

- INTERNATIONAL -

PRESS

CORRESPONDENCE

Vol. 9. No. 13

8th March 1929

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

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To the Proletarians of All Countries!

To the Oppressed and Exploited All Over the World!

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Moscow, 3rd March 1929.

On the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist International, the Executive Committee of this organisation publishes the following appeal to the workers of all countries and to the oppressed and exploited all over the world:

Ten years ago the Communist International was born in the fire of the revolutionary struggle. As a consequence of the imperialist war, Europe had been turned into a heap of smoking ruins. Millions of men had been killed and wounded and the soldiers who had gone through the horrors and destruction of war, returned home exhausted by hunger, cold and disease, and in many cases mutilated. The eyes of the workers and the exploited masses all over the world were directed to

the country of the proletarian dictatorship which had been born in the storm of the October Revolution.

The workers of Russia were the first to show by example how the workers should fight against imperialist war. The great October Revolution made a breach in the front of world imperialism and turned the imperialist war into a civil war in Russia, overthrew the power of capitalism and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat in its stead. Under the direct influence of the October Revolution the revolutionary movement poured in a broad wave over the whole world. In Europe, Asia, America and Africa oppressed classes and races revolted against their oppressors, the men responsible for the imperialist world slaughter.

The tragedy of the world proletariat at that time was that outside the frontiers of Soviet Russia there were no organised and experienced Communist Parties. The young communist organisations which did exist, had to contend with strong Social Democratic Parties which were allied with the bourgeoisie. In the moment of revolutionary crises, these Social Democratic Parties hurried to the aid of dying capitalism and placed themselves at the disposal of the bourgeoisie in order to crush the revolutionary workers by force of arms.

The Communist International was created in order to organise and lead the workers and the oppressed masses in the struggle against capitalism, to smash the Social Democracy and to lead the workers of the world to victory under the banner of the World October. Based upon the lessons of Marx and Lenin, the Communist International became the historical successor of the First International founded by Marx, and as such it inherited the best traditions of the Second International in the pre-war period. The First International gave an ideological basis to the international proletarian struggle for Socialism. In its best period the Second International provided a basis for the extension of the working class movement and the organisation of the masses. The Third International, which continued the work of the First International and took over the best traditions of the Second International whilst rejecting the opportunism of the latter with all possible energy, commenced its task of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Ten years have passed since the Communist International was founded. Those ten years have been years of an unparalleled and heroic struggle on the part of the proletariat against capitalism. In those ten years the furious hatred of the exploiters and oppressors all over the world was directed against the Communist International. In their struggle against the Communist International the imperialists and their social democratic allies used, and still use, the most brutal and unscrupulous measures. There is nothing that the bourgeoisie has not tried in its struggle against the proletarian revolutionary movement and against the Communist International. Fascist terror, white terror, coalitions with the social democrats against the working class, hymns of praise in favour of the glory and power of capitalism, hateful slanders against the Soviet Union and against the Communist Parties, forgeries and provocations, all these measures have been used and are still being used by the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the revolutionary movement.

All the efforts of the bourgeoisie, however, have proved unsuccessful. The Communist International continues to grow despite all difficulties and to win more and more the sympathies of the exploited and oppressed toilers all over the world.

The past ten years have exposed and destroyed the illusions concerning the stability of capitalism. In the years of the first imperialist war, the imperialists and their social democratic allies told the whole world that the war was a war to end war and that its conclusion would bring about a purification of capitalism, an era of permanent peace and the fraternisation of the peoples. In reality, however, the war to end war presented us with the old contradictions more intensified than ever. **The antagonisms between the imperialist countries are growing.** The conditions for a new imperialist war are accumulating, particularly in connection with the struggle between Great Britain and the United States for world hegemony. Armaments are greater than ever, and behind the scenes the diplomats are organising new political-military agreements. The revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is growing. Unemployment is extending and the class struggle in the capitalist countries is intensifying. The Soviet Union is growing and strengthening and threatening the basis of world imperialism. Neither the League of Nations nor the lying pacifist propaganda of the Social Democracy, neither the capitalist rationalisation nor the attempts of the reformists to establish industrial peace, will be able to abolish the growing crisis of capitalism. **Capitalism is approaching a new world war which must end in a catastrophe for capitalism.** The first world war ended with the break-down of the imperialist front and the establishment of the first proletarian dictatorship. A second imperialist world war and an intervention against the Soviet Union will give the system of world imperialism the last and final blow.

In its struggle against the growing revolutionary crisis, the bourgeoisie has found a loyal ally in the social democracy. The last ten years have confirmed beyond all doubt the fact that the social democracy has finally broken with Marxism and

developed into a bourgeois labour party which is appointed to maintain and consolidate the capitalist system. In the field of foreign politics the social democracy operates with pacifist phrases, but in reality it is actively assisting in the preparation of new imperialist wars and the organisation of a crusade against the first workers state. At home the social democracy assists capitalism in carrying out its rationalisation and placing bonds upon the working class. Because of this we are able to observe the progressive process in which the working masses leave the social democracy and, because of an ever increasing process of radicalisation amongst the masses of the workers, and their swing towards the Communist International. The Communist International is the only representative of Marxism and the only power which is capable of leading the proletariat in its struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Communist International was born in the struggle against the reformist social democracy. The Communist Parties in the capitalist countries grew and strengthened in the struggle against the social democracy. In the fire of this struggle the Communist Parties have become the mass parties of the revolutionary proletariat, united in one Communist World Party.

The Communist International did not only grow and become strong in the struggle against the social democracy, but it grew and developed also in the struggle against vacillations and confusion in its own ranks, in the struggle against right-wing deviations, i. e. deviations towards open opportunism, and against left-wing deviations, i. e. towards opportunism under a cloak of revolutionary phrases. The history of the internal development of the Communist International during the last ten years, is the history of the liquidation of deviation and of conciliation towards them in its own ranks. The last ten years have shown that the systematic struggle against these deviations and, above all, against the right-wing deviation is the chief danger of the present period, is the indispensable method of Bolshevising the Communist Parties. Without this Bolshevisation the parties would be unable to rid themselves of the remnants of social democratic traditions, unable to educate their members in the spirit of Bolshevism and unable to produce real Bolshevik party leaders capable of preparing the masses for the coming revolutionary struggles and leading them in the fight for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist International is celebrating its tenth anniversary at a moment when the antagonisms of capitalism all over the world are intensifying and the conditions for a new revolutionary period accumulating. In the capitalist countries the working masses are going over from the defence to the attack. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries a new wave of the revolutionary struggle is rising. In the Soviet Union the working class, supported by the village poor and in alliance with the broad masses of the toiling peasants, is building up Socialism in a struggle against world capitalism and against the capitalist elements in the Soviet Union itself. **The forces of the world revolution are growing.** The Communist International appeals to the workers of all countries and to the oppressed and exploited toilers all over the world to rally around the banner in a struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for world Communism.

Working men and working women of all capitalist countries! Capitalist rationalisation robs you of your strength, exploits your muscles and your nerves. Capitalism is turning you more and more into component parts of its machinery. It is sucking your blood and throwing millions of you, sucked dry, onto the streets. **Close your ranks under the banner of the revolutionary struggle for the unity of the working class and the oppressed peoples all over the world under the banner of the Communist International!**

Oppressed peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, world imperialism is continuing its policy of brutal exploitation and oppression. It is turning your sweat and your blood into money. Remember! **The hour of the proletarian dictatorship will be the hour of your emancipation! Strengthen your national revolutionary struggle! Up with the red flags of the Communist International!**

Working men and working women of the Soviet Union! Continue the work of socialist construction! Remember that every new workshop, every new factory, every new Soviet undertaking, every new collective undertaking and every new step in the development of the co-operatives means the conse-

ation of the Soviet Union which was built up upon the heroic sacrifices of you and your comrades. It means also the strengthening of whole international working class movement.

Working men and working women! Exploited and oppressed peoples! Remember that the capitalist world is preparing new imperialist war and a counter-revolutionary crusade against the first proletarian dictatorship of the world, the fatherland of the international working class. Do not believe the lies in the ranks of the social democracy who wish to lull you into a sense of false security with empty phrases concerning the peaceful intentions of those capitalist states which are even at this moment preparing a new war. **Prepare yourselves to turn the counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union into a war against imperialism, into a civil war against the bourgeoisie in your own countries.**

Workers of the world! Oppressed peoples! The Communist International appeals to you to join in a joint struggle against capitalist exploitation, against the yoke of imperialism, against

the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, against the preparation of new imperialist wars and interventions, against the pacifist lies and against the social democratic unity with the bourgeoisie and in favour of the class unity of the proletariat in its struggle against imperialist slavery, against the oppression of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, against reformism and against fascism, for the proletarian revolution!

Long live the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union!

Long live the proletarian world revolution!

Long live the world dictatorship of the proletariat!

Long live world communism!

Moscow, 2nd March, 1929.

The Executive Committee of the
Communist International.

Ten Years of the Communist International.

By Fritz Heckert (Berlin).

In the early days of March, 1919, the Third, Communist, International was officially founded. It can now look back on an existence of ten years and review the development and activity of a truly proletarian revolutionary organisation.

The Communist International was an outcome of the imperialist war which for more than four years had convulsed the world. The idea of its creation had already arisen in August 1914, when the leaders of the "international and emancipating Social Democratic parties" went over with flying colours to the camp of the imperialists, in contradiction to their most sacred oaths and to the resolutions of the Basle Socialist Congress of 1912. August 4th, 1914, was the death-day of the Social-Democratic International. On that day it became clear to the most progressive and far-seeing of revolutionaries in the capitalist countries that nothing short of a new international proletarian union, born of the horrors of war, could be in a position to continue and complete the work of Socialist revolution begun by Marx and Engels. Without waiting for the simultaneous action of similar-minded comrades in other countries, sincere revolutionaries in all the belligerent States commenced at the same time their task of reconstructing the workers' movement which had been betrayed and sold by the Social Democrats.

In Germany revolutionary Socialist groups came into being and took up the fight, chief among them the Spartakusbund with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht at its head. Similar groups commenced action in the other countries. Foremost among them was the Russian Bolshevik Party under Lenin. In 1915 the first firm international connections were formed. At Zimmerwald, and subsequently at Kienthal, the first conferences were held. Here the corner-stones were hewn which were later to be inserted in the foundation of the new International. At Zimmerwald and Kienthal, the Communist International itself could not yet be created, needful as it would have been to the struggling proletarians to enable them successfully to take up the fight against the imperialist war and all who defended it. The Zimmerwald and Kienthal conferences united but few of the revolutionary delegates. Not all that appeared at these conferences were revolutionaries of the type needed by the working class in order that it might take up and wage the revolutionary fight with due energy. Quite a number of them found their way back into the camp of the class enemy. The "Centrists" and the Kautskyites impeded a solution of the difficulties with which the proletariat was faced. These later traitors to the proletarian revolution were at that time unfortunately recognised by none but the Bolsheviks as a new impediment to the revolution.

Although the directives of the Spartakusbund declared that "the duty of carrying out the resolutions of the International takes precedence of all other organisational duties; national sections acting contrary to these resolutions place themselves outside the International",

and although Karl Liebknecht sent forth his warning that "the chief foe is to be sought within the country", the Spartakists were at a loss as regards a series of the most important problems, with which the world war and the breakdown of the Second International had confronted the working class. They differed in this regard from the opinions held by Lenin and the Bolsheviks — a deficiency which was subsequently apparent in the German November revolution in particular.

When at the initiative of Lenin the Bolsheviks applied to the revolutionary proletarian parties and troops with a view to the final foundation of the Communist International, inviting delegates to come to Russia for the purpose of a foundational congress, the Central Committee of the German Communist Party still had misgivings as to the creation of the Comintern. The German delegate, Eberlein, was instructed to speak against the foundation of the Communist International, on the plea that it was yet too early to call any such organisation into being. Lenin was much concerned to see this attitude on the part of the German comrades. To-day this opinion on the part of the leading comrades of the Spartakusbund appears to us altogether incomprehensible. It was fortunate for the revolutionary movement throughout the world that Lenin did not allow himself to be deterred from his intention by the objections of the Germans.

How much more correctly Lenin estimated the opinions of the proletarians in this question than did certain other revolutionaries, may be seen from the fact that the German Communists enthusiastically acclaimed the foundation of the Comintern. And this applies not only to the members of the Communist Party but also to the masses of workers united within the Independent Socialist Party, who forced their leaders to accept a number of Communist principles, albeit, as was subsequently seen, only by word of mouth. In 1920 enthusiasm ran so high in these masses, that even such artful deceivers as Crispian and Dittmann prepared to enter the Communist International, which had meantime become "fashionable" in connection with the trend to the Left among the masses, inspired by the growing revolutionary wave.

The example of Dittmann and his fellow Germans was followed by the adherents of Longuet in France, by Treves and his friends in Italy, and in short by all the heroes of the "Centrist" direction, who subsequently united in the "2½ International". These "also" revolutionaries were very quickly and thoroughly "sized up" by Lenin, who met their opportunist revolutionism with the 21 points representing the essential conditions for entering the Communist International, whereby all members were required not only to talk of the revolution but every day to undertake some unmistakable action for the organisation of the revolutionary struggle. These points categorically demand the expulsion from the Communist Party of all unreliable and vacillating elements recruited from among the former Social Democratic leaders.

The first Congress of the Communist International was in the main an occasion for the proclamation of Communist aims and for propaganda in the interest of Communist ideas. In a manifesto to the workers of all the world, it called to mind that after the breakdown of the Second International, after the betrayal of Socialism by the Social-Imperialists, and after the victorious insurrection of the Russian proletariat, the Third International had been founded to carry on the work begun 72 years before by the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx. Furthermore, that the victorious proletarian revolution in Russia had found, in the Soviet system, the resumption and further development of the achievements of the Paris Commune of 1871. The dictatorship of the proletariat was declared to be the one and only weapon of the proletarian fight for emancipation and for the realisation of Socialism.

Between the first and the second Congress of the Communist International, a great number of countries developed revolutionary parties urging in the direction of the Comintern. The growth of the revolutionary wave led the working masses into the camp of the Communist International. Therefore the second Congress was already faced with greater tasks. In its organisational statutes, it confirmed the organisational foundations of the Comintern as an organisation of active class-fighters in a uniform world-Party. The affiliated national Parties were declared to be sections of the comprehensive uniform organisation, its members were subjected to a strict international discipline, and war was declared on national limitations as being the greatest hindrance in the path of the proletarian world-revolution. The Congress cast light on the national question and on the colonial question so closely allied with it. It laid down the directives in regard to the fundamental tasks of the Communist International. This covers the explanation of the questions as to the rôle of the State as an instrument of oppression and authority, as to the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Soviet authority and as to the tasks of preparing and realising proletarian dictatorship. The directives in regard to the rôle of the Communist Party set forth the differences between the Party and the class, pointing out that the proletarian class requires to be led by a strictly organised, uniform Party if it is to be victorious in its struggle against its oppressors. The Party is the most progressive, most revolutionary, and most far-seeing part of the class, its vanguard. It has the task of organising the proletarian revolution and of teaching the proletariat the art of victorious insurrection and the organisation of the Soviet power.

To these elementary principles of the Communist International, the Third Congress, on the basis of the early experience of the Communist Parties in their struggles, added a series of tactical rules for the execution of Communist tasks and for the successful achievement of Communist aims. Again it was Lenin who here placed his entire valuable experience and his entire revolutionary wisdom at the disposal of the proletariat, with particular reference to united-front tactics and to the work to be done among the proletarian masses and in the proletarian mass-organisations.

