velopment of the revolutionary struggle over the whole world. But the Communist International is proud that you, Clara Zetkin, were amongst its founders. The Communist International is fortunate to see you amongst its leaders to-day. The Communist International and its German section are proud that such old and tried fighters of the proletarian cause, such tried and trusted Marxists as you are fighting in their front ranks to-day. The Russian revolution and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are proud to have such a self-sacrificing friend, comrade and pioneer to defend the cause of the Party, of the revolution, of Leninism against all attacks, with all the power of your burning zeal, your great heart and your revolutionary passion.

On your seventieth birthday Clara Zetkin, we express the conviction that in the near future, the proletariat of Germany and other countries which have seen such leaders as Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Mehring and you Clara Zetkin, will rally in its overwhelming majority around the banner of Communism-Leninism under which Liebknecht, Mehring, Luxemburg, Kriel and Jogiches fought and under which you are still fighting to-day. Your whole life has been devoted to the struggle for the international revolution, for the German and for the Russian revolution, to the struggle of all the oppressed for the emancipation of the whole of humanity. Upon your seventieth birthday the Communist International expresses its firm conviction that you will be fortunate enough to experience further fruits of your fifty years work and struggle.

Long live Clara Zetkin, the old fighter for revolutionary Marxism and the international working class movement!

Long live Clara Zetkin the oldest leader of the Communist International and the Communist Party of Germany!

Long live the coming revolution in Germany!

Long live the proletarian world revolution!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Balkan Communist Federation appeals both to the Balkan and the international proletariat and to all anti-imperialist organisations, groups and elements to lend urgent and full support to the Greek tobacco workers, locked-out and on strike, as well as to the whole of the Greek proletariat.

Moral, political and material support is extremely necessary.

The hangmen of the Greek proletariat and the imperialist agents must be clearly stigmatised in the eyes of the whole world, and the struggling Greek proletariat must have immediate substantial proof that it is not alone in its fight, but that the whole solidarity, sympathy and help of the Balkan and international proletariat is behind it.

June 1927.

The Communist Balkan Federation.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The V. Congress of the Communist Party of China.

By M. N. R o y.

Hankow, May 13th 1927.

The last Congress of the Chinese Communist Party took place two years and four months ago. The Party was then illegal and had only 950 members. The V. Congress represented a membership of over 50,000. This phenomenal numerical growth of the party does not adequately represent the growth of the communist movement. The Communist Party, based upon mass proletarian and peasant organisations of the entire country, is the foremost factor in the present political situation.

The growth of the Chinese Party is unparalleled in the history of the Communist International. The Party has grown in the last two years into a gigantic revolutionary struggle. It embodies the organised expression of the struggle of the toiling masses against imperialist domination and its native allies. It is the party of the proletariat steeled in actual fight, including a number of armed insurrections. It is the leader of the peasant masses in their revolt against feudal bondage and patriarchal reason.

Two months before the V. Congress the Communist Party was asked by the Kuomintang to accept office in the national government. This was a recognition of the predominating position of the Communist Party — of the hegemony of the proletariat. Hitherto the proletariat fought and sacrificed for the revolution. Now the time has come for the proletariat to play the role of the vanguard in the organs of power and responsibility. Acting upon the resolution of the Communist International, the Communist Party accepted the ministries of Labour and of Agriculture and Internal affairs. In this stage of the revolution the importance of the two ministries is supreme. The Communist Party has become not only the nucleus of a clear outlook and a determined leadership. It has come in possession of state apparatus which can be the instruments for further development of the revolution.

Class differentiation inside the Kuomintang has rendered its relation with the Communist Party closer than ever. The detection of the big bourgeoisie reduced the contradiction inside the Kuomintang ranks and has transformed it into a revolutionary bloc of the town petty bourgeoisie, peasantry and proletariat with certain strata of the national bourgeoisie marching with it. The proletariat being the backbone and driving force of this bloc, the relation between the Communist Party and Kuomintang has greatly improved. This improvement assumed organisational expression in the creation of joint committees.

