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POLITICS

The Russo-German Treaty.

by A. Thalheimer.

I. Introduction.

The following are the important moments in the history of events that preceded the Russo-German treaty concluded in Genoa. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk already included the recognition of the Russian Soviet Government. Thus, while the Entente were until now in a treatyless relation towards Soviet Russia, the German government was bound to it by treaty since 1916. Shortly before the outbreak of the November Revolution the Kaiser's government broke with Soviet Russia, and the Republican government, the Ebert-Scheidemann-Haase Cabinet tremblingly followed in the footsteps of the Entente—against Soviet Russia. The repeated negotiations and the notorious participation of the various governments of the German Republic in the various White Guard adventures against Soviet Russia, are only too well known. It is not the fault of the various governments that displaced one another in the German Republic, that these disgraceful services were not greater; it was due exclusively to England's and France's distrust of Germany. Both England and France feared lest the German mercenaries demand too high a price, and lest they build up for themselves a military base in Soviet Russia, from which they might operate against the West. It is the German Social Democrats who bear the full responsibility for this criminal and idiotic policy that has been pursued against Soviet Russia since 1916. The Independent Socialists also bear partial guilt for this black past. The Communist Party of Germany has carried on a persistent and untiring struggle against the active or passive betrayal of the Russian Revolution from the very beginning. The Soviet Republic has left no stone unturned in the attempt to create a *modus vivendi* with Germany. All that was accomplished was the institution of business and trading missions. In spite of the fact that the Entente continually stepped on Germany's corns, the various German Republican governments maintained their toadying relationship with the Entente up to the very last. At every phase of the German negotiations, the German Government did not make a step without humbly informing England and asking for its most gracious permission. Mr. Rathenau, the present Minister of Foreign Affairs, in particular, has made himself ridiculous and showed himself bereft of all self-respect in his idiotic courtings of Britannia. When Herr Rathenau assures everyone, both those who want to as well as those who do not want to hear it, that he most "loyally" informed his English masters up to the very last, it must be taken at its face value as a sad self-recommendation.

While the negotiations with Soviet Russia were still going on, the German Government had the audacity to perform the vicious sleight-of-hand trick of signing the well-known agreement drawn up by the Paris Expert Commission. This demand that Soviet Russia make compensation for the nationalized factories and that it submit itself to a trusteeship of the Entente. Even while the Berlin negotiations with the Russian Soviet delegation were still going on, the German government held on to this demand with a tenacity worthy of a better cause. It is absolutely necessary that it be made clear to the whole international working-class that until recently, a government in which

the German Social Democracy played a leading role fought hand in hand with the imperialist robber states in the attempt to deprive the Russian Revolution of its most important social and political conquests, namely, of the possession by the proletarian state of the most important industries of the country. It must be indelibly impressed upon the working-class of the whole world that a so-called "workers' party" has insisted pig-headedly up to the very last that the victorious proletarian revolution compensate the capitalists for the expropriated factories, mines, etc. Only under the unbearable pressure of the Entente, only after it had been excluded from the negotiations between the Entente and Soviet Russia, only after it was exposed to the danger of seeing the Entente enter into an agreement with Soviet Russia at the expense of Germany, was the German Government compelled to conclude a treaty with Soviet Russia, a treaty which protects it against disadvantages as against other robber states, but in which it formally renounces nothing in the matter of compensation for the expropriated factories.

II. The Most Important Stipulations of the Treaty.

1—The renewed *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Republic and the resumption of normal diplomatic relations.

2—The mutual waiver of war-reparations.

3—Germany to receive most favored nation treatment in all trading agreements, tariff-treaties, etc., which are entered into with other capitalistic states.

4—The waiver of all damages occasioned by the revolution; the same on condition that the Entente states do likewise.

5—The obligation of both governments to promote the resumption of mutual trade relations.

The significance of this treaty for Soviet Russia is more of a moral nature than a material one. After the treaty with Poland and with the Baltic States, this constitutes the second break in the iron ring formed about Soviet Russia by the united imperialistic robber powers. The material significance of this treaty for the reconstruction of Soviet Russia depends wholly upon the ways and means the German Government and the German industrialists adopt in the execution of the treaty. As for the German Government this is its first *hesitating half-step* towards the recovery of its freedom of action, and towards the dissolution of the slave-chains which it voluntarily accepted from the Allies.

As to the international significance of the treaty, the frantic rage of the Entente governments offers sufficient proof. The phrases of the first day at Genoa, promising a basis of equality to all participants and an earnest effort to reconstruct Soviet Russia and world economy in general, have been unmasked by the reception accorded to the Russo-German Treaty by the Allied governments. If a treaty which seeks to reestablish a normal capitalistic relation towards Soviet Russia (and this to an unsufficient degree) is characterized as a slap in the face of the Conference, it must become very clear to every worker that the Conference thereby openly admits that its actual intentions towards Soviet Russia are simply those of disgraceful robbers. Hence they cry, "Germany has broken the solidarity of the robbers; therefore crucify it! Germany has waived all claims upon the insane reparations from Soviet Russia; therefore crucify it! Germany has had the audacity to forget for a single moment that it is an Entente-colony; Crucify!" All of the robber treaties of Versailles are until this very day inviolable for the Genoa Conference. But the treaty between Germany and Soviet Russia must receive the sanction of the great imperialistic robbers.

III. The German Parties and the Treaty.

The particular attention of the international working-class must be called to the fact that of all the German parties, the *Social Democratic Party* is the only one which took an outspoken attitude against the treaty. Its slavish fear of the Entente, its blind raging hatred of the Russian Revolution, render it impossible for the German Social Democracy to gather at least as much courage and reason as the bourgeois parties did. The German Social Democracy fears all contact with the Soviet Republic as it fears death, because it knows that a party which depends upon the support of the workers cannot long continue to pursue a counter-revolutionary course, nor can it successfully fight against the Communist Party of its own country if it is to get the support of a workers' state in its foreign policy. With a tragic heart the bourgeois parties greet the treaty as the first step by which Germany regains her initiative and freedom of action; they do not forget to point out, however, that the government must therefore proceed against the German Communists so much the more strictly.

