I. will use the occasion of the 20th anniversary to carry out a wide-scale campaign for the demands and fighting aims of the young proletariat of the whole world. We call upon the Young Communist Leagues of all countries to make now the necessary preparations for the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Stuttgart Conference to be held from the 24th to 26th August, and to continue this campaign up to the 13th International Youth Day on 14th September.

Devote all forces to the work of rallying the masses of the working youth under the banner of the Young Communist International in powerful demonstrations and enrolling them in the Young Communist International.

The Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.

## OBITUARY

### Charles Emil Ruthenberg.

By Robert Minor.

The following obituary article has been retranslated from the "Pravda" of March 4th. Ed.

On March 2nd, Charles Emil Ruthenberg, member of the Presidium of the Comintern, General Secretary and leader of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, died from the effects of an operation for appendicitis. The death of Comrade Ruthenberg is a heavy blow, not only for the American section of the Comintern but also for the entire Communist International and for the revolutionary movement throughout the world. His name is connected more closely than that of any other with the history of the development of the Communist movement in the Western hemisphere.

Comrade Ruthenberg was of proletarian descent. He was born at Cleveland in the State of Ohio, where his father was a transport worker. At an early age he entered a factory as a worker and subsequently became an office clerk.

As a youth he joined the Socialist Party. Having absolved a special course of study and acquired much experience in administrative matters in a large industrial concern, where the capitalists forced the workers to enter a so-called company union, Ruthenberg undertook the leadership of the workers in a dispute which arose in regard to an increase of wages. This fight was successful. Since that time he was indissolubly bound up with the Labour Movement. In the year 1909, he was organiser of the Socialist Party in Cleveland and shortly afterwards he became editor of the party organ. By his opposition to the reformist policy of the Socialist Party, he became the most popular labour leader in the State of Ohio.

In all crises which subsequently arose in the Socialist Party, Ruthenberg was again and again the leader of the Left wing. In 1912, when the reformist leaders proposed a change in the statutes aiming at the exclusion from the party of anybody who advocated "sabotage, direct action, and the employment of violence", Ruthenberg headed the opposition to this motion, just as he later on headed the opposition from the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party to the exclusion of William Heywood, who was at that time the leader of the labour union organisation "Industrial Workers of the World".

In the year 1915, Ruthenberg became a member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

At the outbreak of the war, Ruthenberg placed himself at the head of the revolutionary elements of the party, which opposed the war. Under the pressure of the Left wing, the leaders of the Socialist Party were forced in April 1917 to convoke a special conference for the purpose of discussing the attitude of the party towards the entry of the United States into the war. At this conference, which was held at St. Louis, Ruthenberg appeared at the head of the Left wing. A hard fight ensued, and Ruthenberg and his adherents succeeded in forcing the conference to reject the resolutions submitted by the reformists and social-patriots and in their place to accept other resolutions, which, though modified by amendments, were nearer to the revolutionary standpoint.

Hillquit and the other social-patriotic leaders treated the resolution passed at St. Louis as a mere scrap of paper; the Left wing under the leadership of Ruthenberg, meanwhile, continued its revolutionary agitation against the war on the basis of the decisions of the conference, in which connection Ruthenberg was shortly afterwards condemned in Ohio to one year's imprisonment. It became obvious that the split in the Socialist Party had become inevitable, and immediately upon his return from prison Ruthenberg set about organising the Left wing, so that the latter might be in a position to aspire to the leadership of the entire party. Owing to his publication of the "Manifesto of the Left Wing", he was again arrested, this time in company with Gitlow, John Reed, Wolfe, Larkin, and Gurtwitsch, and committed for trial.

On May 1st, 1919, on the occasion of a demonstration at Cleveland of 40,000 workers, a sanguinary encounter with the police and troops ensued, and two constables were killed. Ruthenberg was considered to have been the chief organiser of this disturbance, and he was detained for nearly two years in New York jail.

About the time when Ruthenberg returned from prison, the Socialist Party was passing through a critical stage of its development in connection with the problem of its joining the Comintern. In the Left wing there were two definite tendencies to be distinguished, which fact led towards the close of the year 1919 to the formation of two Communist parties.

Early in January 1920, the United States Government started dissolving the local organisations of both parties throughout the country, arresting many thousands. Thus both Communist Parties were destroyed. Acting on a plan worked out by Ruthenberg, the Communists immediately re-formed their organisation on an illegal basis, while at the same time Ruthenberg placed himself at the head of a movement aiming at the legal reconstruction of the Communist Party. Though himself at Sing-Sing at the time, he gave useful advice to such of his comrades as had remained at liberty, and with the help of some other comrades he really succeeded in remodelling a legal Communist Party.