The following congresses occupied themselves with the particular tasks of the Comintern and its sections arising from the international situation. The errors and shortcomings of all sections were subjected to the criticism of the entire organisation, with a view to developing suitable rules for the improvement and intensification of the work of all the sections. It is just this self-criticism which is becoming one of the chief factors of education in the Communist movement. At the last Congress, the Sixth, the programme of the Communist International was laid down, establishing for a long time ahead the directives for the political activity of all the individual parts of the Communist International. In the political theses of the Sixth Congress it is pointed out that once more, as in 1914, the world is under the shadow of an acute danger of war, that the capitalist differences are likely to entail renewed and more violent explosions, and that reformism has finally ceased to be an independent factor in the workers' movement. Day by day it merges more and more with the capitalist State and economic system and is becoming the best weapon in the capitalist offensive against the proletariat and the best instrument in the preparations for war.

From this situation the Communist International draws the conclusion that it is necessary to increase the revolutionary work among the masses and energetically to organise the fight against imperialism and reformism. This fight, however, can-

not be successfully waged by the sections of the Comintern unless they gain complete clarity in their own ranks in regard to all fundamental tasks and tactical measures. If it is not to share the experience of the Social Democrats in 1914, the Comintern must, with the advancing menace of war, wage an ever greater fight against all opportunist influences. The fight for the liquidation of Trozkyism and for the elimination of dangers from the Right is therefore a vital necessity for the Comintern.

In the ten years of its existence, the Comintern has grown into a worldwide organisation of the proletariat and of the oppressed nationalities. 66 Parties, in all the important countries of the five Continents, are united in it. Under its guidance revolutionary parties have been formed in all the capitalist States of the world and now organise the fight of the masses against their oppressors. The Comintern founded the revolutionary proletarian organisations in the countries of Asia, Africa, and South America. In China, India, and Farther India its Parties have fought the first great mass-battles against its class enemies. In these fights the sections of the Comintern had their baptism of fire. Thus they learn to act in a revolutionary and international spirit. In these fights the Comintern itself has become the organisation of all that are oppressed, uniting all races of the world in a single revolutionary family.

The proletariat no longer faces the imperialist Powers of the world in a confused and headless condition, as it did in 1914. It is headed by the Comintern, the world-Party, the leader of the proletarian revolution. And foremost among the sections of the Comintern is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the ruling Party in the land of promise and of the first triumphs of the victorious insurrection of the proletariat under the Communist flag. There is no longer any Power on earth that could exorcise the spectre of Communism. Invincibly the masses march onwards in their fight for liberty, their fight for Socialism. Proudly wave the victorious colours of the international cohort of the proletarian revolution, of the Communist International.

POLITICS

Parliamentary Crisis and Desire for Dictatorship in Germany.

By Wilhelm Könen (Berlin).

The coalition crisis, which has for months dominated German parliamentary life, has become a crisis of the Parliamentary system. Public life in Germany is becoming more and more dominated by the discussion on the possibilities of a dictatorial regime.

The former Reichs-Chancellor Wirth some weeks ago spoke openly, for the first time, in bourgeois circles to the effect that fascism is threatening Germany. The present social-democratic Chancellor Hermann Müller found occasion to write an article in the most widely read paper of the petty bourgeoisie, the "Morgenpost", in which he declared that neither Spanish nor Serbian nor Lithuanian methods of government are possible in Germany. He appealed to the workers, employees, officials and small business people, whom he endeavoured to convince that fascism will bring them nothing, that democracy will bring them everything. Shortly afterwards, on the 28th of February, parties in the German Reichstag, for example the Christian-Nationalist Peasant Party, spoke openly in favour of fascism.

A group of young Parliamentarians from various bourgeois parties wish to hold themselves in readiness for the new dictatorial form of government by founding a new party. Stresemann, too issued his appeal to the youth soon after the demand that the rights of the President be extended. Stresemann's Party the German People's Party, has submitted for debate a complete Bill for altering the provisions of the Constitution in the sense of extending the power of the government as against Parliament and strengthening the power of the President. The organ of the Centre, "Germania" declared in an article that fascism in Italy has succeeded by means of the concordat according to the church its historical right; it will be a step for Parliamentary democracy in Germany, whether it is sincerely elastic in order to give the Church its right.

The "Stahlhelm" is also openly demanding a change of constitution in the direction of a dictatorship. In a message from its leader for Berlin-Brandenburg, a ruthless fight is openly declared against the Parliamentary democratic system. Hindenburg, President of the Republic, and at the same time honorary member of the Stahlhelm, induced the Stahlhelm leaders to declare, at least publicly that they wish to achieve their aim by legal means. In this sense, however he associates himself fully with the demands for a dictatorship made by the Stahlhelm by demonstratively acknowledging his honorary membership of his organisation.

The democratic papers are day after day requesting the social democratic Reichs-Chancellor to decide to make use of his power as head of the government. But the leading men of the heavy industry do not allow their social democratic Chancellor to do anything more than conduct negotiations behind the scenes and at the most to write articles in newspapers. They have found the exact point on which they can place the social democratic Ministers under the severest pressure and compromise them most in the eyes of the public. The big industrial German People's Party, of all parties, which has a leading position in the government, is making the loudest outcry over the increased taxes which the government proposes with social democratic help. The big industrial People's Party is taking advantage of the fact that increased taxes are always unpopular and that one can always gain favour in the eyes of the public by fighting against increased taxation. It should be remarked, however, that the social democratic Finance Minister Dr. Hilferding has done everything possible to meet the bourgeoisie on his point, as has been expressly confirmed by the President of the Democratic Party, Herr Koch.

And in spite of this complaisance the big capitalist People's Party have succeeded in so strengthening the opposition on his point that they caused the formation of a firm great coalition to be wrecked on their demand that no increased taxation whatever be permitted. These big capitalists know quite well that the S. P. G. Ministers have no longer any possibility of manoeuvring; that just as in the armoured cruiser question, emergency relief for the unemployed, so also in the taxation question, they have completely capitulated to the big bourgeoisie. The big capitalists know, just as well as do the demagogues of the Centre, that they will shortly carry out their papal concordat along with the S. P. G. Ministers.

The chief thing for these ruling parties in the present situation, when the reparations question still remains to be cleared up and when the economic crisis is approaching, is to retain a free hand; a free hand in the sense that they can at any time accomplish the transition to a dictatorial form of government.

The one-time Stinnes organ, The Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, which ever since the Reichstag election has consistently and persistently urged the formation of a firm great coalition, is now, after the failure of the coalition bargaining showing the course which must now be pursued, Under the heading: "The hour of the Reichs-President", the D. A. Z. of 3rd of March, in a leading article, demands that the Reichs-President "pulls together a Cabinet of personalities under a tried and strong leader". This leader must not be extreme and must select personalities who offer a guarantee for "energetic and practical work". In the hands of such a "Ministry of Renewal" Hindenburg must place the order to dissolve the Reichstag, under the pressure of which the Ministry shall obtain from the Reichstag an Emergency Powers' Act in order to solve the most urgent political and economic tasks.

That the S. P. G. Coalition does not represent any obstacle to such a dictatorship has now to be admitted by even the social democratic Opposition writers. They write in their journal: The Klassenkampf of March 1st:

"In face of the assertion that the social democrats in the government are a sure defence against fascism, it must be stated, as a result of an investigation of the political development in the last few years, that fascist tendencies find a better soil precisely when socialists are in the government."

The Left socialist leaders are now attempting to reassure the workers that in Germany there "fortunately does not exist" the strong man à la Mussolini. These sorry representatives of ever fresh illusions in the sense of a consolidation of the S. P. G. will not and dare not see that the dictatorial methods in Germany need not by any means schematically imitate Mussolini. The fascist tendency, which the S. P. G. leaders and the S. P. G.

trade union bureaucracy is revealing more sharply every day, is a guarantee that the S. P. G. leaders themselves will not be missing in the new dictatorial government. Already in 1923 it was Ebert who, along with Seeckt, carried through the first period of dictatorship. At that time the S. P. G. Ministers left the big coalition, but voted for the Emergency Powers Act, introduced by the Marx-Stresemann-Luther government, and the suspension of the Reichstag. This time they will hasten to have their Severing and Consorts in the dictatorial Cabinet. Whether they will be needed depends upon the results of the reparations negotiations in Paris.

Social fascism is becoming more and more the open form of expression of the S. P. G. It is necessary for the revolutionary working masses to wage a ruthless fight against this tendency in the working class.

The Franco-Belgian Secret Treaty.

By A. de Vries (Amsterdam).

The following article was written before the arrest of Albert Franck and his alleged confession to being the author of the two documents published by the "Utrecht Dagblad". The important point in connection with the whole affair, however, is not the authenticity of the two "documents", but the fact of the existence of a secret military agreement between France and Belgium. The sensation created by the publication of the alleged text of the agreement and its interpretation, and the mutual accusations and recriminations which have ensued throw an interesting light on the strained relations existing between the capitalist Powers, peace pacts and protocols notwithstanding. Ed.

On February 23rd, 1929, the "Utrechtsch Dagblad", a bourgeois-Fascist Dutch paper, published two documents, one of them alleged to be the wording of the secret military treaty concluded between France and Belgium in 1920, and the second the interpretation of this treaty, said to have been worked out in 1927 by the general-staffs of the respective countries.

The paper professes to have received both these documents from an absolutely reliable source and seeks in advance to invalidate a denial on the part of Belgium.

This publication aroused an enormous sensation, not only in the Dutch and Belgian but also in the French and German press. Nor is this surprising in view of the contents of the said treaty and of its interpretation.

That a Franco-Belgian secret agreement had been concluded in 1920 was already known, though the contents thereof had never been published. According to the text now reproduced, France and Belgium engaged to help each other in any war against Germany or against a Power supported in any way by Germany. Belgium engaged to mobilise at least 600,000 men, while France promised to put a least 1,200,000 men into the field. This agreement was concluded for a period of 25 years. The general-staffs of the two countries were to meet every year for the purpose of discussing the details of the agreement.

The last article of the treaty, which enjoins strictest secrecy as to its contents, is yet another proof that we are still living in the times of secret diplomacy.

Even more sensational than the treaty itself is its "interpretation", which merely represents an extension of the agreement and which was concluded in 1927 by the military authorities of the two countries, at a time when the "Socialist" Vandervelde was Minister of Foreign Affairs in Belgium.

While the treaty of 1920 was essentially directed against Germany, its "interpretation" of 1927 pointed towards Holland.

The possible enemies of Belgium are apparently Germany and Holland, those of France Germany, Italy, and perhaps Spain.

"France and Belgium have but one common front and will come to each other's aid against any enemy whatsoever." In a fight against Holland, France will aid Belgium by means of an expeditionary corps, the extent of which was established in 1922 at two army-corps, while in the case of a war against Italy, Belgium will supply two divisions of infantry.

It is furthermore established that the negotiations in progress between Belgium and Holland since 1919, have led and will still lead to Dutch measures in regard to the waterways, which steps may easily assume an unfriendly and even an aggressive character.

It will be seen that the "casus belli" is cut and dry in any case.

The third article of this "interpretation" designates a whole number of strategic railways to be laid by the Belgian Government, so as to facilitate a military assault on Dutch territory.

Article No. 4 sets forth the strength of the Franco-Belgian forces.

Article No. 5 treats of a possible Franco-Anglo-Belgian attack on the Ruhr district. In this connection a whole plan of action is drawn up, expressly envisaging the traversing of Limburg and thereby an infringement of Dutch neutrality.

Are these documents authentic?

The Belgian Government roundly denies it, and it could hardly be expected to do otherwise. But no importance can be attached to this denial. It is established that in the year 1920 a military treaty certainly was concluded, the wording of which is even now being kept secret; it is likewise established, and openly admitted by the Belgian Government, that the general-staffs negotiate as to the execution of the said convention, the results and details of the said negotiations also being kept secret.

Seeing that this is the case, even the most categorical denial cannot meet with much credence.

The contents of the revelation, too, coincide most remarkably with the entire constellation of Franco-British policy during the last few years.

The negotiations of the year 1927 most characteristically confirm the firm and strong basis on which the Franco-British alliance has been reconstructed, as also appears from the agreement in regard to naval armaments. Great Britain has placed itself completely on the basis of military co-operation with France and Belgium against Germany, and that just at a time when the celebrated "spirit of Locarno" is so often underlined by British politicians.

The dependence of Belgium on France is confirmed anew. The troops of these two countries form but a single army.

The documents just published most particularly illuminate the acuteness of the Belgian-Dutch imperialist differences which have been growing for the last few years with incredible rapidity and which may be explained economically by the increasing competition between the two ports of Rotterdam and Antwerp. Each of these ports attempts to control the trade and traffic of the hinterland, the Rhine, Scheldt, and Meuse areas. The matter is complicated by the fact that Antwerp's access to the sea, down the Scheldt, passes through Dutch territory. This outlet can be closed off in case of war. Belgium, moreover, is not allowed to keep warships in these waters under the agreement of 1839. The Belgian capitalists maintain that the Dutch Government purposely allows the river to be silted up.

The Belgian Government desires to have a direct and up-to-date canal connection with the Rhine. A proposed agreement in this direction was turned down by the Dutch Parliament in 1927; since then no arrangement could be reached and the differences grew more and more pronounced. Added to this there are the desires of annexation cherished by the Belgian bourgeoisie in regard to parts of the Dutch provinces of Zeeland and Limburg, desires which are voiced every now and again.

The effect in Holland of the publication of this document is naturally great. An arrangement with Belgium in regard to the canal question has for the time being become impossible, and the influence of the Fascist-reactionary elements in Holland is bound to grow. They will demand a stronger army and turn to the new imperialism of Germany in the hope of securing an ally in opposition to the Anglo-Franco-Belgian coalition.

Dutch capitalism, which has at all times vacillated between the political groups of interests, will now perhaps attempt to come to an understanding with the United States.

It is obvious that the policy of secret agreements aims at threatening Germany with armed intervention supposing it does not soon decide in favour of a definite Western orientation. Thus these agreements are also indirectly levelled at the Soviet Union.

In the present state of affairs, increased importance attaches to the Flemish national problem.

The circles responsible for the publication are in very close touch with Flemish bourgeois nationalists such as Dr. Borms, whose ideal lies in a "Greater Netherlands". They attempt to exploit the Flemish national movement in the interest of their imperialist agitation against Belgium.

As everywhere, the rôle played by the Social Democrats is a most unhappy one. The Belgian Social Democrats are directly implicated. In 1927 the celebrated Vandervelde was Minister of Foreign Affairs. Like his bourgeois predecessors, he observed

silence on the subject of the secret treaty with France and connived at the sinister arrangement of the general-staffs.

"Het Volk", the Amsterdam Social Democratic paper, publishes a report from Brussels to the effect that, if such discussions actually took place, the Socialist Ministers knew nothing at all about them. The Belgian Social Democrats thus appear to be co-responsible for these imperialist intrigues.

The Dutch Social Democrats are doing their utmost to cast doubt on the authenticity of the documents and thus to shield their Belgian comrades. "Het Volk" still continues to demand disarmament, but there can be no doubt that in view of a wave of nationalist agitation the Social Democrats will back up the bourgeois "fatherland".

It is obvious that the working masses of Holland and Belgium, who are directly menaced by the danger of war, cannot be called upon to defend their respective bourgeoisies in this imperialist struggle but will rather co-operate to oppose them.

The revolutionary action of the Dutch and Belgian workers against the danger of war, their opposition to all imperialist and nationalist policy, the transformation of the war, supposing one to break out, into a civil war — such must be the directives of the proletariat in this fight, which can only be successfully conducted by the Communist Parties of the respective countries.