We German Communists, however, have not the slightest faith that the *Wirth-Rathenau* Government or that any other bourgeois coalition government will be able to pursue the path outlined by the Russo-German pact. The history of 3½ years of the foreign policy of the bourgeois republic forbids any such belief. We shall expose those parts of the treaty which betray the as yet powerless imperialistic appetites of the German Government, to open and ruthless criticism. But to the German workers we say: *it is your duty to see to it that this first half-step never be retracted, but that it be followed by other steps in the direction and alliance with Russia.*

IV. The Treaty and the International Working Class.

It is clear that it is the duty of the international working-class to adopt a reserved and critical attitude towards the rectitude and constancy of the present German Government in its relations to Soviet Russia, and to combat as energetically as possible the hypocritical and vicious attacks directed by their respective governments against the treaty, and also to demand that other countries as well renounce their robber reparation demands and give up their attacks against the sovereignty and self-determination of the Russian people. Now is the time emphatically to demand the calling of a World Proletarian Congress, to take place as soon as possible. This Congress should oppose the robber states now at Genoa, with the mass-pressure of the world proletariat. Should it happen (as it very well may) that these robber states break up the Genoa Conference then it will be absolutely necessary to mobilize the working-masses as quickly and as thoroughly as possible.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Civil War in South Africa.

The Great Rand Strike.

by M. Lopes (Cape Town).

During the last eighteen months the capitalist offensive in South Africa met with no serious opposition, but at the beginning of 1922 the workers on the Witwatersrand, especially the miners, cried check to the victorious onrush of the exploiters by means of a strike movement which brought to a standstill the economic life of that area.

Since the commencement of the world economic crisis, the South African workers, in common with the workers of other countries, have shared the post-war blessings of the "new world"—widespread unemployment, part-time employment, retrenchment in private and Government employ and a steady attack upon wages and hours of labour, which latter have in many industries been increased to ten hours per day. Civil servants, railwaymen, engineers, building workers, etc., accepted the lowering of their standard of living without protest. The miners' turn came last, probably owing to the fact that their organisations are the most powerful in South Africa and the miners themselves the most militant section of the white workers.

Starting with the Coal Mines, the strike rapidly spread until it embraced the workers on the Gold Mines and such members of the following Unions as were connected with the mines:—Amalgamated Engineering Union, Amalgamated Woodworkers' Union, Building Workers' Industrial Union, S.A. Ironmoulders' Society, together with the workers of the Victoria Falls Power Company.

The dispute with the Victoria Falls Power Company arose out of an ultimatum served by the Coal Owners, notifying that wages would be cut by 5/-per shift at the end of the year. The excuse given by the owners for this cut was the necessity of lowering production costs in order to meet foreign competition, i.e. the tremendous fall in the price of English coal.

The position on the Gold Mines is more complicated, and, in order that it may be understood, it is necessary to explain that certain underground operations which involve possible danger to life may, under the Mining Regulations, be carried out only by skilled men *who must be white men*. This is what is referred to as the "colour bar" on the mines. There are, in addition, certain semi-skilled or border-line occupations which in some mines have been carried out by whites only and in other mines by natives, such as drill-sharpening, waster-packing, rough-timbering and other odd jobs. In regard to these latter occupations, what is known as the "Status Quo" agreement has existed between the Chamber of Mines and the Mine Workers' Union since 1918, the arrangement being that the then existing state of affairs on the various mines, namely the use of a definite proportion of natives to white men, should be maintained. Whilst, during 1919-1920 the price of gold rose from the normal 84/11d per ounce to 127/4d during the past few months, it has now dropped to 98/4d. This, together with the rise in the cost of production has, according to the Chamber of Mines, placed what are known as the "low-grade mines" nearly on the non-payable line, and, in consequence thereof, at the beginning of this year an ultimatum was issued to the miners giving one month's notice of the intention to abolish the "Status Quo" agreement. This would give the Chamber of Mines the opportunity to utilise the services of semi-skilled natives to do certain work then performed by whites and at less than twenty per cent of their wages, thus effecting a considerable economy in working-costs. The position of the workers was stated as follows by the president of the South African Industrial Federation:—"A progressive lowering of the standard of living has been forced on us ever since the outbreak of the Great War, and now, on the plea of saving the low-grade mines, which are low-grade by reason of the course followed by the owners, you are being asked to eliminate one-fifth of the white workers with more to follow, since the low-grade mines, as an excuse for attacks on Labour, are eternal!"

By a strike ballot of ten to one, the miners showed that they still stand in the vanguard of the organised workers in South Africa, and, on January 10th. about 22,000 workers had downed tools.

The entire handling of the strike by the Executive of the Industrial Federation was characterised by indecision and a stupid consideration for "public opinion". In the matter of so-called "essential services", the "officials" were allowed to work without molestation, thus the mine-pumps and electric power-stations were kept going. In spite of the fact that the remaining Unions in Johannesburg were in favour of an immediate sympathetic strike, no attempt was made to take advantage of it at that time. Every effort was, however, made to obtain Government intervention to bring pressure to bear on the employers to withdraw their ultimatum, but, beyond postponing the opening of Parliament and flooding the Reef with armed policemen, the Government "refused to intervene". It must also be mentioned that no effort was made by the Industrial Federation to bring the Native workers out on strike. This was suicidal in view of the fact that on the mines there are approximately ten native workers to every white worker. On some of the coal mines at Witbank, although the white miners were on strike, the natives, with the help of the mine officials, succeeded in producing almost as much coal as before the strike.

Whilst the masters met blow with blow, the Executive of the Federation went cap in hand seeking conferences. Thus, on January 11th, it handed the Chamber of Mines certain terms on which it was prepared to call off the strike. The Chamber replied refusing these terms, also stating that all strikers not at work the following Monday would be dismissed. Later, however, it agreed to a conference with the Industrial Federation, a conference "untrammeled by any conditions", which, of course, meant the non-withdrawal of the ultimatum. This conference took place and proved entirely abortive, except that it helped the mine-owners in their game of playing for time, as they well knew that every day brought the men nearer to starvation in addition to sapping their spirit of solidarity and their determination to win.

When it became apparent that decisive action could not be expected from the Executive of the Federation and that the strike would be prolonged until either the men accepted the owners' terms, or it collapsed, the politicians of the Nationalist and Labour parties, who had been keeping discreetly in the background, came forward to sing their well-known ditty—"Serves

you right for not voting for us". They cast their bread upon the troubous waters of the Strike, trusting that at the next General Election it will return to them buttered on both sides with Parliamentary victories. It was made easy for the Nationalist Party to support the miners, as the latter had adopted amongst many other slogans that of a "White South Africa", which must be interpreted, not as against the native, but against the attempt of the Chamber of Mines to eliminate a large section of the white workers and fill their places with natives at less than twenty per cent of their wages. But, this slogan was adroitly used by the Nationalist Party as a means of arousing the hostility of the Dutch against the Government of Smuts and Company, as eighty-five per cent of the mine-workers are Dutch and are strongly impregnated with Republican sentiments. Thus, the political manoeuvrings of the members of the Nationalist and Labour Parties, together with the activities of certain Trades Unionists, anxious to retrieve in the political field what they had lost in the industrial, soon culminated in a demand for a South African Republic. But, it is the business of politicians to arouse the hatred and passion of the masses against their political opponents and then to prevent it expressing itself in action which may go "too far". Thus, when the atmosphere along the Reef was electrical and alive with revolutionary possibilities, the Republican agitation was dropped, and the politicians who were mostly responsible for it departed South to fight the battles of the workers in the House of Parliament. There they were told by General Smuts, the Prime Minister, that the workers had best go back to work on the best terms they could get, when the Government would establish an "impartial" Board to investigate the dispute.