Comrade Ruthenberg was, moreover, one of the first to recognise the necessity for the Communist Party to support all efforts towards the formation of a Labour Party in the United States.

In the midst of his preparations for this important campaign, Ruthenberg was once more cast into prison after the police raid on Bridgeman, Michigan, during the great strike on the railroads and in the mines. He was committed for trial and condemned to ten years' penal servitude. It was only recently that the Supreme Court passed the final verdict in this connection, and Ruthenberg was just about to commence serving his term, when an attack of appendicitis put an end to his life.

Thus, Comrade Ruthenberg has been cut off in the prime of life, at the age of 44, and in the midst of his activity as General Secretary of the Communist Party. Only a few hours before he was stricken down by his malady, he was wholly occupied with the struggle against the nationalist campaign of the labour union bureaucrats, who were in opposition to the Left wing of the unions. Comrade Ruthenberg lived only for the Party. For twenty years he had no thoughts save for the revolutionary labour movement. His last words were: "Tell the comrade to close the ranks and build up the Party. Led by our Party and by the Comintern, the American working class is bound to be victorious. Carry on the fight!"

The death of Comrade Ruthenberg is a heavy loss.

## TEN YEARS AGO

### Manifesto of the Moscow Committee of the Bolsheviki on the Occasion of International Women's Day 1917.

Proletarians of all Countries, Unite!

Comrades! Women Workers!

This is already the third year of the most sanguinary of all wars. It is being waged in the interest of the capitalists of the various countries, who are fighting for world dominion.

In carrying out the will of the capitalists, the Governments, greedy for profit and power, force millions of peasants and workers to go to the trenches and chain those that remain to the factories and mines. Formerly they ground out all the strength of the workers, now they shed their blood in torrents.

Working women, comrades, your children, husbands, brothers are perishing at the front. You remain within the country, but neither you nor your families have bread or fuel. Every day the numbers of the dead increase and every day our sufferings become greater.

War rests with all its weight on the shoulders of the working class. And, you, the women workers, are hardest hit

of all. You take the place of your brothers and husbands in the factories and workshops, but you are only in receipt of one third of their wage, so that you cannot feed or clothe your children.

When will the horrors of war end? Only the people themselves can put an end to war. If the whole mass of the working class rises, overthrows the Tsarist Government, and takes the power into its own hands, then peace will come at last, such a peace as the soil needs, without new taxes and without fetters. Only such a peace will bring liberty to the people. Enough of silence! It is impossible to suffer any more.

The workers of the world are uniting once more to fight for peace and liberty. The Russian workers are once more engaged in constructing their Russian Social Democratic Labour Party.

Comrades, help the cause of the workers, join the common fight, enter the organised ranks of our Party, let your voices be heard everywhere.

February 23rd (March 8th) is your day, comrades, women workers!

This was decided three years ago by the Congress of Women Workers of all Countries. And every year we shall appeal to you on this day of yours. In the first year of the war the class-conscious women workers of all the belligerent countries stretched out their hands to one another for a common fight against war. To-day we repeat their call. To-day the class-conscious workers of all lands repeat their call in the name of the international fraternisation of all workers. Soon the hour will come for the fight for peace and liberty. And when that hour strikes, you, women workers, will also fight under the red banner of Socialism.

Down with the war!

Down with the Tsarist Government!

Long live the Democratic Republic!

Long live the international union of workers!

The Moscow Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party.

## The Petrograd Workers' Final Assault on Tsarism.

The 11th and 12th of March, 1917, in Petrograd.

(From the "Pravda" of March 8th to 21st, 1917.)

On Sunday, February 26th (March 11th — Ed.) workers, in their holiday clothes flocked from all quarters of the town and suburbs towards the centre. On the way, they were at many points intercepted by military patrols. The town had the appearance of a military camp.

Patrols, police and cavalry detachments everywhere. All approaches to the Nevsky Prospect were strongly guarded. Volleys were fired from invisible ambushes, and there were many dead and wounded on the Snamensky square and at other points. Great revolutionary enthusiasm was to be observed in proletarian and democratic circles.

On the Monday, the demonstrations continued. In many places the firing increased. It was caused mainly by machine guns, which were placed in the upper storeys of the houses, on the church, towers, and on the roofs of stations and other buildings.