In this situation there is need for a common action on the part of the Communist Parties, in particular those of Belgium and Holland.

In the imperialist age all antagonisms are liable to grow. Conflicts which were long supposed dead, revive in an accentuated form. Now that there has been peace in this corner of Europe for wellnigh a century, the old quarrel in regard to the use of the Scheldt has started afresh. It is there that the interests of the Dutch and Belgian bourgeoisie collide and appear to be irreconcilable.

The Communist Parties of Western Europe should omit nothing to make the working masses understand the whole danger of this new imperialist focus of war and to educate them for a revolutionary fight against war and the war menace.

The Ratification of the Litvinov Protocol.

By Heinrich Bitner.

(Member of the Communist Fraction in the Sejm.)

On February 9th, 1929, the so-called Litvinov Protocol was signed in Moscow by the representatives of the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania, Latvia and Esthonia. The protocol lays down that the Kellogg Pact is to come into force immediately among the signatory States. Within the next few days the protocol will be presented to the Polish Sejm for ratification.

The Polish Communists will oppose the ratification of the protocol, just as they did the ratification of the Kellogg Pact itself. Our enemies will doubtlessly try to point out a contradiction between this attitude of ours and the fact that the Soviet Government proposed the protocol and that Litvinov signed it. We shall not, however, allow ourselves to be misled by such an attempt, because our course is the only proper and consistently revolutionary one.

There is no contradiction between Litvinov's signing the protocol and our voting against the protocol.

The initiative of the Soviet Government and the signature of Litvinov, as also Litvinov's proposal for general disarmament show that the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union desire peace and are working for peace, and that their aim is to liberate humanity from the hell of imperialism and imperialistic war. This initiative and this signature expose the despicability of the Social-Democratic campaign of lies which represents the Soviet Union as a danger to peace.

Our opposition to the protocol shows the working masses that they should not have faith in the signatures of the imperialists and their satellites, which adorn the foot of the protocol, and should not permit themselves to be lulled by the illusion that the Litvinov protocol or the Kellogg Pact constitute a guarantee of peace.

Imperialist Poland, which has rejected all of the disarmament proposals made by the Soviet Union, is preparing feverishly for war against the Soviet Union and is consolidating and extending the system of military alliances. Even the signature at the foot of the protocol was used by the Poles to

demonstration of the anti-Soviet block, in that it was their chief concern that Latvia, Estonia and Roumania should also make their appearance at the conference table. To Poland the protocol is nothing but a scrap of paper. Poland signed it, because refusal to do so would have meant further exposure. The only purpose it serves Pilsudski is to cloak his preparations for war and to hoodwink the masses.

It is the duty of the Communists to expose this hypocrisy to the masses and to make every worker conscious that the signature of the Polish envoy, Patek, below the protocol will not prevent war any more than Patek's peace negotiations with Soviet Russia in the spring of 1920 prevented Pilsudski's march to Kiev, which they only prepared and cloaked. Among all the signatures beneath the Kellogg Pact and the Litvinov Protocol there is only one signature which is honest and trustworthy — that is the signature of the representative of the Soviet Union. This signature is the expression of the sincere will for peace of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, who are building up Socialism and, therefore, want peace and need peace. All the other signatures — Kellogg's, Briand's, Patek's, Davila's and the rest — are a lie. Outlawing of war by a Poincaré or a Pilsudski is a false note.

By our voting we Communist members of parliament must and will make this known to the masses.

If we sanctioned the ratification of the protocol signed by Patek in the name of the Polish Government, we should be declaring this signature to be acceptable and trustworthy and should thereby be supporting the illusion among the masses that the pact and the protocol will protect them from war.

The policy of the Communist Government of the Soviet Union and that of the Communists in the capitalistic countries have one and the same purpose: to mobilise the broadest masses against imperialism and against war, to expose the war-preparations of the imperialists, to smash the agitation against the Soviet Union as an alleged disturber of the peace, to defend the Soviet Union, the bulwark of the proletariat, and to defend the work of socialist construction going on in the Soviet Union against the onslaughts of imperialism.

While opposing the protocol and calling attention to the rejection by the imperialists of Litvinov's disarmament proposals and the preparations for war, which are now taking on stupendous dimensions and are not being made a little less dangerous by pacifist declarations, we tell the masses: War can be prevented neither by the Kellogg Pact nor yet by the "Protocol" — you alone can prevent it by a revolutionary fight.

We are convinced that the working masses in Poland will understand and approve of our attitude, and we have no doubt that our comrades in all other capitalist countries will take up the same attitude.

Poland's signature is base coin — The Communists in the Sejm are voting against it!

But the triumphant London demonstration was only the culminating point of the March. All along their line of route the half-dozen main contingents met with enthusiastic welcomes from the rank-and-file workers — welcomes that were the more tangible by reason of their contrast with frequent hostility of the local reformists, who followed the lead of the Trades Union Congress General Council not to "recognise" the March nor to assist the Marchers in any way.

Just how complete was the barrier that the reformists sought to erect between the Marchers and the working class may be seen from the experience of the Scottish contingent. In the course of their four hundred miles march from Glasgow to London, occupying five weeks, this contingent only once had an official reception from a local Trades Council and Labour Party; and that was at Watford, a few miles outside London.

The barrier was virtually complete; and yet experience showed that it was only a paper barrier. In some cases the workers forced the local reformist leaders to undertake the reception of the Marchers, as in Doncaster, where a special delegate meeting of the Trades Council reversed the Executive's decision not to assist the North-East coast contingent.

In other towns sympathetic workers either gathered round the local N. U. W. C. M. branch and the Minority Movement group to form a reception committee (as at Bristol), or else conferences of trade union branches and other working-class organisations in the town were called, at which a reception committee was elected (Birmingham and Stoke-on-Trent).

Practically without exception the Co-Operative Societies along the line of march were most generous in their gifts of food, etc., to the Marchers. And the generosity of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois people also stood out in strong contrast to the sabotage of the reformists. It was a frequent thing for managers of cinemas to give the marchers a free show, or to allow collections to be taken; for Mayors of towns to give food and tobacco to the Marchers and to make arrangements for them to sleep in the Town Hall, and to have the use of the municipal Baths.

At every large town, and in many small towns too, the marchers were greeted by large and spirited demonstrations. At Mansfield "two thousand attended a send-off demonstration" to the Yorkshire, Notts and Derby contingents; at Lancaster the Scottish Marchers "held the largest open-air meeting ever seen in this town". Reports like these came in day after day from the Marchers.

Through the Durham coalfield the miners and their wives came trooping to the roadside to call "Good Luck!" to the North-East coast Marchers, and through the Lancashire cotton area the mill girls lined the streets to welcome the Scottish contingent and put their pennies in the collecting boxes.

The amounts of money collected themselves testified to the solidarity of the workers with the Marchers. The Scottish contingent alone were able to send up to the March headquarters the sum of £40; and at Mansfield, where the Yorkshire Marchers gained entry to, and put their case before a Labour Party meeting, they collected £4 on the spot.

Owing to reformist sabotage the Marchers frequently had to spend the night in the Poor Law workhouses; and the workhouse authorities often attempted to treat the Marchers as "casuals" (i. e. vagrants). This move was scotched by the determination of the Marchers, who in one case left the workhouse and paraded the town (Saffron Walden) carrying aloft the slabs of bread and margarine which was all the workhouse authorities would give them to eat, thus carrying out a very effective demonstration.

The reformist sabotage, and the encouragement thereby given to the workhouse authorities to treat the Marchers harshly, had a sinister sequel in one instance. At Birmingham the Lancashire Marchers were preparing to leave the workhouse because the authorities would not give them proper treatment, when the aid of the police was summoned, and a regular affray took place. Several of the leaders of the contingent were severely beaten-up by the police.

A final word must be said about the truly heroic endurance shown by the Marchers in covering hundreds of miles by road through the most terrible winter that has been known in England for over thirty years. With up to twenty and more degrees of frost, through blinding snowstorms, over roads impassable to motor traffic, their clothes often frozen stiff upon them, the Marchers battled their way to London.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The National Hunger March on London.

By W. M. Holmes.

London 26. February.

When the 800 "Hunger Marchers" marched into Trafalgar Square last Sunday, to be greeted by a tremendously enthusiastic demonstration of 25,000 workers, two facts emerged with striking force.

One was that the Communist Party — which, through the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement (N. U. W. C. M.), had single-handed led the March against the solid front of reformist sabotage — had scored a remarkable triumph: for the demonstration in the Square was easily the largest that has been seen since the great unemployed demonstrations in 1921—22.

The other was that the depression that has overhung the working-class in Britain during 1927 and 1928 is slowly but surely lifting; a new wave of militancy is on the way. These two facts are, indeed, not two separate facts at all, but two aspects of one basic fact.

One need only quote the blunt report of the Plymouth (west of England) contingent which experienced some of the worst weather: "No casualties and spirit undaunted".

That is the spirit which has brought the Marchers to London, determined to present their twelve-point Charter of immediate demands to the Government — they have already handed in a request for an interview with Baldwin and the principal Cabinet Ministers — and, what is more, determined to rouse the whole working-class to action for those demands.

Strike of American Needle Workers Begins.

By J. A.

The great strike of needle workers in New York, planned and prepared by the new Needle Trades Workers' Industrial Union, commenced on February 6th, with the walking out of 12,000 dressmakers. The movement steadily spread, until by February 15th there were 24,000 on strike, and the number was still growing. Many hundreds of shops were paralysed, and numbers of employers were already suing for settlements. Mass pickets of from five to ten thousand workers were daily on the streets, and the police were quite unable to check them. Manifestoes issued by the Workers' (Communist) Party, the Young Workers' League, and the Trade Union Educational League (American section of the R. I. L. U.) called for the support of all militant workers.

The "socialist" bureaucracy of the old Right wing unions, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and the Furriers' Union, have descended to every vile tactic in the endeavour to help the employers to break the strike. These officials during the past two years have consented to the enforcement of long hours, low pay, and intolerable workshop conditions, at the same time assisting the employers in the victimisation of militant workers, choosing the complete weakening and demoralisation of their unions rather than permit the growth of any fighting resistance.

Consequently they felt in the formation of the new union for all needle workers, and the rapid rallying of the workers to it, the death-blow to their dwindling and discredited influence; and looked ever more frantically to the capitalists for support. A few days prior to the strike, there was announced an agreement with the employers associations in the fur trade, promising a full-time week of 40 hours, and pay at the rate of time and a half for overtime. This, from a set of capitalists and officials who have consistently treated previous agreements as scraps of paper, and combined to wreck the settlement obtained by the workers by their 17-weeks' strike in 1926! Cloak and dress makers' officials visited the various firms of employers and arranged with them to concentrate their work in shops controlled by the Right wing union, also to supply members of their union to fill vacancies left by strikers. Schlesinger, leader of this union, announced in the capitalist press the intention of the officials to demand, jointly with the capitalists, police forces to protect the blacklegs.

Nevertheless, every day sees more shops closed and new reinforcements for the industrial union, the women and girls, who form about 60 per cent. of the dress and cloak makers, and about 15 per cent. of the furriers, being among the most determined and courageous. This strike has one specially inspiring feature: the active co-operation of workers and all races and nationalities. The Negroes are prominent by reason both of their numbers and their militancy, and thousands of Italian workers are fighting shoulder to shoulder with their English sisters and brothers. The first victim of the brutality of police and hired bullies was the Negro furrier, Henry Rosemond, one of the leaders of the industrial union, who was nearly killed by these scoundrels and then arrested, after bringing out women and men workers from a shop.

Against the united front of the bosses, "socialist" traitors and police, the valiant needle workers of New York are presenting the united front of men and women, coloured and white, of all sections of the industry, filled with the determination to compel the capitalists and their lackeys to yield before their advance.

THE WHITE TERROR

Save the Life of Dobrogeanu-Gherea at the last Minute!

Bucharest, 26th February, 1929.

The "democratic" Maniu Government has decided to murder Comrade Dobrogeanu-Gherea, who has been on hunger strike for 31 days. The military court has fixed the trial for 22nd February, but then postponed it to the 27th February. Comrade Dobrogeanu-Gherea is dying; he had to be conveyed to the military hospital.

As the agent of foreign imperialist capital and of the Roumanian bourgeoisie, the Maniu Government wants to prove that it is carrying out the capitalist stabilisation of Roumania with fire and sword, at the cost of the bloody exploitation and oppression of the toiling masses. It wants to prove that it is capable of preparing for war against the Soviet Union under the command of the imperialists.

Supported by the campaign of incitement conducted by the whole bourgeois and social democratic press, the "democratic" Maniu Government is preparing to dissolve the revolutionary organisations of the toiling masses, of the workers' and peasants' bloc and of the unitary trade unions in order to frustrate the struggle of the Roumanian toilers against Roumanian and foreign capital combined. In Bessarabia martial law has been extended to the whole of the country, the labour press and the workers' meetings have been forbidden. The military courts are feverishly active and are pronouncing cruel sentences upon revolutionary workers and intellectuals. The military courts of the bourgeoisie are pronouncing severer sentences than those pronounced by the courts of the open dictatorship of finance capital.

The appeal lodged by Comrade Moses Kahana, Comrade Bujor and the other workers against their sentences have been rejected by the Supreme Court. The political prisoners in the Doftana fortress are to pine for another five to seven years in the dungeons of the bourgeoisie, solely for having read Marxist literature.

The murder of Comrade Dobrogeanu-Gherea marks the path of the National peasant party in the direction of fascism. But the working masses of Roumania are continuing with redoubled energy their struggle to save Comrade Dobrogeanu-Gherea, the self-sacrificing leader of the Roumanian proletariat. The international proletariat must immediately hasten to the aid of the toiling masses of Roumania in order to save Comrade Dobrogeanu-Gherea, who today symbolises the struggle of the Roumanian proletariat against international imperialism and its war preparations against the Soviet Union.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The French Colonial Minister in Africa.

By Ch. Joubert (Paris).

The French Colonial Minister, Maginot, is now making journey through the French possessions in Africa.

Maginot is said to have proceeded to Africa for the purpose of unveiling a monument for the 30,000 Negroes who lost their lives in the world war. In reality he has other objects in view. His journey to Africa is intended to document the greater opening-up and the increased exploitation of Africa by the imperialists; it is a reply to the wave of rebellion which has driven the natives of French Equatorial Africa, from the Congo to Lake Chad, to oppose colonisation by force. His visit in connection with the construction of the trans-Sahara railway which is intended at the same time to open up new channels for the economic life of French West Africa and to play an important part in future wars.

Altogether, the French colonies inhabited by Negroes form a region which is five times as great as the mother country and the development of which is very backward compared with

that of Northern Africa. This area is rich in coffee bushes and cocoa trees, oil palms, and stretches of land suitable for the cultivation of cotton and for future rubber and hemp plantations. In the valleys of the rivers rice can be planted and the preliminary work permits of the conclusion that in a relatively short time a rice harvest could be attained which would be sufficient to satisfy the demands of all Northern and Equatorial Africa and also almost all the requirements of the mother country.

The country is most promising, however, in respect of the cultivation of cotton. For the requisite 300,000 tons of cotton per annum, the French cotton-working industry is almost entirely dependent on foreign countries, seeing that only 10,000 tons of this total are at present furnished by the French colonial territories. The growing scarcity and increasing price of cotton on the world market is disquieting to the rapidly developing French cotton industry, which is anxious to emancipate itself from dependence on foreign countries.