Whilst these Nationalist and Labour mountebanks were prancing behind the political footlights, the authorities were arresting the militant leaders of the strike movement. Amongst those arrested (many taken from the picket lines for molesting scabs, etc.) were Comrades Percy Fisher, Spendifff, McDermaid and Worthingham of the Mine Workers' Union, Comrade Shaw, a prominent member of the Communist Party, and Comrade W. H. Andrews, General Secretary of the Communist Party and editor of its weekly organ, "The International"—all arrested on charges of "incitement to violence" and later released on bail.

There is an ancient saying to the effect that out of Africa always something new emerges and the Rand Strike has proven this by the creation of "Commandoes" (military units) of the workers, the precursors, in South Africa, of the Red Guards. The flooding of the Reef with armed police, combined with the lessons of previous strikes in 1913 and 1914 when the workers were shot and bludgeoned back to work, created the necessity of organising the workers on military lines, appropriating the military formations and discipline hitherto monopolised by the exploiters. Each district had its own "Commando" which went through the necessary military training under officers elected by the strikers from among themselves. These "Commandoes" were useful in fostering the spirit of comradeship and solidarity and in enabling the leaders to keep the strikers together, thus reducing scabbing to a minimum.

Further proofs of the Government's intention "not to intervene" were forthcoming by the enlistment of special constables to augment the large armed forces already on the Reef, and by the Government declaring that it would protect all those who wished to return to work. This was immediately followed by statements in the Press that a large number of strikers had returned to work and that the mines would resume operations. But the solidarity of the men remained unbroken and the few who did return soon felt on their persons the legitimate anger of the strikers. So effective was this action in preventing scabbing that Parliament and the Press raised anew the old cry of "the right to work", and called for action against "terrorism" and sabotage.

The opening of the eighth week of the strike saw Parliament endorse the policy of the Government, which all over the country was known to be the policy of the Chamber of Mines; saw the Industrial Federation and the South African Labour Party considering scheme after scheme for ending the dead-lock in the hope of finding one which would be acceptable alike to the workers and the exploiters—a task impossible even for the crafty and subtle mind of Crawford, the Gompers of South Africa; saw increasing tension between the "Commandoes" and the police; saw the columns of the capitalist Press filled with details of "mysterious explosions" and of acts of violence and sabotage by the workers, all calculated to "put the wind up" the middle class and to arouse "public opinion", which is usually the preliminary to outbreaks of Governmental violence. This came, at first, in the form of a collision between strikers and the police, the latter opening fire upon unarmed men, killing three of them and wounding many others.

All throughout the strike the vacillating and compromising policy of the Industrial Federation had been in striking contrast to the implacable and uncompromising attitude of the Chamber of Mines, and a further example of this was seen when the Chamber, in response to an appeal to re-open negotiations, *not only refused to do so, but also stated that in future it would not recognise the Federation for any purpose whatsoever, as it no longer represented the bulk of the employees in the coal and gold mines. The Chamber would, however, recognise unions really representative of those industries provided that they accept the conditions laid down by the Chamber for such recognition.* This, together with persistent pressure from the rank and file, whose Commandoes gathered outside the Trades Hall, resulted in the Federation calling a General Strike throughout the Union. In Johannesburg, the call met with a great response, whilst in Pretoria, Bloemfontein and Durban large sections of the workers responded enthusiastically by downing tools and forming Commandoes. But the call was not endorsed by the Council of the National Union of Railway and Harbour Servants. Thus, while the railway service around the Reef was stopped by men going on strike, in the other parts of South Africa it was unaffected.

The provocative statement of the Chamber of Mines was a signal that the last phase had opened—that of civil war, culminating in the establishment of the White Terror. The declaration of the General Strike was followed by the shooting of a number of natives. Obviously, in view of the attitude of the strike leaders in calling upon the strikers not to molest the natives, this was done by the agents of the Chamber in order to arouse "public opinion" against the strikers and to arouse racial hatred between white and native workers. But, it was also used as an excuse for another Parliamentary debate, in which the Government was urged "to throw away the scabbard and use all the forces at its disposal to quell these lawless revolutionary bands—the Commandoes".

Following on this, twenty strike leaders were arrested, and the mobilisation of Defence Force units and "loyal" Boer Commandoes was commenced. General Smuts, the Prime Minister, then left for Johannesburg to assume charge of operations, covering the distance of 2000 miles in 27 hours by train.

On Friday March 10th, Martial Law was proclaimed and fighting commenced between the Commandoes and the Government forces all along the Reef, in the shadow of the Red Flag which proudly fluttered from the mast-head at the Johannesburg Town Hall. As this was prior to the commandeering of the burghers in the surrounding districts, the workers' Commandoes had taken possession by Saturday night of the whole of the Reef, with the exception of Boksburg and the centre of Johannesburg—this despite the fact that the strikers possessed, according to the "Cape Argus", less than 1000 rifles apart from shot-guns and revolvers, and a limited supply of a munition. This journal also stated that the workers' Commandoes employed Boer guerilla tactics, carrying out encircling movements. But, the encircling forces were very thin and terribly shorts of ammunition.

Apart from the unprecedented concentration of Burgher and Defence Force regiments, the Government employed heavy artillery, tanks and aeroplanes. Heavy artillery bombardments were directed against the strikers' defences whilst aeroplanes circled overhead, bombing incessantly and sending down bursts of machine-gun fire. The Trades Hall at Benoni, defended by a large number of strikers, who held out against the Government forces for a day, was blown up from the air by an aerial torpedo with tremendous loss of life. To justify these bombing operations, no doubt, the Press began to fill its columns with accounts of atrocities by the strikers—such as shooting of wounded, misuse of Red Cross flags, etc., and to term the strikers "hooligans", "bandits" and "desperadoes". In short, the "Hun" of war-time fame became the striker of 1922. Then Bolshevism became the bogey, and hints of disclosures of a "Great Red Plot" to overthrow the Government and establish a Soviet were dropped by General Smuts. On Sunday morning a great concentration of Government forces had taken place and the civil war proceeded with increased intensity. Another revolt of the wage-slaves was being suppressed, but their courage and determination will be written large in the history of South Africa in the hot alphabet of war.