The V. Congress of the Communist Party of China had a number of fundamental problems to solve. The solution of these problems is not very easy. In the first place, nationalistic China was menaced with imperialist intervention, a cordon of counter-revolution was formed under imperialist inspiration and with imperialist aid, to choke the revolution; and consequently the nationalistic ranks, even to some extent the urban masses, were somewhat panic-stricken. The entire revolution stood in need of a clear outlook and a determined leadership. The revolution had to be guarded against pessimism and defeatism. It needed a perspective to be able to

**THE BALKANS**

Help the Struggling Greek Workers!

Proclamation of the Balkan Communist Federation.

In conjunction with the lock-out of the tobacco workers in Greece, a fresh wave of persecutions has commenced in that country.

Forty thousand workers were threatened with this lock-out and within a few days a mass-strike ensued. The government employed against the workers every measure of violence within its power. For the last two weeks a reign of military terror has been raging in Macedonia and Thrace. The workers, for their part, organized tremendous demonstrations. As a consequence there was often a bloodshed between the workers, on the one side, and, on the other, the police and military forces, including cavalry, 60 to 70 workers were wounded, 100 were deported to the Islands and 265 were arrested, among the latter being three Communist members of parliament, who, in spite of their right of immunity, were charged with criminal offence because they had given support to strikers and demonstrating workers. Greece is experiencing a period of very severe and widespread persecution of Communism and the Labour Movement.

The persecution of the Greek workers is being extended to the whole of the Labour Movement of Greece.

It is evident that this barbarous campaign of persecution and the uncured agitation against the Communists is intimately connected with imperialistic, military and reactionary plans in general in Greece.

The crushing of the proletariat, its organisations and its vanguard (the Communist Party) is a preliminary to the definite enslavement of Greece under the anti-Soviet bloc and to the exploitation of Greek territory and the forces of the Greek nation for the preparation of war.

A still clearer proof of this is the fact that in the moment of the wildest attack upon the Greek proletariat, the government moves nearer and nearer to the royalist officers and tolerates freely and even actively promotes the growth of the monarchist movement, involving though it does, the danger of a coup d'etat.
meet courageously and surmount successfully immediate difficulties, however, grave. The historical role of the V. Congress of the C.P. was to put this clear perspective before the revolution and to contribute to the crystallisation of a determined, courageous leadership indispensable in the period of revolution. The Congress has discharged this role, and by doing it has demonstrated that the proletariat is the backbone of the revolution. Admitting to the fact that it is still based upon a coalition of classes, the revolution cannot be exclusively under proletarian leadership; but the proletariat is the only force that can and will guarantee the leadership against the danger of vacillation and deviation. The proletariat is not leading the revolution. It exercises hegemony in the revolutionary struggle.

The main task of the V. Congress of the Communist Party of China was to make a correct estimation of the situation. Upon the possibility of the class struggle, the Congress rejected the theory that the betrayal of the big bourgeoisie and the capitulation of imperialist intervention constitute a check to the development of the revolution. On the contrary, these facts indicate that the revolution has entered the stage in which it bases itself upon the exploited classes whose interests, political and economic, do not admit any compromise with imperialism and reaction. The proletariat and peasantry must determine itself to fight imperialism and its native allies. In this case the fight of the entire energy of the toiling masses will be mobilised, thus deepening the social base of the revolution, promoting further development and guaranteeing its victory.

The Congress has pointed out how to resist imperialist aggression and to defend the revolution against the counter-revolutionary block reinforced by the big bourgeoisie. To lead the revolution along the line indicated by the Congress, firm determination and unflinching faith in the power of the masses are necessary. Since all the reactionary classes have turned against the revolution, the task of the revolution, in this stage of development, is to strike resolutely at the root of reaction wherever possible, particularly in the territories of the nationalist government. Therefore the V. Congress of the Communist party of China has declared that essentially the national revolution must become an agrarian revolution. Imperialist domination in China is supported by a majority of the local forces of reaction. The social base of imperialism and reaction is the feudal character of Chinese national economy and political power. The Congress has resolved to lead the peasantry in a decisive struggle against feudalism. The slogan is: Land to the peasant; the peasant should have the political and material interests to continue in his fight to the big landowners. In taking this revolutionary decision the Congress has proved that the proletariat alone is able to lead the peasantry to make an agrarian revolution which is not only the basic condition for a successful fight against imperialism, but for free economic development of the country.