To this end attempts have made to cultivate cotton in Syria. The greatest hopes, however, are attached to French West Africa in general and the region of the Niger in particular, which is said to be a second Nile in respect of the fertility of its banks. As a matter of fact, this area is said to comprise 60 million hectares of arable land, four million hectares of which enjoy natural irrigation. 600,000 hectares of this marshy ground have already been prepared for cotton cultivation with a regular water-supply system; at a relatively small cost many times as much land can be developed for the same use.

French West Africa is likewise of great importance from the standpoint of its pasturage and wealth of cattle. There is there a total of 5½ million head of cattle, 5 million sheep, and as many goats. The pasturage is three times as large as all France, a fact which makes it possible to form some idea of the future possibilities of cattle-breeding in such a country.

The wealth of the soil is only quite insufficiently explored but offers great attractions to mining companies, which have reason to expect occurrences of copper there, besides manganese, iron, silver-containing lead, and gold.

The development of the traffic routes and the increased investment of capital should benefit the opening-up of Central Africa, an object on which the French imperialists are concentrating their attention. The further development of this region, however, is being accompanied by the increased oppression and exploitation of the native population. The resistance offered by the latter is becoming a more and more serious obstacle to the imperialist plans of exploiting the country. The movement of rebellion at present raging throughout French Equatorial Africa, meanwhile, affords an occasion to gain valuable experience and this opportunity Maginot does not intend to miss. He is organising the suppression of the natives and profiting by the experience thus acquired with a view to breaking the growing resistance noticeable in practically all the French colonies.

The main object in view, however, is the speedy completion of the famous trans-Sahara railway. The imperialist regime in its entirety is interested in this railway, which is intended to link up the French possessions with one another and via Northern Africa with the mother country. The space of time now required to transport goods from the Niger region to a French port is more than a month. By means of the new railway, such goods can hope to reach France in five days. The construction of this stretch would facilitate traffic between the mother country and darkest Africa and increase France's share in the import and export trade of its colonies.

For the French bourgeoisie the main significance of this stretch would, however, lie in the rôle the railway would play in the case of an imperialist war. The "Supreme Council of National Defence" has been urging the speedy construction of this railway as a matter of tactical necessity. Seeing that in its preparations for war the French bourgeoisie is willing to make the very greatest efforts it is natural that great importance will also be attached to the use of colonial troops.

At present the transport of troops from French West Africa to Bordeaux or Marseilles takes more than month. What is most serious, however, is the fact that during 28 or 30 days of this time the black troops are at sea and thus exposed to the attacks of enemy squadrons.

The new railway will afford the possibility of reducing both the duration and the risk of the transport very considerably. It will make it possible to bring troops from Senegambia

to Marseilles in five days' time through the Sahara and Algeria, where the troops would not be endangered. There would merely be a 28-hour crossing in the Mediterranean, where the possibility of protection by convoys is ever so much greater than it would be in the Atlantic Ocean.

Thus the visit to Africa of M. Maginot is not actuated solely by reasons of Negro persecution but may serve as an additional proof of France's feverish preparations for an imperialist war and from this standpoint deserves increased attention.

The White Terror in Indonesia.

By Musso.

The offensive of the Dutch imperialists against the Communist Party of Indonesia is still in full swing. Many attempts to reorganise the Party apparatus have been crushed. Laws prohibiting the holding of meetings and forbidding the issue of the revolutionary press have been enacted. The direct consequences of these steps have been the dissolution of the Communist Party and the revolutionary trade unions, and the suppression of the Communist press.

Arrests and persecution are the order of the day. Executions and banishments of the Communists and militant workers' leaders are being carried out with increasing energy. Six Communists are now awaiting execution. About 5000 militant workers and Communists are languishing in jail, serving their sentences, ranging from six to twenty years, or awaiting trial. More than 3000 Communists, revolutionary workers and peasants are exiled in Upper-Digula amidst the jungles of New Guinea.

The majority of the exiled Communists from West-Sumatra are peasants, but in Java 75 per cent. of the exiled Communists belong to the working class, as Java is the most industrialised part of Indonesia.

The Dutch imperialists, however, are convinced that their victory is only of a temporary character, and therefore, side by side with the mass arrests and persecutions, they are also strengthening the army and the police forces. The proposed increase of the police forces by 6000 men is regarded as insufficient, and the military authorities are demanding that the number be still further increased. The yearly budget of the department of justice and of the police forces is also increasing rapidly, so that the Dutch government has to expend about 13 million florins annually more for the defence of Indonesia.

Apart from the strengthening of the military and police forces, the navy of Indonesia has been augmented in recent times by several armoured-cruisers.

The authorities are not content with confiscating and destroying the literature of the Communists but have issued a special law forbidding the printing and distribution and the importation of Communist literature.

The treatment of the prisoners by the Dutch imperialists is indescribably cruel. Comrade Sugono, the chairman of the Central Committee of the railway workers' union, was tortured to death in the prison of Semarang. During the suppression of the revolt in West Sumatra the military forces acted in the most sadistic manner. The arrested Communists were heavily loaded with chains on their hands and feet and were placed in the hot sun for days together, without food or water. Arrested Communists were compelled to fight naked against each other, and if they did not strike each other hard enough, the troops knocked them down with the butts of their rifles.

When these inhuman acts came to light at the close of 1928 the officer responsible for them, Major Rhemreve, was discharged from his post. But when the capitalist papers protested against this step the bloodthirsty Major was granted a handsome pension.

The Dutch imperialists are doing everything in their power to check the further development of Communism in Indonesia. But in spite of everything the workers and peasants are already realising that the Communists are the true defenders of their interests and the most stubborn fighters against their common enemy — Dutch imperialism.

TEN YEARS OF THE COMINTERN

Slogans for the X. Anniversary of the Comintern.

These slogans have been drawn up by the Agitprop Department of the E. C. C. I. and characterise the main political line of the entire campaign, which is to last two months (from the beginning of March to the 1st of May). In drawing up the slogans the Agitprop proceeded from the conviction that the sections of the Comintern will explain and elucidate them in detail and supplement them by slogans arising from the experiences of the Comintern in the country in question, as well as by slogans which are bound up with the tasks at present confronting the Communist Party concerned.

Ed.

1. The Comintern is the child of the Great October Revolution. The Comintern is the organiser of the World October. Long Live the Comintern, the organiser and leader of the International Proletarian Revolution!

2. The Comintern is the General Staff of the International Revolution created under Lenin's direct leadership. Long live Lenin's International Party!

3. The Comintern materialises the doctrines of the founders of scientific Socialism —Marx and Engels. Working men and women, rally to the banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of the Comintern!

4. The Communist International is the historical heir of the Communist League and the First International, the continuation of the glorious and heroic traditions of the international labour movement. Long live the international army of the Proletarian Revolution!

5. "The foundation of the Communist International is the forerunner of the International Soviet Republic, the international victory of Communism." (Lenin). Long live the victory of Communism throughout the world! Long live the International Soviet Republic!

6. The C. P. S. U., the Party of the October victory, is the leading Section of the Comintern. Long live the Comintern, the Party of the International October!

7. Down with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie! Long live the international proletarian dictatorship! Long live International Communism!

8. The imperialist governments are preparing for new wars to perpetuate imperialist slavery. The Comintern prepares for the conversion of imperialist war into civil war, the only righteous war of the slaves against their oppressors. Long live the Comintern, the organiser of the international proletarian revolution.

9. The victory of the proletarian dictatorship in October 1917 was the greatest victory of the international proletariat. Honour and glory to the heroes of the Great October of 1917! Long live the World October!

10. The October Revolution was accomplished by the working class in alliance with the masses of the toiling peasantry under the direct leadership of the Leninist Communist Party. Long live the militant alliance of the workers and toiling peasants!

11. The colonial and semi-colonial peoples throughout the world are in revolt against imperialism. The Comintern honours the fighters of China and Morocco, Syria and Nicaragua, Mexico and India who have fallen in battle against imperialist plunder. The Comintern lowers its fighting banner in honour of the fallen heroes of Indonesia, Shanghai and Canton. Long live the victorious struggle of the oppressed nations against imperialist oppression!

12. The bourgeoisie aided by the reformists ruthlessly suppress the toiling masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Long live the militant alliance of the working class with the oppressed and exploited throughout the world!

13. The bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries has been and is betraying the national revolutionary movement against imperialism. The liberation movement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries will triumph only as a movement of the masses of workers and peasants under the

hegemony of the working class. Long live the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations!

14. The bourgeoisie seeks to stabilise the shattered capitalist order by means of furious attacks on the working class. The social traitors have made common cause with the bourgeoisie. Down with the capitalist offensive! Down with the Socialist traitors! Let us establish a united front against capitalist rationalisation! Long live the Communist International, the organiser of the revolutionary proletarian front!

15. Capitalist rationalisation is accomplished by ruthless exploitation of the workers at home and ruthless plunder of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. The social traitors actively support the exploitation of the wage slaves and the plunder of the colonial and semi-colonial slaves. Long live the Comintern, organiser of the struggle against international imperialist oppression!

16. The reformists endeavour to convert the trade unions into instruments of capitalist exploitation, tying the hands of the workers who are rising in struggle. Down with the reformist scabs! Long live the Comintern, the organiser of the proletarian offensive!

17. The reformist leaders disrupt the trade unions in order to facilitate the capitalist attack on the standard of living of the workers. Down with the disrupters! Long live the Comintern which unites the workers for victorious struggle!

18. The social reformists in the service of the bourgeoisie split the labour movement. The Comintern re-establishes working class unity in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie. Long live revolutionary working class unity! Long live the Red International of Labour Unions! Long live the Comintern!

19. The bourgeoisie is creating militant Fascist organisations to demolish the revolutionary movement. Down with Fascism! Long live the courageous struggle of the working class and the oppressed peoples!

20. Eternal memory to the fighters who have fallen under the standards of the Comintern! Honour and glory to the brave soldiers of the German, Hungarian and Finnish Revolutions! Fraternal greetings to the prisoners of imperialism! Give organised aid to the revolutionary fighters! Long live the International Revolutionary Army!

21. The U. S. S. R. is the stronghold and bulwark of the international revolutionary movement. Long live the First Socialist State, the country of the international proletariat! Long live the International Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

22. In the land of the Soviets the working class supported by the poor peasants and in alliance with the principal mass of peasants continues its struggle against international imperialism and against the capitalist elements at home, in the form of Socialist construction. Fervent greetings to the builders of Socialism! Long live the U. S. S. R., the bulwark of the World Revolution!

23. The Comintern standard is triumphantly flying over one sixth of the globe! Long live the Comintern, the organiser of the proletarian victory throughout the world!

24. The imperialists are preparing a counter-revolutionary war against the First Socialist State. The Comintern organises the defence of the First Socialist State. Down with the organisers of counter-revolutionary war! Hail the defence of the U. S. S. R.! Long live the Comintern!

25. The bourgeoisie together with its reformist flunkeys is organising a counter-revolutionary war. Down with the bourgeoisie and its flunkeys! Long live the Comintern, the General Staff of the International Revolution!

26. Imperialism is training its armies for imperialist and counter-revolutionary wars against the colonial peoples and against the U. S. S. R. The Red Army, the Army of the Great October Revolution, is the shield of the oppressed and the sword of the rebellious. Long live the Comintern! Long live the International Red Army!

27. The Comintern supports and organises the struggle of the exploited peasants against the landlords and the bourgeoisie! Long live the Comintern, the organiser of the international alliance of workers and peasants!

28. The Comintern unites and leads the struggle of the revolutionary youth under the banner of the international proletarian dictatorship. Long live the Comintern! Long live the Young Communist International!

29. International capitalism is a system of double slavery for the proletarian women. Long live the Comintern, the fighter for the emancipation of the proletarian and toiling peasant women!

30. Ominous antagonisms upset the putrid edifice of capitalist stabilisation attained by means of suppression of the working class, systematic lowering of the standard of living and uncontrolled plunder of the colonies and semi-colonies. The Comintern leads the advanced detachments of the revolutionary movement the world over towards new battles. Long live the Comintern, the organiser of these battles!

31. The VI Congress of the Comintern has called upon all Communist Parties immediately to launch a struggle against the threatening war danger and to prepare for an international day of struggle. Hail International Red Day!

32. The imminent terrific conflicts and wars now prepared by the imperialists necessitate the greatest consolidation of all Sections of the Communist International and the entire Comintern as a whole under the banner of Leninism. Down with vacillation and hesitation! Long live the steeled unity of our Leninist ranks! Long live the Leninist Comintern!

33. Under the Leninist banner of struggle against opportunism we will consolidate the fighting ranks of the Comintern. Let us cleanse the ranks of the Comintern of the Right wingers and wipe out conciliation and opportunism! Long live the Leninist Comintern!

34. In face of new great conflicts the faint-hearted desert the ranks of the fighting International. Let us wage a merciless struggle against the Right and Trotzkyist liquidators! Down with the traitors and renegades! Long live the Comintern which carries out Lenin's teachings!

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Reorganisation of the C. P. of France.

The Meeting of the Plenum of the C. C.

By Maurice Thorez (Paris).

The C. C. of the C. P. of France has held an important session, which lasted from the 18th to the 21st February. The agenda contained the following items: 1. The international situation and the Right danger in the Comintern; 2. the situation in France and the policy of the C. P. of France; 3. the lessons of the recent strike movements.

In discussing these questions the C. C. has unconditionally adhered to the decisions of the VI. World Congress. A thorough investigation of the international political events since the VI. World Congress proves the relative character of capitalist stabilisation in the present period and shows the acuteness of the antagonisms, which must inevitably lead to a new period of great upheavals and revolutionary offensive struggles of the proletariat.

In the fundamental question of the attitude of the Party to the social democracy and with regard to laying main stress upon the united front from below, Comrade Doriot adopted a standpoint deviating from that of the whole Central Committee, and he was the only one who agreed to the resolution with reservation. The resolution sums up the preliminary result of the discussion which is now taking place in the Party. approves the line of the Polit-Bureau and designates the standpoint of Comrade Doriot regarding committees of action with organisations of the Socialist Party and the reformist trade unions as a Right deviation, after Comrade Doriot had already voiced a divergent opinion regarding the question of the election tactic to be applied by the Party.

Already when dealing with the first item on the agenda the C. C. expressed, by a detailed resolution, its complete agreement with the policy of the C. P. S. U. as laid down in the resolutions of the XV. Party Congress and the November Conference. The C. C. called the attention of the Party to the great similarity between the weaknesses and shortcomings of the C. P. of Czechoslovakia and those of the C. P. of France, in order to show that thorough discussion and open self-criticism are necessary. The C. C. confirmed and further elaborated the resolution adopted by the Polit-Bureau shortly before the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the German Party, which approves the expulsion of Brandler and consorts, the intensified struggle against the Right and the categorical confrontation of the conciliators with the choice: either for the Rights or for the Party.

The report on the situation in France, after examining the economic situation in its connection with the world economic crisis, laid down that the French bourgeoisie is standing on the threshold of a "period of great difficulties". The resolution adopted by the C. C. on this report explains why the French bourgeoisie is pursuing still more energetically its policy of rationalisation and the reorganisation of the political and military administration; how this policy is leading to increased contradictions, to intensified class struggle, to the awakening of the colonial peoples, to imperialist war. "National unity" is not simply a parliamentary catchword. It expresses the combination of all bourgeois groups and of social democracy on the basis of the fundamental programme of heavy industry. Therefore, the "opposition" of the socialists and the radicals, even if they should come into power, cannot change the basis of imperialist policy.