This is not a history of the military operations, but I take the following account from "De Burger", a Nationalist organ, to convey an idea of the fighting:

"Sunday, 5.05 p.m.: The six aeroplanes which went back to Pretoria today to fetch more bombs, appeared again over the Town at the end of an hour and made a renewed attack on the great Vrededorp Commando, which had taken up a position in the hills to the left of Aukland Park. A big Police Force had concentrated at the bottom of the hills and

waited till the aeroplanes had bombed the hills for about an hour and a half with bombs and machine-guns. Then the aeroplanes disappeared, because a couple of big guns from the Parktown hill had begun to shell the position and made it dangerous for the aeroplanes to fly low. Under the protection of the big guns the Government troops began an attack on the ridges and a bloody fight developed. For more than an hour rifle fire clattered like a heavy hailstorm on galvanised iron, and the thunder of the big guns and machine-guns made the hellish roar complete. When it began, the red bombs burst on the ridges and all thought that it could not last for ten minutes. But the strikers defended their position with the utmost fury. For the whole of the hour rifle fire was like an unbroken, uninterrupted shower. Then the strikers began to fall back step by step before the force which was trying to surround them with a circuit of motor lorries. While they were running and retiring, bombs sometimes burst among them. The rifle fire became more intermittent, and when the strikers were over the ridge, the gunfire ceased. Repeated shots from rifles and machine-guns showed the direction in which the strikers were retiring, pursued by troops who then took possession of the ridges. The slaughter must have been great, though no official returns are to be had. It is said on good authority that more than a thousand strikers were captured in the retreat."

By Monday night, the Government forces had captured the Eastern and Western suburbs with the exception of Fordsburg, which was held by the Irish Commando under the leadership of Comrades Fisher and Spendiff (members of the Council of Action). The rounding up of strike-leaders, prominent men in the Trade Union movement, particularly Communist leaders, proceeded without interruption. The offices of the Communist Party were occupied by the military who ransacked the place and smashed the printing plant. The attack on Fordsburg, the last citadel of the "Reds", commenced on Tuesday morning, Johannesburg reverberating to the sound of artillery, machine-gun and rifle fire, with aeroplanes co-operating. After a heavy bombardment lasting 75 minutes, Fordsburg surrendered, and this brought the civil war practically to a close, although fighting took place in the outlying districts till Thursday evening. The two heroes of Fordsburg, Comrades Fisher and Spendiff, were first stated to have been killed by shrapnel fire and later on to have "committed suicide". This appears to be a new version of the old lie—"shot while trying to escape". The end of the fighting was followed by a house-to-house search for "suspects", which was accompanied by deeds of wanton destruction. At time of writing, over 10,000 prisoners await examination and "combing-out".

With the permission of the military authorities and in the shadow of Martial Law, the Strike Executive met and decided to take a ballot on the question of a resumption of work. The Press, commenting on this, stated—"There has been a conflict between the militant and moderate elements in the Executive, and the ballot resolution indicates that the moderates, under Mr. A. Crawford's influence, are now dominating the situation". The Press forgot to mention that those militants who had not already laid down their lives for the cause of organised Labour were in the concentration camps or jails of Capitalism. Fisher and Spendiff are dead, therefore Crawford reigns unchallenged!

The ballot was not taken, the various Unions calling the strike off, and the men returned to work on the terms of the Chamber of Mines. Not a single casualty list of the strikers has so far been published, and one cannot guess at the terrible toll of life that has again been laid on the altar of profit.

The Chamber of Mines has donated £20,000 towards the relief of distress upon the Rand. It may think its victory cheap at this price, but, in reality, it has not yet begun to pay. This struggle has brought increased emphasis to the Class War in South Africa and its lessons will teach the white workers that without the help of the native and coloured workers they can never be free. Out of the conflict will arise those organisations of white and native workers that will encompass the death of Capitalism. Then will the Chamber of Mines pay in full for the slaughter of Johannesburg workers in March 1922, whose courage and heroism have added yet another glorious page to the history of the proletariat.

Naturally, the Communist Party, the South African Section of the Communist International, not yet a year in existence, has suffered very heavily. True to its policy of leadership of the masses, the Communists, right from the commencement of the strike, were to be seen in the forefront of the battle. This example will make the Communist Party, in the near future, the Party of the mass of the South African Workers, which will again lead them in an assault on the battlements of Capitalism, ultimately with victory. Today, those members of our Party who were not killed in the fighting, are languishing in the jails of Capitalism awaiting trial, with prospects of death or long imprisonment sentences. The offices of the Party have been

wrecked together with the printing plant. The necessity for agitation to secure the release of all those stalwarts who in any way took part in the fight will be apparent to all. To this end funds are urgently required, and it is trusted that Comrades in other countries will respond to this call as speedily as possible. Donations should, in the meantime, be sent to C. F. Glass, P. O. Box 1176, Cape Town, Sout Africa. (Secretary, Cape Town Branch, Communist Party.)

The United Front in Czechoslovakia.

The National Conference of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia met in session in Prag-Karolinenthal during the Easter holidays. The problem of the united front was the *leitmotif* of all the various problems treated at this National Conference. A special session was devoted to the united front and its deliberations were condensed into the following theses:

1—The international labor movement is passing through a transition period which was characterized as follows by the Third Congress of the Communist International. The crisis in capitalist world economy is intensifying, unemployment is increasing and capital is systematically attacking wages and labor's standing of living. The immediate and most important tasks of the Communist Parties consist of shortening this period of capitalist decay by interesting the masses of non-organized workers in certain practical partial demands. This interest must little by little be transformed into a determination to struggle which must as rapidly as possible be intensified into a mass-attack on capitalist society. This perception was in August last coined into the short slogan: "*Approach the masses!*"

2—By granting both social and political reforms, the bourgeoisie succeeded immediately after the collapse in 1918 in diverting the masses from decisive action. This course separated the class-conscious workers from those sections of labor which were still of the opinion that the interests of its class could be realized by means of democracy. Having, however, consolidated the capitalist state, the bourgeoisie is endeavoring to rebuild its system at the expense of the working class and, having accomplished this, to deprive labor of all its economic and political gains. This common front of capital does away with all illusions as to peace among the classes, and creates the preliminary condition for a united front of the class struggle.