On the Monday, the first mutinous regiments joined the revolutionary proletariat. The mutineers marched to other barracks and fetched out the soldiers. Some of the officers joined them. The cossacks were neutral from the start, dispersing the crowd from time to time, but making no further attempt to suppress the movement and in some cases even joining the workers. Thus, e. g., they released 50 workers, who had been driven by the police into a courtyard on the Nevsky Prospect.

The mutinous soldiers, accompanied by workers, marched to the prisons, where they drove away the guards by gun-fire and released the prisoners. The day was clear and sunny, and the crowds in the streets were in a joyful mood. The prisoners

of the Predwarilka, Kresty, and other prisons were released. There followed the wrecking of the police stations, the courts of justice, and the head quarters of the secret police. The files were thrown out of the windows and burnt. In some instances the police stations themselves were also burnt down. The district court was burnt down.

The crowds gathered round the bonfires and threw documents into the flames. The police had changed their clothes and lay in hiding. They had quite suddenly disappeared from the streets. Nevertheless, order was preserved.

Patrols of soldiers drove about in motor cars and ran up flags. The populace greeted them with cheers and waved handkerchiefs to them from the windows. The general atmosphere was one of festive enthusiasm.

The black hundreds, however, would not yet own themselves beaten and continued for several days, and especially in the evenings, to fire at peaceful citizens from the roof of houses and churches. In such cases the patrols searched all the flats in the respective houses, from which the shots had been fired, confiscated all arms, and arresting such persons as appeared suspicious of supporting the old regime. In the street many patrols could be seen escorting such prisoners, who were in the main agents of the secret police, constables who had put on plain clothes and in some cases, to save their lives, even women's apparel, and officers who refused to acknowledge the new Order.

The "Reports of the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates" and the "Reports of the Journalists' Committee" were circulated gratis and were eagerly seized upon and read by the crowd, which filled the streets until a very late hour.

The cars filled with armed soldiers, which drove around in the city, were greeted everywhere with cheers. They were decorated with red flags, some of them, which were in the service of the Social Democratic Party, bore the device "R. S. D. R. P." (Russian Social Democratic Labour Party) in red letters. Very soon, red cockades and ribbons appeared on the hats and in the buttonholes of the majority of the citizens and on the bayonets of the soldiers' rifles. Various houses were hung with red flags.

The crowds destroyed all the emblems of the obnoxious old order of things, burning the portraits of Nicholas the Last and tearing down the Tsarist arms or covering them with red flags. The former Imperial Palace was full of red flags. Henceforth it was to be the property of the nation.

\* \* \*

### The Troops Join the Revolution.

Telegram sent by General Alexeyev (Chief of the General Staff of the Commander-in-Chief) to all Army Commanders, dated March 13th, 1917.

For your general information, I report as follows: On the 26th, at 1—40 p. m., a telegram was received from General Chabalov (Commander of the Petrograd Military Circuit. Ed.), stating that the day before (March 10th, n. st.) the crowds of workers assembled in various quarters of the town had been dispersed repeatedly by the police and troops. At about 5 p. m., the demonstrators sang revolutionary songs in front of the Gostinni Dvor and unfurled red flags. The warning that armed force would be employed against them, was answered by several revolver shots, by which a private soldier was wounded. A troop of dragoons hurried to the spot and opened fire on the crowd; ten persons were killed or wounded. The crowd dispersed immediately. At 6 o'clock, a hand grenade was thrown at a detachment of mounted gendarmes, whereby one constable and his horse were wounded. The evening passed in comparative quiet. On February 25th, 240,000 workers were on strike. General Chabalov announced that any assembly in the streets was forbidden and that any disturbance of the peace would be put down by force of arms. According to General Chabalov's report, peace reigned in the city on February 26th (March 11th). At noon on that day, a telegram was received here from Rodzianko, Chairman of the State Duma, stating that the disturbances which had broken out at Petrograd were of an elementary character and had assumed alarming dimensions; they were attributable to the want of baked bread and to the insufficient supplies of flour, which had caused a panic.

On the 27th March (12th), the Minister of War humbly reported that the companies and battalions which had remained loyal to their duty were on the point of firmly and energetically putting down the disturbances which had broken out that morning in certain military formations. The revolt had not yet been completely put down, but the Minister of War expressed the hope that order would soon be restored, seeing that he was ruthlessly employing all measures to this end.