The policy of the Party, therefore, continues to be based upon the theses of the VI. World Congress. Our tactics of the united front from below for mobilising and organising the masses for the direct struggle is being more and more confirmed as the only possible tactics, which will also be applied in the municipal elections in May 1929. With the exception of those cases in which the united front is really realised from below with a fighting programme in the factories, the Party will maintain its candidates against eventual socialist candidates also at the second ballot. The Party will, however, exert every effort in order to bring about a broad participation for the candidates of the non-Party workers and peasants already at the first ballot.

The questions of the anti-militarist struggle and the organisational Party questions were dealt with in detail. Hitherto the anti-militarist work has been conducted by "specialists", before all by the Communist youth. With the increasing danger of war it is necessary for the whole Party to take part in it. A careful examination of the membership revealed in some districts a loss of members, an unsatisfactory social composition and an inadequate reorganisation. There is little doubt that the position is the same throughout the whole organisation, and that great efforts are necessary in the sphere of organisation.

The last report on the strike movement aroused a lively discussion, as some members of the C. C. are frightened by the severity of the open self-criticism conducted by the Party. The report emphasised that the repetition of the same weaknesses and shortcomings (under-estimation of the influence and the role of the reformists, anarcho-syndicalist methods in the preparation and leadership of strikes, inadequate or complete lack of political slogans) is to be attributed to the fear of self-criticism. We must appeal to the working masses in order to correct our errors and to invigorate the revolutionary organisations: the Party and the trade unions. In connection therewith the question of work in the trade unions, in the fractions etc. is raised.

The C. C. adopted a special resolution on the factory councils, the central idea of which consists in making the factory councils not mere "deputations" but to interest all the workers of the factory in them.

All the resolutions adopted by the C. C. show the firm will to continue the reorganisation of the Party in accordance with the Open Letter of November, 1927, and the instructions of the VI. World Congress.

The sharpest struggle is being conducted against the Right danger in all its forms: under-estimation of the war danger, wrong estimation of the situation in the sense of a consolidation of capitalism and under-estimation of the prevailing contradictions, strike sabotage, wrong conception of the role and the policy of the social democracy, of the united front, fear of self-criticism etc. The C. C. approved the general line of the Polit-bureau as well as the interpretation of the attitude of Comrade Doriot, who in spite of his deviating attitude kept silent during the political discussion and therefore has become the rallying point of all the opportunist elements who are in contradiction to the line of the Party and the Comintern.

The C. C. finally convened the Party Congress of the C. P. F. for the end of March. Until then everything must be done in order to clear up all the problems confronting the Party, in order to guarantee the participation of the whole membership in the discussion, in order to overcome the deviations, so that the Party Congress may become a demonstration for the unanimous application of all the decisions of the VI. World Congress of the Comintern.

The Position in the Communist Party of Germany.

By Hermann Remmele (Berlin).

The inner-Party struggle now being fought out in the German Party is of great importance for all sections of the Communist International. In the struggle against the Right liquidator group, which in the course of four years has developed into a pronounced reformist agency with branches inside and outside the Party, and against the conciliatory members, who in the same lapse of time have more and more become the followers of the liquidators, all the fundamental problems of Marxism and Leninism in matters of defence and of attack against enemies within and without, have become the daily weapons of all that figure in the fighting front of Communism. It was not only a question of warding off the common onslaught of the imperialist trinity, the trust-bourgeoisie, the State authority, and the reformists (with their Left wing represented by the new reformist agencies), but also of combating the new prophets of "German national Communism" of the Brandler-Thalheimer direction, who had set themselves no less a task than that of altogether eradicating the "barbaric Bolshevism" of the "Stalin clique". With the slogan of "Emancipation from Moscow!" and "Reform of the Comintern in Root and Branch!", they some months ago commenced their campaign which ended in their abandonment of practically all the principles of the Party, while at the same time taking over the entire anti-Communist armaments of the reformists — a debacle such as has seldom been witnessed in the history of the Party in Germany.

The starting-point for the abandonment of Leninism on the part of liquidators and conciliators alike was afforded by the resolutions of the VI. World Congress, before and during which both Brandler and Thalheimer submitted written declarations to the effect that they fully agreed with the policy of the Comintern and of the C. P. G. and were willing to co-operate on the basis thereof. At the same time they managed cleverly to evade all discussion of their own policy of 1923. They declared that they had never professed to have made no mistakes in 1923 and that they were ready to sign any desired declaration in this connection. But they made no concrete statement as to what mistakes of the year 1923 they were willing to correct.

The VI. World Congress, however, took quite a different course from what the Right wing and the conciliators had expected. It embodied no justification of the standpoint of these elements, but rather a very definite and unmistakable repudiation thereof.

After this decided political defeat, the Right wing and the conciliators recognised that the conquest of the Party and of the Party leadership was not to be attained with political means in a legal way, the only ways still open to them being crooked and deceitful ones, ways of mean bourgeois intrigue with the aid of an empoisonment of the political atmosphere of the Party, necessarily representing no less than absolute treason in relation to the Party. The coup carried out against the Central Committee in connection with the Hamburg affair by the intrigues of Ewert and others was a misfortune for the Party administration, but the fortitude and steadfastness of the Party proved its salvation and the downfall of the Right wing and the conciliators.

During the VI. World Congress and immediately after it, the liquidators still declared themselves in conformity with the resolutions of the V. and VI. World Congresses. To-day that is naturally all changed. At first it was merely the "internal Party line" with which the Right wing declared itself unable to agree. This inability the members of the Right and those of the conciliatory group discovered simultaneously. But when it had been explained to them that the inner Party course could be no other than the general Party line and that it could only serve the purpose of lending practical expression to the political directives in general, they discovered bit by bit that not only the policy of the Comintern but the entire Comintern was "worthless".

The conciliators shared the thoughts of the liquidators, though they did not dare to say so. For this reason they did not repudiate the resolutions of the World Congress, as the liquidators did, but began to "reform" them. "Not to say anything of the resolutions being wrong, but simply to inter-

pret them as we desire" — such was the parole of the conciliators Humbert Droz, Ernst Meyer, Ewert, and others in regard to the third period, to stabilisation, etc. According to the statement made by Hausen, Bela Kun and Gerhard came to him to persuade him to agree to everything at Moscow and to submit, so that in Germany he could subsequently continue the fight against the Comintern and against the policy of the Party within the German Party. In the opinion of these conciliators, the members of the Right are "stupid fellows" because they do not wish to act as hypocrites.

The liquidators were quick to recognise what the conciliators will never manage to see, namely that there is more required to make up a real opposition than a mere negative criticism of the internal Party line. They finally dropped the mask they had so unwillingly worn since 1924 as "disciplined soldiers of the revolution" and showed themselves in their true colours as an unalloyed variety of reformists. In a few weeks they had added to their old anti-Leninist creed in regard to the State, to the Social Democrats and to united-front tactics, the following new professions:

a) **Repudiation of the decisions of the IV., V., and VI. World Congresses of the Communist International, repudiation of the resolutions of the IV. R. I. L. U. Congress, repudiation of the tactical and strategical part of the Comintern programme,** all of which together represent an "ultra-Left" deviation from Communism and deteriorate the Communist movement into an anarcho-syndicalist sect, a development which they (the liquidators) could not bear to witness. Therefore they prefer to wait outside the Party until the time comes when they are recalled and when they will not merely be suffered but can put through their demands. This is what the world looks like to the reformists, who daily prophesy the ruin of Communism.

b) **The liquidation of Democratic Centralism.** Both the liquidators and the conciliators reproach the C. C. of the C. P. G. with employing democratic centralism in the form of "bureaucratic centralism". In this respect the liquidators are making the same experience as Trotzky did. From their own practices they draw conclusions as to the practices of others. But such accusations meet with small result in the Party. The Party members know that the Party has grown far maturer, more experienced, more skilful, and more thorough in managing the principle of democratic centralism as in other matters too.

c) **The Liquidation of Revolutionary Internationalism.** This is by no means a new phenomenon, such as the liquidation of democratic centralism. It has at all times been characteristic of opportunism to refer to the peculiarities of the particular position prevailing in the country. The "scheme of revolution" must not be transferred from industrially and culturally backward Russia to highly-developed Germany, so say men like Brandler and Thalheimer.

"It is the misfortune of the Comintern that besides the Russian Party there is no other Party in existence with the same great revolutionary experience, so that all the other Parties are dependent upon the Russian Party alone."

Why should it be a misfortune for Parties devoid of great experience to learn from other Parties which have more experience? We thought hitherto that this was rather a fortunate and advantageous circumstance for the Comintern. Indeed, we cherish the immodest opinion that it is just thanks to the ample revolutionary experience of the Russian Party that the revolutionary Party throughout the world has become what it is at present. In these and similar complaints raised by the liquidators, there is a good deal of chauvinism, such as the reformists appear to be unable to do without. The reason is obvious; it is open and obstinate anti-Bolshevism.

d) **Repudiation of organisation on a factory nuclei basis** Just as the liquidators turn their backs on all revolutionary principles, so they are also hostile to the Bolshevik principles of organisation. What do they desire to attain by their demand for a return to the Social Democratic principle of a residential organisation? They wish the Party organisations to be debating clubs, like the Social Democratic evening meetings of the constituency-organisations, and not bodies operating immediately in the industrial concerns. Brandler's reformists feel the need of the bourgeois atmosphere just as a fish requires water; they are not at their ease in the nuclei organisations.

e) **Liquidation of the Revolutionary Trade-Union Tactics** Here again it is less a question of an abandonment of forme

conceptions than rather of the old opportunist standpoint in regard to the reformists. Yet more than in the question of Social Democracy, the attitude of Brandler and his adherents is opposed to the revolutionary fight against reformism in the trade unions. Every revolutionary mass mobilisation beyond the limits of the trade unions, as in the case of economic struggles and the like, is looked upon by the liquidators as a cardinal sin against the sanctity of their trade-union cretinism. For the Brandlerites the 13 or 14 million unorganised workers in Germany simply do not exist. In this respect the reformist, opportunist spirit is even more apparent than in other matters.

i) The Opportunist Demand for Conscription. In the matter of militarism in Germany, Brandler raises the demand of general conscription in the form of a bourgeois militia. He justifies this demand by asserting that from the standpoint of the proletariat a national militia is more advantageous than a mercenary army like the Reichswehr, isolated from the population. According to Brandler's suggestion, the Communists must vote for the military expenditure, provided that Herr Brünoer re-introduces general conscription in the place of the existing army. That opportunism has here attained the highest conceivable pinnacle, need not be particularly pointed out. It is, in comparison, a matter of minor importance that Brandler should adorn the general conscription he advocates with the look of a bourgeois militia.

The enumeration of these few points suffices to show how in the last few weeks — after placing itself in opposition to the Comintern and the Party — Brandler's liquidationism proceeded straightaway to develop into an undisguised and unmistakable agency of reformism.

Once it had openly broken with the principles of Communism, there was naturally no further disciplinary or organisational bond to retain Brandlerism in connection with the Party. Long before the Party had undertaken or even considered the very least measures, the reformist agency proceeded quite openly to prepare its new Party. As early as October 1928, only a few days after its offensive against the Party Central, it published, in two places at once, new organs of its own, viz. at Offenbach o. Main the "Volksrecht" and at Breslau "Gegen den Strom". (Against the Current.) At the same time, Thalheimer directed his so-called "letters" to the C. C. and the E. C. C. I., containing the most incredible calumnies against the Party. These letters appeared, legally and illegally, even prior to October 6th. To the resolution of the E. C. C. I. of October 6th, the Brandlerites replied by a printed pamphlet, accusing the Comintern, *inter alia*, of defending corruption.

In the ranks of the members, the anti-Bolshevist libels of the Brandlerites aroused great indignation. At thousands of sessions and assemblies, the lower organs of the Party put forward suggestions and resolutions, calling for the removal of this anti-Bolshevist group from the C. P. G. At the same time the Right liquidators started holding conferences, meetings, and assemblies in various districts of the Reich. This procedure caused the plenary session of the C. C., on December 13th and 14th, to formulate six conditions, which were presented to the liquidators in so far as the latter were members of the German Party (Brandler and Thalheimer being members of the C. P. S. U.) (These six conditions are contained in the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I.) These conditions the liquidators refused to sign and on December 21st they were excluded from the Party. Prior to this exclusion, the E. C. C. I. had taken occasion to summon Hausen and Galm, the candidates of the C. C., whose anti-Party agitation was inquired into in this way. In its plenary session of December 19th, the E. C. C. I. arrived at the conclusion that the expulsion of Hausen and Galm from the German Party was a necessity. At the same time the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U. engaged in an inquiry against Brandler and Thalheimer.

Meantime, the local Offenbach group, the majority of which sided with Galm and Heucke, had separated from the Party, refraining as from September last to render any subscription payments to the district, issuing membership-books and membership-stamps of its own, and no longer recognising any of the resolutions of the Hesse-Frankfort district committee or of the C. C., which the merest Party discipline required them to observe. In his connection some 200 or 300 members quitted the Party. The district committee was obliged to institute another local group at Offenbach, to which most of the original members of the old group (600 before the split) subsequently returned. At Breslau, where the majority of the members also sided with the

liquidators, the local groups or city committees have so far refrained from separating from the Party in a body, as was the case at Offenbach. They only did so when the district Party Conference had decided by a great majority for the Comintern (74 votes for the Party majority and 15 for the liquidators); it was only then that in those groups in which they had the majority liquidators started violating Party discipline, discontinuing the membership subscriptions, and issuing membership-books and tickets of their own. This breach did not occur until December and January. All in all, some 400 to 500 members have in this way quitted the Party. In all these cases at Breslau, as at Offenbach, a new registration of members was initiated for the Party organisation, so that the present Party conditions are altogether normal.

In the Altenburg subdivision of the district of West Saxony, from the Party.

In the Altenburg subdivision of the district of West Saxony, Engert, a deputy of the Provincial Diet, attempted to make a split in the Party after he had been excluded therefrom. At Altenburg and in four smaller local groups, there was at first a majority in his favour. After Brandler had held a speech at Rositz, however, the members of that small group unanimously and unreservedly reverted to the standpoint of the C. C., and eventually the splitters retained nothing but one small local group of eight members and about half the membership of Altenburg, figuring at some 40 members.

In Leipzig itself, the splitters were hopelessly defeated in six urban districts. Only in one small district of the city did they manage to muster quite a small minority. In this district, known as Leipzig C., the proportion in favour of the C. C. was 16 to 10.

In Thuringia, the inevitable expulsion of six Provincial Diet deputies out of eight has latterly given rise to new attempts at a split in the last strongholds of the fraction, Weimar and Greitz.

In the other districts there was not the slightest split in the Party.

Altogether there were two expulsions from the Comintern itself, two from the C. C. C. of the C. P. S. U., 10 from the C. C. of the C. P. G., and some 100 to 120 from the District Party Conferences of the C. P. G.

On December 29th and 30th, 1928, a National Conference of the liquidators took place with a view to drawing the balance of their entire campaign. In the beginning, when the liquidatory movement started going its own way with independent organisational measures, much propaganda was made throughout Germany for the idea of founding a separate Party under the name of a resurrection of the Spartakusbund. It had been intended that on the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the C. P. G. a new Spartakusbund should be created. The National Conference of liquidators, however, showed that these bold plans were nothing but soap-bubbles. There was no making a beginning with the ridiculously small fractions at Offenbach and Breslau. At the conference Brandler and Thalheimer developed their programme, which consisted in not founding any official Party but in establishing district committees in districts, thus grouping the adherents in all parts in so-called "unity" nuclei. The main tasks of these nuclei were to consist in acting as independent fractions at the trade-union meetings, at the meetings of the other mass-organisations, in the co-operatives, in the sport organisations, at the free-thinkers' assemblies, in the W. I. R., the I. R. A., and the like, so as to oppose special Brandler-fractions to the fractions of the Communist Party. It is obvious that with their independent policy the Brandler-fractions can be nothing but agencies of reformism. Indeed, the adherents of Brandler have already acted accordingly in various large centres, by supporting the Social Democrats against the Communists.