3—The slogan of a united front does not only mean a general appeal to the masses, but also an appeal to the reformist parties for the purpose of joint action for the immediate common aims of the entire proletariat. Such an appeal can, however, only be issued after it has been definitely ascertained that the indifferent masses and the workers organized in the reformist parties are willing to fight for everyday demands. For the first time since the war the masses are manifesting their desire to fight. This is of great and world-wide importance. And though the masses have for the time being no intention of fighting for ours, the Communist aims, but for their present everyday demands, they have at least understood that these demands cannot be attained without a struggle. Hence they—the masses—are not only prepared for, but even urgently demand the joint struggle of all labor parties against the capitalists. And though their faith in reformism is not yet utterly destroyed it has, nevertheless, been seriously shaken. Seeing that the proletarian class is bent upon fight, it goes without saying that it is the duty of the Communists to prove immediately that they are ready for joint struggle. This duty is all the greater, because the proletariat is everywhere in a situation of unparalleled difficulty and is, irrespective of what party it might belong to, entitled to the full support of the class-party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, which is all the more in duty bound to lead these struggles, because it knows full well that every demand for a greater piece of bread, no matter how modest, will become a revolutionary demand, because at present it cannot be agreed to by the capitalists; and furthermore, that every fight for a higher wage or, as often happens for the retention of the present wage, will develop into a rebellion against the present system of society. In consideration of these facts, it can be said that the slogan for a united front becomes a revolutionary mobilization order.

4—The reports of all delegations to the February Conference of the Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International were all agreed on the point that during the last months the worldwide economic crisis has gained in intensity and that this fact has more or less reacted upon and shaken the political consolidation of the bourgeoisie. The spontaneous strike of the German railwaymen who a year ago were looked

upon as reliable pillars of the German bourgeoisie, which broke out prior to the February Conference, provides an impressive illustration for the truth of these reports. This "wild" strike was supported by members of the notorious "Sipo" that Security Police Corps which in March 1921 proceeded in such a brutal manner against striking workers. At the same time the teachers in Czechoslovakia who a few short months ago were considered a mainstay of the bourgeoisie in that country gave unmistakable signs of their sympathy with the striking miners and the cause of labor. From the reports of all delegations it could be gathered that for the first time during the whole revolutionary period the subjective and the objective conditions are gradually but undoubtedly assuming a revolutionary form. Only in such a situation is it possible to give the appeal to the masses a concrete form—the slogan for a united front.

5—This slogan is of far-reaching importance in Czechoslovakia where the world-wide economic crisis is gradually assuming the marked forms of a crisis of overproduction. Six months ago the reformist parties promised labor that, if they only could again participate in a coalition government, they would overcome these difficulties. Now, however, when they are again participating in the Government, these parties declare that, having no political character, the economic demands of labor can only be forced through by the trade-unions. But the workers organized in the reformist parties have come to understand that every economic demand is also a political demand which cannot be attained without simultaneously and uncompromisingly fighting the capitalist class in its capacity as the ruling class. At the same time labor is gradually grasping the fact that in the trade-unions, too, the reformist leaders are not willing to combine the defensive struggles of the various trade-unions into one general strike. Labor sees that in the present economic situation isolated strikes are welcomed by the employers, because they are really mere voluntary lock-outs. Influenced by all these considerations, the Social-Democratic and nationalist workers are giving their Communist fellow-workers to understand in so many words that they expect our party to take the initiative in the common struggle against the capitalist class. Our party must not allow itself to underestimate the importance of those sections of labor so far organized in the reformist trade-unions, and though the Czech Social-Democratic workers are few in numbers, they belong to key industries which are of great importance in a social revolution (metal workers, railway-men, miners, etc.) To the same trades belongs a large part of the workers so far organized in the National Socialist party. Half of the organized German workers in this state belong to the German Social-Democratic Party, a fact which we must also pay due attention to. If the Communist Party takes the initiative for the proletarian united front, all these masses will be drawn up in one battle front and will during the struggle soon grasp the truth that it is impossible to attain even the most modest aims without first conquering political power by means of a revolution.

6—To explain this state of affairs to the masses of the proletariat, the manual and intellectual laborers, to prove to them that their power is great if only they are conscious of it, to make them see that it is the task of all proletarians in Czechoslovakia to form a united front against the bourgeoisie, to rouse, in short, the decisive majority of the proletariat to revolutionary class-consciousness—that constitutes the immediate task of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which, without in doing so abandoning its principles or methods, puts itself at the head of the action for the united front of the proletarians of all parties, as long as this front is really directed against capitalism and the bourgeoisie. All the energies of the party must be exerted in a propaganda for such a united front. All our papers and periodicals should be edited in the same spirit. Our slogan is: "*Down with the shameful coalition with the bourgeoisie and capital! Long live the joint struggle of all workers in the united and uniform proletarian battle front!*"

7—With regard to the way to be travelled to the united front, we declare the following:

The pure proletarian character of the Communist Party renders it necessary that we first of all appeal to the masses and exert all our energies in an attempt at building the united front upon the wish of the laborers in shop, mine and mill. We know, however, that the formation of the proletarian united front would progress more speedily, if it were not sabotaged by the officials of various parties and organizations. We are not even adverse to carrying on direct negotiations with the leaders of these organizations so long as such negotiations do not leave the platform of anti-capitalist struggle.

8—The Communist International has followed the suggestion that representatives of the three Internationals meet in joint conference and manifest their earnest determination to fight for the interests of labor. The Berlin Conference represents

the first step in this direction. The social-patriot parties of Czechoslovakia have, however, refused to abide by the decisions of the joint conference of the three Internationals. But the Communist Party will not be deterred by this first failure; it will continue to work for concerted action and will repeat its proposal at a suitable moment.

9—The united front does not mean a new organization of labor or an organizational superstructure, but merely the united struggle of all labor parties and organizations and the indifferent workers for the imperative demands of the day, as for instance, against wage reductions, lengthening of working hours, etc., etc. The only preliminary for the united front is the honest determination to defend labor's interests. If the other parties are animated by this spirit, the united front will be easily accomplished.

10—We know that a number of reformist leaders are not honestly enough determined to defend labor's interests and prefer to safeguard state and other interests instead; we know, however, just as well that such leaders have a large following of proletarians who are interested in protecting their own existence and are ready to fight with that end in view. Hence the united front has its most solid basis in the shops and on the fields, in labor itself. We must not allow ourselves to forget that the unity of the proletariat can only be achieved if the Communist Party is organizationally prepared and ready for action in a manner to enable it in the coming struggle for social demands to imbue the workers with enthusiasm for its leadership by its example. The members of the Party must therefore do everything in their power in the action for the creation of the united front; they should, however, consider the united front merely as a means for intensifying the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat.

A Pyrrhic Victory.

On the Last Congress of the Unione Syndicale Italiano.

by Nicola Vecchi.