The Chairman of the State Duma reported on the 27th at midday, that the troops were going over to the populace and were murdering their own officers.

At midday on the 27th, General Chabalov humbly reported that on the same day a company of the reserve battalions of the Pavlov regiment declared that they would not fire on the people. The commander of a battalion of this regiment had been wounded by the crowd. On the same day, the training company of the Volyn regiment refused to act against the mutineers; their commander committed suicide. Thereupon this company, together with another company of the same regiment, was attached to other reserve battalions, several soldiers of which latter units, however, began to join the mutineers. General Chabalov requested the despatch of reliable troops from the front. On the 27th, the Minister of War reported that a battery commandeered from Peterhof had refused to entrain for Petrograd. Between nine and ten at night on the 27th, the commanders-in-chief on the North and West fronts received instructions to send to Petrograd two infantry and two cavalry regiments in either case, led by energetic brigade commanders, besides one machine gun detachment from either front.

By supreme command, Adjutant General Ivanov was appointed commander-in-chief of the Petrograd Military Circuit and endowed with extraordinary powers, all the Ministers being subordinated to him.

Towards midnight on the 27th, I informed the Commander-in-Chief that it would be necessary to take measures to ensure the railwaymen remaining at work at any price.

Soon after midday on the 27th, the Minister of War reported that the situation at Petrograd was very serious indeed. The few loyal units were no longer able to suppress the mutiny, and the various troops were gradually going over to the mutineers. Fire had broken out at several points. A state of siege was declared at Petrograd. At 2 o'clock on February 28th (March 13th), I wired to the commanders-in-Chief of the North and West armies that, besides the troops already requisitioned, a battery of ordinary artillery and one of horse artillery should be sent from each of the two fronts to Petrograd.

At 3 o'clock on the 28th, I gave the commander of the Moscow military circuit the telegraphic order to take the necessary steps if a similar disturbance should break out there and to ensure work in connection with the railway junction and the food supply centre.

On February 28th, at 1 o'clock, General Chabalov informed the supreme command by telegram that he was not in a position to restore order in the capital. The bulk of the troops had betrayed their trust and many had joined the mutineers. After fighting all day, the loyal troops had retired with severe casualties.

Towards nightfall, the mutineers got possession of a great part of the capital, while the few loyal detachments of various regiments were retired from the Winter Palace.

At 2 o'clock in the morning of February 28th, the Minister of War reported that the mutineers had succeeded in occupying the Admiralty building. There the members of the revolutionary Government had assembled. At 8—25 the same morning, General Chabalov reported that the number of loyal troops had dwindled to 600 foot and 500 horse, with 25 machine-guns and 12 cannon and a total of 18 shells. The situation appeared exceedingly serious.

The van-guard of the infantry regiment sent to relieve Petrograd could not arrive there before March 1st in the morning.

His Majesty was pleased to pass the night from February 27th to 28th at Zarskoye-Selo. According to private information, the revolutionary Government took over the administration of Petrograd, announcing in their manifesto that four reserve guard regiments had joined them and that the arsenal, the Peter-Paul fortress, and the main artillery depôt were in their hands.

A telegraphic report from the Minister of War is just to hand to the effect that the mutineers have occupied the most important points in all quarters of the town. As a result of

exhaustion and of propaganda, the troops throw down their arms and either join the mutineers or declare themselves neutral. All the time there is promiscuous firing in the streets, all traffic has stopped, any officers or non-commissioned officers appearing in the streets are immediately disarmed.

None of the Ministers has been injured, but the work in the Ministries appears to have stopped. (As a matter of fact, some of the Ministers had already been arrested in the night between March 12th and 13th, i. e. February 27th and 28th, o. st.)

According to private reports, Shtcheglovitov, Chairman of the State Council, has been arrested. In the State Duma, a council was formed of the party leaders for the purpose of connecting the revolutionary Government with the authorities and individual persons, while supplementary elections for the Petrograd Workers' and Soldiers Council were arranged among the workers and the mutinous troops.

A telegram has just reached me from General Chabalov to the effect that he can absolutely no longer exercise any influence on the course of events. In recording this fact, I add that we all owe it as a sacred duty to our sovereign and our country, to see to it that the troops do not violate their duty and their oath and to ensure the safety of railway traffic and food supplies.

Alexeyev. No. 183. February 28.