All these phenomena are merely outward indications of the direction in which the liquidators are tending. The "Brandlerites" have arrived at the point to which all "reformers" of Communism got sooner or later, viz. at the point of a convergence with the Social Democrats.

The group of Right liquidators reached its greatest development in November and December. When, after a careful ideological preparation, the Party proceeded in December to undertake its first serious organisational measures against the liquidators, the movement rapidly declined. The difficulties encountered in certain districts, such as Breslau, Hesse-Frankfort, Thuringia,

Württemberg, and West Saxony, have in the main been overcome. Though "Brandlerism" has been defeated and warded off, however, the Party yet continues its campaign against the dangers threatening from the Right, so that the resolutions of the VI. Congress may be realised. Now that the main group of Brandlerites has been separated from the Party, the first stage of the fight may be said to be concluded. The fight itself, however, is not yet over; indeed, subsequent events have shown that it will be necessary to direct the campaign into other channels, a task which cannot be completed until the resolutions of the next Party Congress are forthcoming, which may be expected to take place towards the end of May this year.

The mission of the liquidators, meanwhile, is being taken over by the conciliators:

"Obviously the movement towards conciliation must now — the quicker the defeated liquidators are forced to quit the Party — come to represent the rallying-point of all Right tendencies and currents within the Party and practically step into the shoes of the Right liquidatory movement. For this reason the fight against the conciliators must be waged unremittingly by the entire Party to the point of their final liquidation."

This thesis, taken from the resolution "On the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. in regard to the Right Danger and on the Inner-Party Situation", which was passed by the plenary session of the C. C. of the C. P. G. on January 24th and 25th, is absolutely correct. The conciliators, it must be admitted, have not dared, with an open vizor, to deviate so far from the Party as the liquidators; they have not yet so openly defied the principles of Communism. But they have effectively supported the liquidators in all their anti-Party activity and stayed the Party's arm when raised to strike down the liquidatory movement, by discrediting the measures of the Party among its members. At the time when the C. C. was already engaged in organisational measures against the liquidators on the basis of the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. and addressed to the liquidators the most elementary demands of Party discipline, the conciliators, under the lead of Ernst Meyer and Ewert, made the following declaration, which they presented to the C. C.:

"At the moment of a possible and probable separation of the Party from a whole number of comrades, such as Brandler, Thalheimer, Walcher, Frölich, Enderle, and Schreiner, who figured among the founders of the Spartakusbund and stood with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht on August 4th, 1914, we consider it our duty to declare before the Party that these comrades cannot be classed with traitors like Levi or Friesland or with petty-bourgeois like Ruth Fischer or Maslow."

This declaration reveals the double-facedness of the conciliators. According to this terminology of the conciliators, the Party will be committing a crime by separating from "Spartakus men", as Ewert and Ernst Meyer call them. As though Levi and Friesland who have long been renegades, had not also figured among the founders of the Spartakusbund, just the same as Brandler and Thalheimer. With such double-faced designations, the conciliators attempt at every turn to bring confusion into the ranks of the Party.

The chief documents of the conciliators have already been sufficiently denounced in the Press and in the relative Party literature. We need but touch upon them cursorily here.

In the first place, mention must be made of the platform of the conciliators of November 1928, in which they directed their entire front against the C. C. and against the majority in the Party and announced a war on two fronts, on the one hand allegedly against the Right, against which in reality they never fought, and on the other hand against the inner-political course of the Party majority, against which they continually fight in spite of all Congress and Comintern resolutions. The Open Letter is therefore right in declaring:

"We observe that in the last two months the conciliators have become more and more lenient towards the Right and more and more critical of the Party. They exercise no tangible criticism in regard to the opinions and actions of the Right fraction, though at the same time attacks on the Party are more and more vehement and begin to resemble the attacks made by the Right wing itself."

How correct this observation of the Comintern was, appears from the further documents of the conciliators, submitted at the

plenary session of the C. C. on December 13th and 14th. In a resolution on the Ruhr, struggle, the conciliators adopted all the arguments of the Right strike-breakers, with a view to discrediting in the eyes of the members the policy of the Party in the Ruhr struggle which the E. C. C. I. had recognised to be exemplary. In another resolution, the conciliators attempted for the first time to criticise the Right liquidators, whose henchmen they had just been accused by the Party of being. This attempt failed, the criticism turning into a sort of defence of the liquidators. The said resolution of the conciliators was taken up to one quarter with a so-called criticism of the liquidators, which was in reality no criticism at all, and to three quarters with fresh attacks on the Party majority. This shows, just as did all previous documents of the kind, that the conciliators are nothing but accomplices of the Right wing.

At the plenum of the C. C. on January 24th and 25th, the conciliators presented a resolution of their own against the resolution of the Political Bureau on the political situation, which was meant to serve as a basis for Party discussions in preparation for the Party Congress. The speakers of the conciliatory group declared that their resolution was no counter-resolution but only represented an attempt to amend and supplement the resolution of the C. C. This method of defence showed even more cowardice on the part of the conciliators than any of their previous actions. The speakers of the Party majority immediately showed up the Right-opportunist standpoint of this resolution. At the same time the resolution submitted by the Political Bureau on the inner-Party position was augmented by a reply to the resolution of the conciliators. The opportunist attitude of the conciliatory resolution may be seen in the following points.

1. In their economic and political analysis the conciliators do not start, like the Comintern and the Party majority, from the international situation, so as to draw the necessary inferences therefrom in regard to the situation in Germany, but from a limited national standpoint, onto which here and there international points of view are grafted as a matter of minor importance.

2. Opportunist over-estimation of capitalist stabilisation.

3. Under-estimation of the danger of war and a complete absence of understanding for the significance of the Reparation question as a means of accelerating intervention against the Soviet Union with the active participation of Germany.

4. A veiling of the reactionary rôle of the Coalition Government in Germany by means of a false, opportunist contrasting of the democratic-bourgeois type of State with the dictatorial-Fascist government type.

5. Acceptance of "transition-slogans" for non-revolutionary situation, as initiated by the liquidators (such as "Expropriation and nationalisation of trusts, banks, and big landed property within the limits of the capitalist State, as a political slogan for the present strikes).

6. Decided repudiation of the tactical changes in the trade union policy of the Party, such as were apparent in the Ruhr struggle and were approved by the E. C. C. I.

We may observe that in these resolutions, too, the conciliators adopted some of the most important arguments and principles of the liquidators.

The struggle which has now again proved necessary was carried on by the Party on the very broadest basis in discussion of several months' duration until the Party Congress, which will bring about the final liquidation of all currents tending in the direction of reformism within the Party. It is quite natural that after the conclusion of all inner-Party differences the Party will be in a more favourable position than before the commencement of these struggles. The principles of inner-Party concentration, as maintained until the VI. World Congress will no longer have to be observed. In this connection the resolution of the C. C. of January 24th and 25th declares most decidedly:

"Now there can be no further question of continuing and realising a policy of coalition under the flag of so-called 'concentration' for the purpose of 'standardising' inner-Party relations. If the conciliators wear the mask of the most zealous supporters of 'concentration', they therefore prove that they are not inclined to effect the resolutions of the E. C. C. I. of October 6th (Wittorf case) and of December 10th (Open Letter).

"Under the present conditions of a fight against the Right wing, which unquestionably calls for a more ruthless annihilation of conciliation tendencies, any such 'concentration of forces' cannot but mean the creation of a system of equilibrium between two contrary currents in the Party, one of which, led by the C. C. and representing the enormous majority of the Party, stands for the Leninist directives, while the other consists of generals without an army and constantly vacillates in the struggle (be it against the inner enemy — the Right wing — or against the outer foe — the bourgeoisie and Social Democrats), thus hindering the Party in the execution of its tasks.

"Such a balance of forces has nothing in common with a truly Bolshevist concentration, but would seem to represent an adaption of the Social Democratic system of a 'coalition of the most varied tendencies'. The C. C. therefore most decidedly repudiates such a concentration as is desired by the conciliators.

"A truly Bolshevist concentration can only be effected by the development of Party cadres, in the most active defence of Comintern and Party directives, in the fight against the liquidatory policy of the Right and against the conciliators on the basis of the resolutions of the VI. World Congress, the Open Letter, and the Party resolutions. The leading cadres of the Party must be formed on the basis of a Bolshevist selection of the theoretically and practically trained forces of the Party, which in their struggle against ultra-Left and against Right liquidatory tendencies have in the last few years elaborated a firm Leninist attitude, policy, and strategy and proved themselves the most steadfast revolutionary class-champions."

We have nothing to add to this declaration by the C. C. save the fact that it is for the entire Party vigorously to continue Bolshevism according to the principles of Lenin, starting from the foundations just outlined. We do not doubt for a moment the ultimate success of the collective work of the entire Party, required by the Party in its resolution of January 24th and 25th, for the purpose of strengthening and consolidating the revolutionary vanguard of the German proletariat on the basis suggested by the Central Committee. Thus the Communist Party will issue from its struggle with the Right wing more compact and uniform, more active and energetic than ever before and be in a better position than at any former time to solve its great revolutionary tasks in the interest of the proletariat of Germany and of all the world.

The Lessons of the Re-elections of the Nucleus Committees in the C. P. S. U.

We have received the following article from the Org-Department of the E. C. C. I. Ed.

Below we sum up the experience gained in the re-elections to the nucleus committees in the C. P. of the Soviet Union. This experience and these lessons must be turned to account in the practical work of the other sections of the Comintern.

General Character of the Campaign.

In accordance with the statutes of the C. P. of the Soviet Union, the nucleus committee sends in its report and is re-elected every six months. The practice of the C. P. of the Soviet Union has converted these re-elections into large-scale Party campaigns, participated in by all Party members and exercising a general control of the activities of the nuclei and of the whole of the work of the Party.

The Party attaches the greatest importance to this campaign, for it brings with it a great invigoration of the Party and serves to emphasise sharply the positive and negative aspects of Party work. For this reason not only the nuclei take part in this campaign, but the higher organs of the Party; these last issue instructions for its execution, follow its course, and study its results. It need not be said that the chief attention of the Party is devoted to the factory nuclei. In this article, too,

we deal chiefly with the factory nuclei*). The latest re-elections to the nucleus committees took place for the most part in November last year. On this occasion the campaign was particularly lively.

The explanation of this is to be sought not only in the fact of the unceasing qualitative development of the Party masses, but at the same time in the fact that since the XV. Party Congress the Party has taken decided steps to extend self-criticism from below, and to induce the Party masses and non-Party masses to participate in this self-criticism.

On the other hand, in this period there have been revealed opportunist tendencies in some sections of the Party, tending to divert the Party from the decisions of the XV. Party Congress. These tendencies have been expressed in inclinations to reduce the rate of industrialisation and to under-estimate the class struggle in the Soviet Union; in "theories" of constant concessions in the village policy of the Party, in unwillingness to fight against the kulak, and in attacks on self-criticism. Besides these open expressions of a Right deviation, a certain conciliatory attitude towards this deviation has made its appearance in some places. It must be stated that this conciliatory attitude, and such vacillations, even found their way into the leadership of the Moscow organisation, the greatest organisation of the Party. The reaction of the nuclei of the Moscow organisation to this danger was immediate. Aided by the Central Committee, they offered determined resistance to the vacillations of some of their leaders. As soon as the vacillation of the leaders became noticeable, the active bodies of the Party in the various districts and nuclei and the nuclei of the Moscow organisation held a number of meetings and conferences at which it was resolved to support unwaveringly the Leninist line of the Party, and demanding the immediate correction of the errors of their leaders. Thanks to this unanimity and to the political maturity of the Moscow organisation, the conciliatory vacillations were speedily and painlessly overcome and the leadership of the Moscow organisation firmly established, if at the price of relieving from their posts various leaders who had shown themselves unable to cope with their Party task and who had failed to keep pace in this respect with the organisations which they were leading.

These events, taking place immediately prior to the re-elections of the nucleus committees naturally left their impress upon these. Not only in Moscow, but in all other Party organisations, the main slogans of the election campaign were those showing the real character of the Right deviation, the necessity of combating this and the remnants of Trotskyism, and the need for the struggle against conciliation.

The re-elections to the nucleus committees were carried out on the basis of a further and considerable extension of inner Party democracy. This was shown not only in the self-criticism exercised, but in the fact that the re-election to the nucleus committees took place without any previous drawing up of lists. Formerly it was customary for the re-elections to the nucleus committees to be organised as follows: The active members of the nuclei consulted and drew up a list of candidates for the new nucleus committee, and submitted this in their own names to the nucleus meeting. At these last elections the candidates were chosen directly by the nucleus meeting itself. In this way no restriction was placed upon the initiative of the nuclei members in the formation of the committee. This method of election was of course only made possible by the fact that the Party masses of the C. P. of the Soviet Union have attained a greater political maturity. A few years ago a re-election on such lines might have led to a weakening of the nucleus leadership.

Besides this, the large works nuclei have been accorded

*) The whole of the nuclei of the C. P. of the Soviet Union are built up on the production-territorial system. The various types of nuclei are as follows: Works and factory nuclei, nuclei of the Soviet and trade union organs, nuclei of the army and administrative organs, village nuclei. All the members of the Party are allotted to the factory nuclei, village nuclei, etc. according to their place of work. With the exception of the village nuclei, there are no residential organisations in the C. P. of the Soviet Union.

extended rights. The workshop nuclei*) of the great undertakings have received the statutory rights of the works nuclei, and Works Party committees have been formed in place of the collective works nuclei**).

We now pass on to the separate questions of the organisation and content of the campaign for the re-elections of the nucleus committees.

The Organisational Aspect of the Campaign.

Preparations for the new election of the nucleus committees began a month or six weeks before the commencement of the elections. The appeal of the C. C. for self-criticism, and the appeal of the C. C. to the members of the Moscow organisation, determined the tasks and slogans of the campaign, and were discussed in the nucleus meetings participated in by non Party workers. The "Pravda", the central organ of the Party, devoted great attention to this question both before and during the election. The Party press published the slogans which threw light on the political tasks of the new elections and the separate practical tasks involved, and described how the elections were proceeding in the various undertakings.

The local Party organs conducted the elections, received the reports of the nuclei on their work, sent instructors to aid them, etc.

In the nuclei themselves the work being done was subjected to detailed control before the election. Reports were submitted by the works organisations (the communist fraction of the factory management, the works council, etc.), as well as by individual members of the nuclei, for instance the workshop nuclei, the nucleus commissions, etc.

The wall newspaper has played an important rôle in preparing and carrying out the new elections. Where this method of work is efficiently applied, the wall newspaper has proved an excellent aid to self-criticism, and has gained the attention of not only the Party members, but of the non Party workers.

The wall newspapers published reports summarizing the work of the nuclei, discussed the questions arising in connection therewith, and gave opportunity for the publication of critical remarks and suggestions.

The experiences in connection with the wall newspaper of the Moscow Electric Works have been interesting. During the election campaign extra numbers devoted to the meetings and the election, were brought out. These special numbers published the various opinions expressed at the meetings. They contained an artistic supplement, also devoted to the election, etc. These newspapers aroused lively interest among the non-Party workers and brought them nearer to the nuclei.