** On the eve of the congress of the U.S.I. (Italian Syndicalist Union), on March 6th, the organ of the Anarchists, "L'Action Directe" wrote as follows:

"At its congress in Rome the U.S.I. must finally throw overboard all ambiguity; it must strengthen the foundations of its constitution towards the new followers of Moscow who are as one with the autocracy of the Soviets. Our antagonists should labor under no delusions with regard to the victory".

Truly—the Anarchists have come out of the battle as victors, though it is extremely difficult to ascertain the price they paid for this victory. They have at any rate surrendered in return for it the most elementary principles of political honesty. Our assertions regarding the congress have been proven true.

The leaders needed victory no matter what its cost. And in order to achieve this they abandoned honesty and generally stopped at nothing, no matter how low, which would further their ends. We should never have thought it possible that one could resort to such methods in order to force an alleged "victory".

At first it had been decided that the congress of the U.S.I. should take place in Milan from the 18th to 20th of February and that the more distant sections would be refunded the expenses incurred in sending representatives. When, accordingly, we prepared to participate in the congress, we were suddenly informed that the congress had been postponed and would meet in Rome instead of in Milan.

On what grounds had the Executive Committee decided upon this change?

It was intended to make it appear that this reconsideration of definitely adopted decisions had been arrived at as the result of the protests of a few unimportant organizations in Tuscany which exist more in name than in reality. That was only a pretext, however; the real motive were the wishes of the Anarchist clique in Rome, with its master Armando Borghi.

The congress was overcrowded with officials of all descriptions, who were always ready to support the leaders whose administration their organizations had tolerated for so many years without ever venturing to introduce some sort of control, apart from such "control" as can be exerted by a congress which meets every other year.

Owing to the fact that we live so very far away from Rome, we, Borghi's antagonists, could on the other hand send but a limited number of delegates, although under the rules which were by no means favorable for us, we were entitled to a larger number of representatives. Our spokesmen did, however, represent the only sound part of the organization, that section which exists not merely on the books in order to help form a

fictive majority, but is a real fact—fully four-fifths of the members of the U.S.I. were represented by our 20 delegates.

In consequence of the machinations prior to and at the congress, all our endeavors were in vain. Every delegate was entitled to one vote which resulted in the votes of the section Andrias with from three to four thousand members carrying more weight than the four votes of Bari and Ceriguola with more than 30,000 organized members behind them.

We protested vehemently and in no uncertain terms against this congress and its decisions and against the underhanded methods by means of which a minority compelled the majority to accept its decisions. In accordance with the statutes we demanded that a new congress be called within the next three months, at which the votes are to be assigned as prescribed by the statutes and on the basis of the membership of the various sections. If this justified demand is scorned by the U.S.I. leaders, the congress will be called by our section. We are convinced that a congress organized in accordance with the statutes and truly representing the various tendencies will decide in our favor by a great majority.

We now wish to deal here with another, not less characteristic aspect of the negotiations in Rome.

Even three weeks after these occurrences we can only think with contempt of the congress and the people who made of it a platform from which to utter base slander against revolutionary Russia and low denunciations against Communist comrades.

The cream of the Anarchists in Rome who attended the congress as guests, played together with the officialdom marshalled by Borghi, the role of representatives of non-existing organizations; these worthies tried to excel each other in defaming Soviet Russia.

Armando Borghi added insult to injury by elaborating his sharp if unjustified criticism on the Communists with base allegations. By what they achieved at the congress, Borghi and his puppets have advanced the cause of the Fascisti and the government.

During the Genoa conference the Fascisti found sufficient material for their campaign against Soviet in the Anarchist press. The ceaseless Anarchist press propaganda against Soviet Russia and Communism supplied the Fascisti with all the arguments they needed. The attitude of the Borghi crowd at the congress was but an episode in the whole infamous campaign. No wonder that the Fascisti enthusiastically applauded Borghi's anti-Russian mouthings and that they designated them as "the beginning recovery" of Italian Syndicalism. And all that at a time when we are daily threatened with death, when the noble "reconstructors" attack and demolish our organizations with unparalleled brutality.

We merely state these facts—without accusing our antagonists of acting against their better knowledge. On the day of battle we must forget all doctrinaire differences of opinion and only recall them on the day of victory. Today it is our duty to proclaim the glory of victorious Russia whom so many pygmies dared defame, while we—let that bear witness to our own ignominy—could do nothing to ease the great Russian people's Calvary, whither it travels in the cause of its liberation and reconstruction.

Hence we, the fraction of Revolutionary Syndicalists, countered the Borghi crowd's cry in Rome "Down with Soviet Russia!" with the deeply felt wish: "Long live Soviet Russia!" Hence we repeat today yesterday's declaration of our solidarity with the Communist Comrades. Between Mussolini and Lenin, Serrati and Lozovsky, Moscow and Amsterdam, the Russian and the Italian government, there can be but one choice—we side with Soviet Russia and all that belongs to it!

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Communist Party of Russia and the Tactics of the Communist International.

** The Communist Party of Russia at its 11th Party Congress on the 4th April adopted the following resolution:

"After hearing the report on the activities of the representatives of the Communist Party of Russia in the Communist International during the past year, the 11th Party Congress of the Communist Party of Russia approves of these activities and declares itself to be in perfect accord with the political course adopted by the Communist International."

The 11th Party Congress expresses its particular solidarity with the tactics of the united front as finally formulated at the

Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International. The Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International recognized the necessity for carrying out the tactics of the united front with due regard to the concrete conditions in each particular country.

In a country in which, as in Soviet Russia, the state power is in the hands of the working class led by a Communist Party, the carrying out of the tactics of the united front consists in the following:

The Communist Party must not in any event shut itself off from the outside but, for the purpose of conferring over the most important measures for the guidance and control of the state, must bring into consultation representatives from an ever wider circle of the non-party working masses. The Communist Party must ever be mindful of the fact that successful carrying out of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is only possible provided that support is received from the whole working class. The Communist Party must repeatedly remind each of its members that it is his foremost duty to bring all the toiling masses into the economic and political life of the country, independent of the fact whether this or that one belongs to the Communist Party or not. In the *capitalist countries* the *whole state apparatus* (Parliament, Press, School, etc.) is used by the possessing class, frequently with the support of the Social Democrats, to deceive and oppress the masses. In a Soviet Country the Communist Party has to do everything in order to employ the *whole state apparatus for the most far-reaching enlightenment of the working masses*, the education of all workers without distinction in the spirit of Socialism.

In particular the *most important task of the Communist Party in a Soviet country is the education of the whole youth of the Working Class in this spirit, without exception.*

The carrying out of the tactics of the united front in a Soviet country requires of the Communist Party the ability to meet at the right moment the justifiable demands of the non-party masses, to grant them necessary concessions, to consider together with them every measure of state and economic reconstruction and gradually to raise them to a higher and higher level, without for a moment being isolated from them.