Peasant revolt is the most characteristic feature of the revolution in its present stage. In the provinces occupied by the nationalist army there exists a tremendous peasant movement. In several provinces peasant unions have become the predominating organised power. Peasants are arming themselves and disarming the forces of reaction. They are confiscating landlords' lands. This situation was reflected in the Congress of the Communist Party. The peasant masses are up in revolt. The proletariat must assume the leadership of this revolt. This was the consideration that governed the deliberation of the Congress.

The third important decision of the Congress was as regards the character of the state created by the revolution. The Congress pointed out that the development of the proletariat, the revolution is bound to establish a democratic dictatorship of the proletariat, peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. The present nationalistic revolutionary government contains in it the germ of this democratic dictatorship. The participation of the communists in this government — in all its organs — will only be the development of the democratic dictatorship. The Congress did not overlook the existence of timid and vacillating elements among the petty bourgeoisie, and proved the necessity of combating these elements as essential conditions for the consolidation of the revolutionary bloc of the proletariat, peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie. Leading members of the Kuomintang participated in the opening session of the Congress. This determination to strengthen the bloc with the Communist Party, Comrade Wang Ching-Wei was present when the representative of the Communist International reported on the perspective and character of the Chinese revolution. He expressed his complete accord with the report and declared that the petty bourgeoisie must march with the proletariat towards Socialism.

The historic significance of the V. Congress of the Communist Party of China lies in the fact that it has pointed out to the proletariat and its allies how to develop the revolution further as a mighty agency for the destruction of capitalism. The development of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of the bourgeoisie would create conditions in China favourable to capitalist stabilisation of the entire world. This, in turn, would spell defeat for the Chinese revolution.

The V. Congress of the Communist Party of China has proved that the Chinese revolution will and can be led further only under the hegemony of the proletariat, precluding capitalist development of China under the supremacy of imperialist finance. Thus the Congress is not only of national, but international significance — a landmark in the history of the fight for Socialism.

The Results of the National Conference of the C. P. of France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The National Conference of the Communist Party of France, which took place at the end of June, was held under the shadow of the campaign of suppression on the part of the French government. A number of those attending the Conference, among others the reporter of the international question, Comrade Bernard, had been sought for by the police; others, as Comrade Semard, are again to be placed behind prison bars.

Wide circles of the French working class, even including certain elements in our own Party, do not yet know how to estimate correctly the offensive of the Poincaré government. Even if the proceedings of the French government of "National Unity" against the revolutionary portion of the working class and its organisations are intended to prepare the ground for the elections next year, it must nevertheless be recognised that the offensive against the working masses has a far wider objective, viz., to deprive their class organisations of their leaders and convert them to the interest of the class workers. By this means the bourgeoisie hopes to achieve three things: 1. the carrying out of industrial rationalisation, 2. to enforce the new military laws, 3. to prepare for war on the Soviet Union.

The National Conference of the C. P. of France was thoroughly alive to the war danger. Both the opening speech of Cactin and the report of Comrades Semard and Mommessau, as well as the report of Comrade Bernard and the speech by Rénau Jeane, in which he clearly and concretely analysed the coming military laws, which are being rendered even worse, if possible, by the counter-proposals of the socialists, clearly illumining the present situation and characterised all optimism as dangerous.

The National Conference was therefore perfectly unanimous that an energetic campaign must be conducted against the danger of war. It was in this spirit that it adopted its decisions: mobilising of the working and peasant masses for the defence of the Chinese revolution; approval of the line of the Communist Party towards the Komsomol; the emphatic condemnation of the Opposition in the C. P. S. U. as its fractional activity can only damage the unity of the Bolshevist Party, which unity, however, is the precondition for the fight of the Soviets against encirclement and against the attacks of the capitalist powers; organising of the working class defense against the attacks of the capitalists against the new customs tariffs and against the further growth of militarism. In all these resolutions the main attention was directed to extending to the Russian Revolution the necessary help.