The practice of having special investigation commissions elected by the nuclei increased greatly in this campaign; these commissions familiarized themselves with the work of the nucleus committees, and gave a co-report on the work at the election meetings. This enabled the work of the nucleus com-

mittee to be made clearer to the meeting and increased the activity of the meetings.

We give a few figures showing the activity of the meetings.

In the Moscow district Samoskvoryetschye 32 per cent. of those taking part in the meetings participated in the discussions on the report of the nucleus committee. In Sverdlovsk (Ural), the number of those taking part in the discussions rose in some nuclei to 58 per cent. of the whole number attending the meetings; in the workshop nuclei of Leningrad to 50 per cent. In the nucleus "Gosplan" (Leningrad), 38 per cent. of the nucleus members spoke on the report of the nucleus committee, in the "Skoroched" factory there were 120 speakers, in the nucleus of the Elektrosila Works 200; and here 200 practical proposals for further work were made. In the Electric Works at Moscow 92 workers took part in the discussion, and the meetings often lasted until 2 o'clock in the morning and later.

The elections of the nucleus committees have roused great attention. As is generally the case, the best comrades were elected, the election being preceded by detailed consultation on every individual candidature, in spite of the fact that frequently several dozens of candidates had to be discussed.

In Leningrad and various other cities the elections to the nucleus committees were carried out in public Party meetings, at which the non-Party workers took part in the discussion of the candidatures.

The Struggle Against the Deviations from the General Line of the Party.

We have already stated that the C. C., the leading local Party organs and the Party press have drawn the attention of the nuclei to this task, in connection with the re-elections.

The standpoint of the individual nuclei is as follows:

"A steady and determined Leninist line, without deviations". Under this slogan the Party Conference of the "Krasny Treugolik" was held.

A comrade from the Baltic Factory writes:

"In the struggle against opportunism and against Right and Left deviations, the nucleus committee has not confined itself to discussion on these deviations. It has organised the communists and non-Party workers in a circle, in which the roots of the Right danger have been studied in detail, and has placed the study of this question on the syllabus of the Party school".

In the nucleus of the factory "Electro-apparatus", the secretary was severely criticised both at the meetings and in the press, because his report on the work of the nucleus committee glossed over the question of the fight against the Right deviation.

A communication from the gubernia of Vologodsk states: "That meetings are extremely active. Great attention has been paid to the inner Party situation."

From Tula: "The nuclei accord the first place to the struggle for the clear Leninist line, the struggle against the Right deviation and the tendency to tolerate it, and against the last remnants of Trotzkyism."

From Sverdlovsk: "Both deviations (the Right and the Trotzkyist) have encountered resistance."

Many more such instances might be adduced. It need not be said that where organisational measures have been necessary in the nuclei, these too have been applied. "What have you taught us?" was the question put to the nucleus committee of the "Gosplan" by the nucleus members. "Straightforwardness, firmness, a decisive political line" — these are what the meeting demanded of the nucleus committee. The communists of the "Gosplan" have unanimously, determinedly, and collectively offered a timely and determined resistance to every trend of the Right deviation or a conciliatory attitude towards it, and have at the same time emphasised the necessity for an indefatigable struggle against the residue of Trotzkyism. The work of the nucleus committee was designated as insufficient by the meeting, and new comrades elected to the committee. It must, however, be admitted that some nuclei have not laid down any clear statement with regard to the struggle against the deviations from the Party line. Some nuclei confined themselves to a discussion on questions of practical work, without combining this discussion with a control of the actual execu-

*) The workshop nucleus is the nucleus representing one department of a large undertaking. The development of the factories and works in the Soviet Union, the growing number of workers and their increasing influx into the Party have made it increasingly difficult for the old form of organisation to cope with the tasks. Therefore steps were taken, with the agreement of the XIV. Party Congress, to form nuclei in the separate departments of the undertakings. These are known as workshop nuclei. These new organisations give the Party fresh possibilities of increasing its influence on the masses of the workers in the undertakings and of improving the Party leadership in the works and factories concerned. The formation of the workshop nuclei does not signify the dissolution of the works nucleus. This continues to exist as before and guides the workshop nuclei. The workshop nuclei possess only an advisory vote in questions of admission to or expulsion from the Party, and do not possess the rights accorded by the statutes of the Party to the works nuclei.

**) Reorganisation on these lines has been carried out in some gigantic undertakings, for instance in the "Krasny Treugolik" (Leningrad), where 20,000 workers are employed and 33 workshop nuclei have been formed; in the "Krasny Putilovetz" (Leningrad), where the nuclei comprise 2153 comrades; in the "Krasny Wiborshetz", where the nuclei have 1160 members, or 40 per cent. of all workers employed in the undertaking; and in a number of other large works.

tion by the nuclei of the decisions of the XV. Party Congress. Narrow practicality of this kind has also been observable in the workshop nuclei. The Party Committees, the works nuclei and the Party press have for the most part already dealt with this problem during the campaign itself. In some organisations, however, the Party Committees themselves have hesitated to issue directions on this question.

There have also been cases in which the struggle against the deviations has degenerated, and where yet undeveloped comrades have been accused of deviations simply because they have failed to grasp this or that. Two such workers, on hearing that the secretary of the nuclei accused them of deviation to the Right, were extremely indignant. "I certainly had no idea that I belonged to the Right" was the simultaneous exclamation of both of them. Here the whole trouble arose because these workers had spent their holidays in the country, could come to no satisfactory conclusion with respect to the collection of the agricultural tax, and turned to the nucleus secretary for enlightenment. Needless to say, the dealing of such rebuffs to unenlightened comrades seeking explanation is not the way to overcome ideological vacillations. There are, however, not many such cases.

Self-criticism and Its Results.

In the matter of self-criticism, both achievements and faults are to be recorded for nucleus work.

In the Baltic Factory the meeting recorded the following results: Successful struggle for the clearness of the Party line, winning of 178 workers for the Party, 32 of whom joined the Party during the report campaign on the work of the VI. Congress of the Comintern.

With regard to faults it was pointed out that the increased productivity of labour lags behind the increase in wages; that the nucleus committee does not accord sufficient expert guidance for the economic work in the undertaking; that the non-Party workers are not induced to take part to a sufficient extent in self-criticism.

In "Krassny Wiborschetz" the achievement recorded was the growth of the nucleus, the number of nucleus members (1100) having reached 40 per cent. of the total number of workers employed in the undertaking. The meeting was able to record that "The nucleus committee has been able to pursue the Party line clearly and determinedly, and has never failed to carry out the corresponding work of enlightenment in the workshops". One of the greatest achievements of this nucleus has been the promotion of 32 workers to responsible economic functions and Soviet work. Besides this, the attention devoted by the Party organisation to rationalisation enabled 1,600,000 roubles to be saved, wages being raised at the same time.

In the factory "Electrosila" increased production was recorded, and increased activity of the workers and Party members. 90 workers have joined the nucleus during the period under report (half year). The meeting itself, at which 200 men spoke and 200 suggestions were made, was the best illustration of the progress of the nucleus.

In the "Krassny Treugolnik" both economic successes and a firmer establishment of the nucleus could be recorded. During the past year over 900 workers joined the Party.

As compared with these achievements, serious faults are observable in the sphere of trade unionism: Bureaucratic methods retain the upper hand in the factory council, the factory council has failed to lead the trade union committees of the works departments, and these have forfeited their authority among the workers.

Another fault in this factory has been the false interpretation put on the slogan of self-criticism by one of the workshop nuclei, with the result that young Party members were set at variance; here the nucleus committee failed to intervene in time.

In the "Krassny Gvosdilschik" the nucleus committee was blamed for the bad behaviour of the young communists. It was pointed out that the Party only seldom lent aid to the youth nucleus, and that in one youth workshop nucleus the Party was never even represented. The nucleus committee was also criticised for having promoted a deputy factory director without consulting the workers on his candidature.

In a number of nuclei serious defects were shown in the mass work: for instance with respect to the daily enlightenment of the workers on the causes of economic difficulties, faults in the work carried on among the non-Party workers, lack of sufficient participation by the non-Party workers in the Party meetings, etc.

In various nuclei the tendency of some comrades to adopt a follow-in-the-wake policy was severely criticised. This tendency is often expressed in the endorsement of the standpoints of backward workers, or in "playing with silence" in place of resistance to demagoguery, etc.

At a meeting held by the nucleus of the Lenov waggon depot, at which attention was drawn to tendencies of this nature on the part of some members of the nucleus, the comrades in question admitted their error.

The nucleus meetings dealt with the organisational faults of the nuclei, which hamper the development of mass work. With respect to the nucleus of the "Electro Apparatus", for instance, which has four workshop nuclei but has not been able to exercise sufficient influence by means of these, it was resolved to establish ten workshop nuclei in place of the four.

In the "Kositzki" factory it was resolved, for the same reason, to set up twelve workshop nuclei in place of the existing six. In a word, the election meetings, which examined every aspect and detail of nucleus work, have yielded considerable results in the direction of overcoming all deficiencies by means of a collective exertion of forces.

Comrades employed in an electricity works report that self-criticism has enabled them to overcome the bureaucratic elements in the apparatus of the factory management, this being accomplished on the basis of the suggestions made in the nucleus meetings, which were taken up by the factory management and embodied in a number of enactments; the management then proceeded to draw up measures for perfecting the whole system of working management.

Where it has been found necessary, the meetings have combated the degeneration of self-criticism. Various nuclei pointed out that there is a lot of talk about self-criticism, but little application is made of it; that the suggestions of the workers are accorded but little attention; that the nucleus often assumes that only the active members are to exercise self-criticism, whilst the other members are rebuffed or laughed at when they come forward with criticism. Such degeneration of self-criticism met with the condemnation it deserved.

In general, the campaign was carried on in the spirit of earnest self-criticism. "An extremely severe criticism — that was our discussion", writes a comrade in the "Leningrad Pravda", in the course of a summary of the results of the re-elections in a district of Leningrad.

The Party members, actuated by a feeling of collective responsibility, have subjected the Party work to criticism at every point, and have at the same time sought the best means in order to overcome the faults thus brought to light and of improving the work. It is therefore easily comprehensible that the nucleus meetings have shown that they demand much of their own leading comrades, the nucleus committees. The extent of these demands may be gathered, for instance, from the number of new members elected to the nucleus committees. About 50 per cent. were elected. Of the old nucleus committees only one half remains — those comrades who have shown themselves most capable in leadership. The other half have been replaced by fresh forces. It must be admitted, however, that this renewal of the nucleus committees is not only the result of self-criticism: it takes place as a rule when the nucleus committees are re-elected, or other Party organs, and serves the purpose of bringing forward fresh cadres of Party workers and establishing the party organs on a firmer footing.

The total results of the re-elections to the nucleus committees are the following: the whole Party has been reached, a real control of the Party apparatus and Party cadres has been accomplished, fresh thousands of Party members have been drawn into the work of leadership, and a strong impetus given to the further development of self-criticism.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Statement of the Representative of the Soviet Co-operative Movement on the Question of the Future Activity of the Alliance.

The Soviet Delegation to the International Co-operative Alliance, when the question of the future activity of the Alliance came to be dealt with at the meeting of the Executive of the Alliance held on 7th and 8th February at Prague, handed in a Declaration.

We publish below the full text of this Declaration, which appeared in the "Kooperativnaya Shisn", No. 36 of February 13th, 1929.

On the question of the draft programme of economic activities of the Alliance, I declare, on behalf of the Soviet Co-operative Movement which is working, for the first time in of the practical building of Socialism:

I.

The consumers' co-operative movement will be unable to fulfil its duty to the toiling masses who are united by it, unless its entire activity is subordinated to the general aims and objects of the toiling masses, particularly of the working class.

It is necessary to point out, however, that under the capitalist system the co-operative movement can play only the subsidiary role of an organisation supporting the working class in its struggle for emancipation. The role and effect of the consumers' co-operative movement will be limited as long as the means of production remain in the hands of the classes interested in the exploitation of the toiling masses. The co-operative movement will be able to play its real role, that of participant in the building up of the new society, only after the overthrow of capitalism and the capture of the power by the workers and peasants which will turn the means of production over into the hands of the working class State.

The consumers' co-operative movement which comprises mainly the working masses will be able successfully to carry out its tasks only with the direct support and complete confidence of these masses. The consumers' co-operative movement must therefore constitute an integral part of the labour movement, and not only cater to the needs of the toilers as consumers but also actively aid the workers during unemployment, strikes, lockouts, political persecutions, etc., actively supporting the working class in its struggle for ultimate emancipation, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist commonwealth. Should the co-operative movement assume a position of neutrality in the intensifying struggle between labour and capital, or should it adopt the policy of collaboration with the capitalists, it must become a mere appendage to the capitalist society.

The consumers' co-operative movement will be effective in raising the standard of living of the masses of consumers only if it takes up the struggle against the dictatorship of monopolistic capital, against the price policies of the trusts and cartels, and will take part in a united front with those proletarian organisations which are interested in the struggle and which carry it on in reality.

The consumers' co-operative movement will contribute to the maintenance of peace only if it vigorously opposes the preparation for war and the colonial policy of the imperialist powers to the point of demanding full independence for the colonies and if, together with the organisations of the working class, it fights against national oppression, imperialist conquests and wars, mobilising for this purpose the millions of toilers who constitute the co-operative membership.

II.

The International Co-operative Movement cannot ignore the fact that the present stage in the development of capitalism is rapidly leading to the deterioration of the conditions of the

great masses of the population and that the tendencies towards further aggravation of this situation continue to grow.

The cheapening of the production and distribution of goods resulting from technical improvements and rationalisation has not led to the cheapening of the cost of living for the masses of the population. On the contrary, the trusts and cartels have been taking the highest advantage of their position as monopolists in order to raise the prices of the principal food products and articles of general consumption, for the purpose of profit. The trusts and cartels are also fighting the consumers' co-operative movement by means of the boycott and other repressive measures in an attempt to subordinate the co-operative movement to their influence.

One of the factors responsible for the steady decline of the standard of living of the masses is the intensification of the capitalist offensive upon the economic gains of the working class (the abolition of the 8-hour day, etc.). In consequence of capitalist rationalisation, unemployment has assumed immense proportions and continues to grow in a menacing degree. This enables the employers to increase their pressure upon the workers and the degree of their exploitation.

The capitalist governments and their organs (the courts, the civil authorities, etc.) represent obedient tools in the hands of trustified capital. Despite the existence in certain countries of anti-trust laws, these legislative measures remain on paper, for the capitalist governments in all countries encourage the policies of the trusts and cartels which are directed against the interests of the masses.

Lately the tendency has grown very strongly in every capitalist country to place the co-operative movement in an inferior position compared with private trade by worsening the legislation relating to the co-operative movement and by fiscal measures prejudicial to it, not to speak of the destruction of the co-operative organisations by the Fascist regime in certain countries.

III.

Simultaneously with the sharpening of the class antagonisms within the capitalist countries there has grown more intense the struggle for domination of the world markets and sources of raw materials between the capitalist groups whose rivalry determines the policy of the capitalist powers.

Again secret military and diplomatic alliances have been concluded between the governments who are feverishly arming and preparing to decide the question of the domination of markets by means of a new destructive war.

At the same time the oppression of the colonies and the seizure of vast areas with hundreds of millions of people are accompanied in all parts of the world by the ruthless suppression of the struggle for national emancipation and by direct support of the unheard-of terror against the workers and peasants on the part of the imperialist powers. (China.)

While the antagonisms between the various countries have been growing more acute, the imperialist powers are carrying on a systematic struggle against the State of the workers and peasants, striving by all means — beginning with economic boycott and ending with war — to overthrow the power of the toilers in the U. S. S. R., restore the power of the landlord and capitalists, and drag Russia with her rich mineral resources and enormous population into the system of capitalist exploitation.