The tactics of the united front are being taken into consideration in view of the conditions of Soviet Russia, in all the resolutions of the 11th Party Congress of the Communist Party of Russia.

With regards to the groups and parties in Russia belonging to the 2 or 2½ Internationals (Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, etc.) the 11th Party Congress of the Communist Party of Russia declares as follows:

The idea and purpose of the policy of the united front consists in bringing ever-growing masses of workers into the struggle against capital, not even hesitating at making repeated appeals to the leaders of the 2 and 2½ Internationals, to lead such an united struggle.

In the event of the majority of the workers having created its class representation: that is to say, its Soviet representation, but not a "common national representation", i.e. one in common with the bourgeoisie, and overthrown the political domination of the bourgeoisie, then the tactics of the united front cannot possibly consist in appealing to parties such as the Mensheviks (Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia) and the Social Revolutionaries (Party of the Social Revolutionaries) as these have proved themselves to be enemies of the Soviet Government. The extension of influence over the working masses has to be brought about under the Soviet Government not by appeals to Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries, but by the methods mentioned above.

The 11th Party Congress of the Communist Party of Russia is firmly convinced that in no circumstances will the leaders of the 2 and 2½ Internationals, who have undertaken the defence of the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries succeed in frustrating the formation of an united front amongst the workers of those countries in which the continued rule of the bourgeoisie compels the workers to unite against capital.

The Convention of the Communist Party of Austria.

by W. Koenen.

The Communist Party of Austria which is developing under the greatest difficulties, held its Fifth Party Convention in Vienna from the 25th to 27th of March. The attendance of delegates was surprisingly good which, together with the detailed report of the Central Committee was evidence that the Communists had obtained a firm footing in all the cities and industrial districts of Austria. The delegates from Vienna as well as from the Provinces were throughout good proletarian

functionaries from the factories. Equally noteworthy was the acknowledgedly high level sustained in the debates during the Convention. Singularly enough, the dispute regarding the new Organization Statutes of the Party occupied the central position on the agenda. But it was in no way a petty quarrel over organization that raged over these statutes. The quite vigorous but businesslike discussions revealed rather the earnest will to make up what the Austrian Communists have up to now not sufficiently regarded: the building of a well-constituted, firmly knit organic foundation for the political party work.

Tens of thousands, certainly more than a hundred thousand revolutionary proletarians have in the stormy political times of recent years, under the pressure of social needs, political enthusiasm or enthusiasm for Soviet Russia attached themselves to the Communist Party of Austria. But the Party did not know how to retain this mass of workers stirred up by need or enthusiasm within the network of its organization, in order to convert them into conscious Communists within the Party. The present exact registration shows the party as possessing 15,000 paying members. The great part of these (over 8,000) are registered in Vienna.

After the Unity Congress of the Party of last year which brought into the party some officials experienced in political work and organization, the party began, at first hesitatingly and tentatively but later on more boldly and energetically to create a real political organization, a central Communist Party which is prepared to rally the masses and to lead them. At the present Party Congress it was reported that the work of organization has been to a certain extent completed and that only political recognition has to be given it by the minutely detailed new statutes.

And in fact the almost completed work of organization was expressly only politically submitted to the Congress to decide upon. Do you want a centralised ready-for-action organization which is based upon localities as well as upon factories? Do you want the political permeation of the whole city by means of an information service, group work, illegal propaganda work? Do you want a Communist Party which will use all means to capture power, or do you only want at the *head* mere discussion clubs and *below* disconnected factory groups as has been the case in the past? Either a strict centralization upon a democratic basis or federalistic democracy, either party discipline or liberty of opinion, either a real section of the Third International or intellectual and financial independence, these were the questions sharply defined. After a thorough and lively discussion, the liquidators—Strasser and his followers—speculating upon federalism, democracy, liberty of opinion and independence met with a crushing defeat. Only one out of sixty delegates voted for their principles. Some workers opposed certain clauses of the statutes on the ground of various "left wing" confusions; they nevertheless grasped the political point in question. In spite of certain differences they all voted unanimously for the principles involved in the theses which the Central Committee clearly and ably submitted through Comrade Frey and in the minor practical collateral questions the majority also agreed to the clear centralistic formulation.

By this the K.A.G. (Levi) tendencies were completely defeated. The unfortunately all too short discussions upon the political and tactical questions revealed no differences whatever. After survey and consideration of the world situation and the Austrian policy the tactical policies with regard to increase of prices, taxes, the united front and trade union work were laid down in detailed resolutions in the sense of the decisions of the Third Congress. In these political discussions, short as they were, it was plainly to be seen that not only the leading comrades but also the functionaries of the Communist Party of Austria in general have learned much from the deliberations of the Third Congress and that they understand more and more how to put this experience to practical use. The result of the new elections to the Central Committee give some guarantees that the leadership of the Party corresponding to its smallness will be cautious but energetic and decisive and adopted to the critical situation of Austria. It is more united than it has been in the past and will have a greater capacity for work.

If the Party had up to now a relatively great influence in the ranks of the socially very badly situated members of the Reichwehr it has now almost the sole leadership of the continually increasing masses of unemployed, the victims of the policy of the Social Democrats. It is true that the party is fighting against an almost overwhelming Social Democratic Party which up to now has been free from any splits and in spite of its supine policy still controls the masses of the workers; it is true that the Party has to face the astute, most experienced and trained of all the opportunist Social Democratic leaders, but the last year's work of the Communists of Austria and their

last Party Convention are proof to us that now after slow beginnings the development and growth of the Communist Party will proceed with steady and increasing rapidity. The objective conditions are also more favorable than ever.

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

Circular

On the Participation of Women in the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

***To all Revolutionary Trade Unions and Adherents of the Red Trade Union International!*

The question of women's work once again occupies the foreground of interest for the proletarian class struggle. The badly paid women workers are used by the bourgeoisie as competitors of the more highly remunerated men in the struggle for the suppression of the whole working class. This competition appears particularly acute where the employers have taken up the general offensive in order to surmount the crisis in which the capitalist system and the whole social order is involved as a consequence of the war, at the expense of the working class.

During the war women were employed in large masses in the industries. The number of women workers in Europe and America increased by millions. Immediately following the conclusion of the war there took place wholesale dismissals of the women from the workshops in order to make room for the demobilised men.