## Manifesto of the C. C. of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (Bolsheviki) on March 12th 1917.

To all the citizens of Russia!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Fellow citizens! The strongholds of Russian Czarism have fallen. The well-being of the Czarist hordes which was built up with the blood of the people has collapsed. The capital is in the hands of the insurgent people. Revolutionary bodies of troops are taking the side of the insurgents. The revolutionary proletariat and the revolutionary army must save the country from the decline and ruin prepared for it by the Czarist Government.

By enormous efforts, by sacrifices of blood and lives, the Russian people has shaken off the yoke of centuries.

It is the task of the working class and the revolutionary army to form a provisional revolutionary government, which shall place itself at the head of the new republican order which is at present coming into being.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government shall concern itself with creating provisional laws which shall defend the rights and liberties of the people, shall confiscate the land of the monasteries, the landed proprietors and the estates of the Cabinet members and members of the Court and hand them over to the people, shall introduce the eight hours' day and summon the Constituent Assembly on the basis of a general, secret, direct and equal suffrage.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government shall take upon itself the task of immediately caring for the provisioning of the people and of the army and, with this object in view, of confiscating all the stores which were collected by the former Government and by the municipal administrations.

The hydra of reaction may still raise one of its heads. It is the duty of the people and of its revolutionary Government to suppress any counter-revolutionary machination which is hostile to the people.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government must immediately and without hesitation get into touch with the proletariat of the belligerent countries in the interest of the revolutionary fight of the peoples of all countries against their oppressors, against the Czarist Governments and capitalist cliques and, with the object of immediately putting an end to the bloody massacre which has been forced on the subjugated peoples.

The workers of the factories and works and the insurgent troops shall immediately elect their representatives for the provisional revolutionary Government, which is to be formed under the protection of the insurgent revolutionary people and of the revolutionary army.

Fellow citizens! Soldiers! Women and mothers! Up, all of you and join in the fight! Join in the open fight against the Czarist Power and its accomplices!

Throughout Russia the red banner of insurrection is being raised. Take the cause of liberty in your hands throughout Russia, overthrow the henchmen of the Czar, call on the soldiers to join in the fight.

Join in the work of creating a government of the revolutionary people throughout Russia in the towns and villages!

Fellow citizens! By fraternal and united efforts, we shall build up the proper order of freedom on the ruins of the arbitrary rule.

Forward! There is no going back! Fight relentlessly!

Up and fight under the red banner of revolution!

Long live the democratic Republic!

Long live the revolutionary working class!

Long live the revolutionary people and the insurgent army!

The Central Committee of the Social Democratic  
Labour Party.

## The First Order of the Petrograd Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

Order No. 1.

March 1st, 1917 (13th of March, Ed.)

The following order shall be immediately and strictly carried out by all the soldiers of the guard, of the army, the artillery and the navy and of the garrison of the Petrograd district, and the workers of Petrograd shall take cognizance of it:

The Council of the Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies has resolved that:

1. In all companies, battalions, regiments, batteries, squadrons and individual offices of the military administration of every kind, as well as on the ships of the navy, committees shall immediately be formed consisting of elected representatives of the troops of the above named divisions.

2. All bodies of troops which have not yet elected representatives for the Workers' Council, shall elect one representative for every company. The elected representatives shall appear on March 2nd at 10 a. m. in the building of the National Duma with written credentials.

3. In all its political actions, the army will be subordinated to the Council of the Workers' and Peasants' Deputies and its committees.

4. The orders of the military commission of the National Duma must be carried out, except in those cases in which these orders are contradictory to the orders and the resolutions of the Council of the Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.

5. Weapons of all sorts, such as rifles, machine guns, tanks etc. shall be under the control of the companies and battalion committees and shall be at their disposal, and under no circumstances may they be handed over to the officers, even at their express demand.

6. On service and when on duty, the soldiers must observe the strictest military discipline; when off duty and not on service, those rights of the soldiers which appertain to all citizens shall not be in any way curtailed in their political, civic and private life.

They are especially relieved of the obligation to stand to attention and to salute when off duty.

7. The habit of addressing officers as Your Excellency etc. is abolished and instead they shall be addressed as General, Colonel etc.

8. Rough treatment of the soldiers by non-commissioned officers and officers of all ranks, and especially the custom of addressing them as "Thou" is prohibited. Any breach of this order and any misunderstanding between officers and soldiers shall be brought to the knowledge of the company committees by the latter.

This order is to be made known to all companies, battalions, regiments, batteries and other divisions at the front and elsewhere.

The Petrograd Council of the Workers' and  
Soldiers' Deputies.

### TO OUR READERS!

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

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