The trade-union organisations affiliated to the Amsterdam Trade Union Federation, who, during the war allied themselves with their national bourgeoisie, have done nothing to secure the simplest human rights for women. They have done nothing to oppose the lower payment of women's labor. They have done nothing against the setting aside and limitation of those measures which were introduced before the war for the protection of women's labor. During and after the war they have done nothing for maternity and child welfare. They have done nothing against the abrogation of the eight-hour day and the reintroduction of night-work. As during the war they did nothing to oppose the frenzied wastage of women labor in the murderous war industries, the reformist trade-unions are now just as little prepared to do anything effective for the protection of women's labor. The Amsterdam trade-unions every where support the lower payment of women's labor and join in mutual conferences with the employers to arrange for the dismissal of those same women workers whom during the war they, in common with the employers, drove into the workshops under the lash of starvation. Yet the reformist trade-unions are now endeavoring to bring the working women under their influence and to use them against the revolutionizing of the trade-unions.

The Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International considers it necessary to remind all its affiliated Organisations of the following decision of the First International Congress of Revolutionary Trade Unions on the question of the participation of women in the trade-union movement:

"The adherents of the Red Trade Union International must turn their most earnest attention to the drawing of working women into the revolutionary trade union movement. There must be no separate women's trade union organizations. The proletariat, as a unit, as a class, must shape its organizations not according to the sex of the worker, but according to industry."

The Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International calls upon our comrades to work for the carrying out of this decision. An active campaign must be entered into:

1. Against the formation of special women's unions.
2. For the admission of women into those trade-unions where up to now their entrance has not been permitted.
3. Equal pay for equal work.
4. Against the reduction of protection for women's labor.
5. For the extension of measures in regard to maternity and child welfare.

For the realization of these demands we must work among working women to induce them to take part in the revolutionary trade-union movement alongside of their men comrades. Women must take part in the group work in the workshops, in the Shop Councils in the Workers' Protection Committees, in the Propaganda Committees as well as in the work of the revolutionary trade-union movement.

Only to the extent to which we are successful in getting the masses of women proletarians to take part in the systematic

struggle against capital and its lackeys, and to bring them into the ranks of the great proletarian united front against the bourgeoisie, will our fight for the capture and revolutionizing of the trade unions be successful. Only thus will the split between the men and women victims of the exploitation of the capitalist system be avoided and the whole working class form a revolutionary power capable of putting an end to the exploitation of the male wage-earners and in particular of the women wage slaves.

The revolutionary trade-unions and the supporters of the Red Trade Union International must devote more of their attention to activity among the women than hitherto. It is time to begin prepared and systematic organization and propaganda work among the broad masses of proletarian women and to select certain comrades who are to be charged with the task of bringing in the working women into active participation in the organised revolutionary struggle.

The task consists in converting them into active fighters for the Social Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Only that union is worthy of membership in the Red Trade Union International which frees itself from the old prejudices regarding the women's question, takes up the struggle for the protection of women's labor and sets itself the aim of increasing the army of the Social Revolution by the addition of new and indefatigable fighters from the ranks of the exploited and oppressed working women."

The Executive Bureau of the Red Trade Union International.

General Secretary, A. Lozovsky.

Moscow, April 5th, 1922.

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The International Women's Day in Germany.

** The week from March 8th to 15th was International Women's Day throughout Germany. Wherever proletarians live or small groups of our Party are in existence, our comrades were busily working. The determination of the entire proletarian to enroll the women, the poorest and most oppressed section of the working class, in the class struggle front, found everywhere expression. It is true that this work was not everywhere accomplished with the same energy. Some smaller organizations accomplished more than larger groups of the Party. The former had not yet fully understood the vital importance of the propaganda among the women.

Women's Day began with women's conferences in the various districts of the country. A special issue of "The Communist Woman" in which numerous illustrations and articles described the life and the sufferings of the laboring women, served as agitation material. Moreover a leaflet addressed "To the Women and Girls of the Laboring People" invited the toiling women to visit our large mass meetings on Women's Day. Our leaflet was heartily welcomed everywhere; in one place it even caused trouble to a too eager Police President who confiscated it because it "endangered public order". The agenda of the meetings in the various districts was different. In these meetings we did not preach abstract theories to proletarian women, but in accordance with the definite instructions of the Central Committee the speakers dealt with the daily life of the women toilers, with the increase of prices and taxes, the persecution of proletarian women on account of Paragraphs 218 and 219 of the Criminal Law (prohibition of abortion).

As to the press, not only the women's organs dealt with the International Women's Day, but the entire Party Press devoted part of its space to the women's propaganda during the week preceding the Day. With the exception of a few papers which somewhat neglected the women's problems, we can state that the Party Press fully complied with this task.

The "Communist Trade Unionist" and the "Commune" and published introduction articles on Women's Day. During the entire week of March 8th to 15th the Press in the provinces published a series of articles dealing with the slogans of Women's Day. The question of the protection of mother and child, the disgraceful Paragraphs 218 and 219, the situation of the rural working women and other subjects of interests for the proletarian women, were treated in the entire Press. The demands of the women were emphasized in the newspapers in headlines: "State,

where are the mothers' homes for the women, whom you force to enter childbirth by means of Paragraphs 218 and 219?"; "Proletarian women, if you want to know where are the potatoes, ask the producers of brandy!" Many similar short phrases gave a lucid picture of the situation of the working women in the capitalist society.

Our women's meetings which took place through Germany during the week preceding the Women's Day, proved that many proletarian women are attracted by the Communist Party. In many places our meetings were visited by women who never before had attended a political meeting, but were now convinced by the words of our speakers that it is their duty to join the struggle of their class. In other towns the manifestations resulted in mass processions, as was the case in Wiesbaden and Gotha where thousands of men and women gathered in the public square. In other places the laboring women marched in procession to their meeting places, carrying red flags. In Hamburg, Königsberg, Leipzig, Frankfurt and in Berlin the meetings of the International Women's Day were large, united manifestations of proletarian men and women.

A vigorous propaganda was also carried on in the shops during the preceding week. Not only were our leaflet and the special number of the "Communist Women" distributed, but in some shops, where an especially large number of women were employed, shop meetings were held. However, in many industrial places we have not yet succeeded in penetrating the shops where many women were employed and exploited. In many districts with an extended home industry, as for instance the Erzgebirge-Vogtland, our speakers addressed thousands of women, working in the home industry and suffering from hunger and misery. These women had been mobilized by the systematic agitation of our district organization.

The final success of Women's Day can not yet be ascertained in detail. Yet everywhere we already notice a more lively participation of the women in the work of the Party. Women's classes and women's agitation evenings are either being established or reorganized. A more lively movement among the women against the disgrace of Paragraphs 218 and 219 on the prohibition of abortion began after the International Women's Day. And the comrades of the Party have also been favorably affected by the Day. They begin fully to appreciate the work among the women and are starting to conquer one of the strongest bulwarks of reaction—the hearts and minds of the female proletariat.

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