IV.

The entire capitalist system which is based upon the rule of a minority of exploiters over the majority of exploited, rests not only upon methods of direct suppression of the emancipatory movement of the toilers, but also upon a system of deluding the great masses, beginning with the notorious bourgeois democratic parliamentarism and ending with various theories of class co-operation, class harmony, etc.

The ruling classes which are preaching the idea of peaceful settlement of class conflicts under the lying slogans of industrial democracy and peace, while at the same time carrying on a political and economic offensive against the working class, are attempting, by these manoeuvres, to gain the support of the co-operative movement as well. A number of trade union and co-operative organisations have taken up this incorrect policy of attempting peacefully to settle the class conflicts between labour and capital, thereby supporting the manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie against the toilers.

The same attempts to delude the masses of toilers are made by the bourgeoisie on an international scale, through its **League of Nations**. The League of Nations which is ostensibly an instrument of peace and which covers up its activity by pacifist phrases, acts in reality as a screen for ever increasing armaments, secret political treaties, robberies, and intrigues, and as a centre for the organisation of new imperialist wars.

By the organisation of special political and economic bodies (the economic conference, the Labour Office, the advisory committees, the Disarmament Commission, etc.) the governments standing behind the League of Nations are attempting to dope and enslave the toiling masses both directly through the press and by means of drawing into the work of these bodies the co-operative organisations, the trade unions and the other mass organisations.

The League of Nations and its organs give effect on an international scale to the class co-operation which a section of the co-operative movement is carrying out on a national scale. Yet any organisation which takes up the path of reconciling the class interests of the exploited and exploiters objectively takes the side of the latter. That is why the co-operative movement as a mass organisation of toilers cannot fulfil the task of defending the everyday interests of the toilers without taking up the path of a determined break with the ruling classes, without severing all relations with the League of Nations and its organs.

V.

Referring to the recent economic policies of the **Alliance**, it is necessary to note the following:

The Alliance had placed much hope upon the economic world conference of the League of Nations. The Alliance has built its economic policy on the basis of the policy of the economic organs of the League of Nations. Yet experience has shown the entire abortiveness and harmfulness of this attitude and of the adaptation of the Alliance policy to the anti-labour policy of the League of Nations and of its economic organs.

The economic world conference of the League of Nations, called for the purpose of discussing and solving a number of questions, did not, in fact, solve a single one of them. Even those decisions which were passed on certain questions have not been put into effect by the respective governments; thus the resolution stressing the necessity of abolishing the customs barriers not only has not been put into effect, but many countries have since introduced and still continue to introduce protective tariffs.

On the question of cartels and trusts the economic conference virtually adopted the viewpoint of the capitalist groups, and even the very moderate wishes which were passed by the economic conference still remain unrealised. Likewise, not one of the decisions of the conference or of the Advisory Committee calculated to establish direct contact between the consumers' and agricultural co-operative movements, has yet been put into effect.

The International Co-operative Alliance, following the League of Nations, has not independently discussed a single one of the fundamental economic problems or the question of supporting the working class in its struggle on the part of the co-operative movement, it has not taken the necessary steps to combat the high cost of living, and has done nothing to maintain the standards of the real wages, to fight the cartels or to resist the ever-growing lockouts and unemployment. Nor has the Alliance taken any effective measures to oppose the constantly increasing armaments and combat the danger of new wars with their prospects of untold misery for the whole of toiling humanity.

VI.

The ever-growing offensive of capital (the lowering of wages, the lengthening of the working day, etc.) leads to the sharpening of the class struggle, the extension of the strike movement, the strengthening of the resistance offered by the proletariat, and the taking up, at certain sections of the front, of the offensive by the workers. In this struggle of the working class for the improvement of its conditions, the co-operative movement cannot keep aloof, cannot and must not be neutral; on the contrary, it must most clearly connect its work with the activities of the labour organisations carrying on the struggle against the capitalist offensive, particularly as this capitalist offensive upon the working class also affects the co-operative movement.

On the strength of the foregoing, the Soviet co-operative movement believes the immediate tasks of the International Co-operative Alliance in the field of economic activity, to be as follows:

1. The Alliance must launch a vigorous struggle against the rising cost of living which constitutes at present a general phenomenon throughout the world and must therefore be dealt with by measures of an international character.

2. On the basis of the fact that the trusts and cartels represent a constituent part of the capitalist system, the Alliance must render every assistance to those international and national bodies which organise the masses for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system.

3. The Alliance must take part in and give support to the wide mass actions of the toilers against the policy, pursued in the interests of the capitalists, of high tariffs and taxes on articles of great consumption, particularly foodstuffs, which impose a heavy burden upon the shoulders of the mass of consumers.

4. Supporting the class struggle of the proletariat for its ultimate emancipation in all of its forms, particularly the struggle directed at the protection and improvement of its standard of living and working conditions, the International Co-operative Movement must consider as its paramount current duty the adoption of all necessary organisational measures (the establishment of special funds for the relief of striking and locked-out workers and their families, the sale of products on credit terms, the organisation of public kitchens, etc.), to render assistance to the working class in this struggle both nationally and internationally, for which purpose permanent co-operation with all the militant labour organisations should be established.

5. The Alliance must carry on a struggle against the legislation and policy of arbitrary administration designed to restrict the work of the co-operative organisations. The Alliance must particularly combat all attempts to prejudice the legal position of the co-operative movement as compared with that of private trade.

6. In view of the fact that the great masses of the toiling peasantry are also subjected to capitalist exploitation, the International Co-operative Alliance must regard the toiling peasantry as an ally of the working class in the struggle against capitalism. The Alliance must support all the tendencies of the agricultural co-operative movement directed at the removal of the influence of finance capital from their organisations. The Alliance must particularly take measures towards the actual establishment of direct economic connections between the consumers' co-operatives and the organisations of the toiling peasantry, for the purpose of eliminating middlemen and mutually supporting each other in the struggle against capitalism.

7. In the field of internal policy the Alliance, anxious to enhance the power and influence of the co-operative movement and make it better prepared to deal with the tasks confronting it, must advocate the application by the co-operative movement of such methods of work as would assure the closest contact between the co-operative organs and the membership masses as well as the masses of toiling consumers in general.

The Alliance must particularly draw the attention of its affiliated Unions to the necessity of attracting a larger number of women and youths to active participation in the work of the co-operatives.

The Alliance must make every effort with a view to strengthening as far as possible the contact between its organs and the broad masses. For this reason the reports of the meetings of the leading organs of the Alliance should be made public for the benefit of the masses.

8. The Alliance must defend the right of the membership to free criticism of the measures of the leading co-operative organs. The Alliance must condemn the tendency to interfere with such criticism by means of penalties (expulsions, repressions, etc.). In order to maintain and promote the power of the co-operative movement the Alliance must protect the unity of the co-operative organisations against splitting attempts.

9. The International Co-operative Alliance should recommend to all the national unions to submit all questions effecting the future activity of the Alliance to a public discussion (in the co-operative and labour press, at co-operative meetings) of their membership.

10. In order to promote the international economic power and unity of the co-operative movement, in order to encourage

an exchange of experiences, and in order to widen and strengthen the economic relations between the various co-operative organisations of the different countries, the Alliance must:

a) Continue the work of organising the **International Co-operative Wholesale Society** and the **International Co-operative Bank**;

b) entrust to the Bureau for the Study and Dissemination of Information on Cartels and Trusts together with the Committee of the International Co-operative Wholesale Society the task of examining the question of establishing international co-operative industrial enterprises.

11. The Alliance must withdraw its representatives from the organs the League of Nations.

The Alliance must also apply to all of its affiliated organisations with the proposal to discontinue all further co-operation with the League of Nations organs and capitalist governments, as well as with the organs of co-operation with the employers.

12. The Alliance should recommend to the national organisations to open up negotiations with the trade union bodies affiliated both to the **Amsterdam International** and to the **Red International of Labour Unions** and other kindred organisations of toilers for the purpose of creating joint committees whose task is should be to render mutual support and organise joint actions in defence of the toilers against the offensive of capital.

13. The Alliance must explain to the broad masses the tremendous danger of the **growth of armaments**, of the secret military and other alliances which lead to war clashes, and must conduct a **systematic struggle against war**.

14. The Alliance must call upon the co-operative movements to support the **Soviet disarmament proposals** submitted to the League of Nations and to fight for their actual operation.

The Alliance must make every effort to promote the mobilisation of the masses against all hostile attempts of the imperialist powers, against economic and political blockades and wars against the USSR, the first Workers' State in the world.

The Soviet co-operative movement, considering it necessary to preserve the unity of the international co-operative movement and to establish close connections with the movement of the working class for emancipation, will strive in its activity as a member of the Alliance and on the basis and within the limits of its constitution, to defend the viewpoint of the Soviet co-operative movement upon the tasks of the International Co-operative Alliance. At the same time, the Soviet co-operative movement will render the utmost support to all efforts of the Alliance calculated to increase the power and importance of the co-operative movement, to improve the conditions of the toilers and to extend the co-operation and friendly business connections between the national co-operative organisations of the various countries.

AGAINST TROTZKYISM

Resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. of France.

The Central Committee of the C. P. of France has adopted a resolution against Trotskyism from which the following is an extract. Ed.

The Communist Party of France fully and entirely approves the defensive measures which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has adopted against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist organisation and its leader Trotsky, who has openly gone over into the camp of the enemies of the Russian revolution and of the Communist International.

Trotsky and his adherents have committed extraordinarily serious and hostile acts against the Russia of the workers and peasants at a time when the ring of the world bourgeoisie is closing its grip more firmly round the Soviet Union in order to crush it. They have attempted to support the capitalist attack from without by their anti-Soviet actions at home, and have nothing more in common with the international revolutionary proletariat, which has to fight with the exertion of all its forces against its class enemies.

The fact that the social democracy in all countries is becoming today the defender of Trotsky who has been expelled,

and accords him brotherly welcome, would suffice to justify completely all the measures which have been adopted against him and his friends. Trotsky has become the spokesman of counter-revolution, which is making every effort to undermine the socialist construction in the Soviet Union and to destroy the proletarian dictatorship.

The Communist Party of France welcomes the recruitment of thousands of workers of the Soviet Union into the Bolshevik Party at the moment of the banishment of Trotsky, for this recruitment is the best reply of the proletarian masses of the Soviet Union to the joint attacks of the international bourgeoisie and all Communist renegades. This recruitment is the most genuine symbol of complete confidence in the Leninist leadership of the Bolshevik Party, which masters the fate of revolution.

The C. P. of France declares its determination, in agreement with the Communist International, to conduct a determined fight against all Trotskyist elements, which attempt to lead the working masses astray and to estrange it from their only class Party. The small group of adventurers and petty bourgeois in France who adhere to Trotskyism, are open allies of the bourgeoisie against Communism, as has been proved by the elections at Puteaux: they direct their attacks especially against our trade union policy by combining with all pessimistic elements who predict a permanent stabilisation of capitalism and deny the threatening war danger. It is therefore necessary to expose them mercilessly before the working masses as open counter-revolutionaries. The Party appeals to all workers to strengthen their united front against all enemies of the Comintern, no matter whence they may come, for the defence of the Soviet Union which is threatened by an imminent war.

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

Peasant Struggles in Greece.

By our Correspondent at Drama.

Venizelos finds no peace. The realisation of his programme of reform is proving more and more difficult. Hardly is one obstacle overcome then a fresh one arises, affording yet greater difficulties. Day by day he encounters fresh resistance from below. The masses oppose him with an attitude which is more and more threatening. Now it is the workers of some branch of industry or other, then the peasants, then again the tradesmen or the State employees.

This time it is the Thracian peasants in general and the small tobacco-planters of the Drama region in particular. Recently some ten thousand small farmers and agricultural workers of the Drama area came to that town and demonstrated against the policy of the Government, against the taxes, the penalties, and so on. The peasants of the more distant villages had started five or six hours earlier so as to be in town in due time. At Drama a great demonstration was organised, in which numerous workers took part. The taxes, the cost of living, the high rate of interest which the farmers are obliged to pay to the usurers and to the National Bank, the lack of all agrarian insurance, of negotiable roads, and last not least of elementary schools, are the real reasons underlying this demonstration.

The position of the tobacco producers is particularly bad. After the tobacco harvest, and often even before it, the planters are obliged to give the tax authorities an estimate of the crops. The law allows for a margin of error in estimation 12½ per cent.; if the difference between the estimate and the actual crop is any greater, heavy penalties are imposed. On the strength of these estimates, the planters are accorded a six-month loan by the National Bank, to the extent of 15 drachmas per oka (equalling 1.28 kilogrammes), the interest figuring at 9 per cent, but in reality often rising as high as 30 per cent, owing to commission and the like. Since this small loan does not suffice for the needs of the planters, they are forced to request greater crops so as to obtain a relatively larger loan. Subsequently, when the planter delivers his tobacco and pays the taxes, it is not the actual crops but the original estimate that is considered and which forms the basis of taxation.

Seeing that these indications are always larger, the planter becomes liable to punishment and can be accused of ill

traffic. The fines imposed in this connection range from 50 to 300,000 drachmas. The planter is then forced to mortgage his property, which means that the real masters in the rural districts are the National Bank and the usurers. The position of the tobacco planter is still aggravated by the fact that at the sale of the produce the dealer hands over the money not to the seller but to his creditors. This state of affairs has given the farmers food for thought. They have long had the intention of going to town and demonstrating there for their claims, but were always restrained by certain politicians. The tobacco dealers' co-operative, too, which has long since become a tool of the National Bank, prevented the movement of the peasantry by its activity.

Meantime indignation rose high. The peasants grew more and more restless. Under this pressure the various leaders were forced to call a meeting of peasants in closed premises at Drama. Now the peasants have marched to town, where, against the will of their leaders, they assembled not in a room but in the main square in the very centre of the place. Constabulary and troops had to defend the public buildings, especially the tax office and the branch of the National Bank.

In spite of various machinations, the assembly passed a resolution, demanding inter alia the abolition of fines and the cancellation of the penalties at present pending, besides the alteration of the taxation system or rather the substitution thereof of progressive taxes on the basis of the net proceeds. The planters finally declared that, if these demands were not fulfilled, they would very soon appear again in arms on the same square.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Knowledge is Power.

By N. Krupskaya.

The results of the elections (in the R. S. F. S. R.) up to the 2nd February show that in the towns 24.6 per cent. (as compared with 20.8 per cent. at the last election campaign) of the candidates elected to the new Soviets are women, and in the country 19.4 per cent. (as compared with 11.6 per cent.). It will be seen that the number of women elected in town and country has increased by 3.8 and 7.8 per cent respectively. This is undoubtedly an advance, though the normal proportion is thereby by no means attained — that is, if equal rights for women as laid down by the law were realised in actual life, then the proportion of women elected to the Soviets would be 50 per cent. This, however, is not the case. The inheritance of tradition is still too powerful. One of the chief causes hindering women from participating to the necessary extent in the Soviets is their **cultural backwardness**. When a comparison is drawn only in the European part of the Soviet Union, we find that two years ago the number of men able to read and write was considerably greater than that of the women. If we take the men and women in the towns from the age of 16 to 34 and 35 to 49, we find that in the first group 5.3 per cent. (of the total male population) and 16.3 per cent. (of the total female population) are illiterate, while the percentage of illiteracy in the second group is 10 and 17.8 per cent. respectively; in the country the percentage for the first group is 18.4 and 52.6 respectively, and for the second group 29 and 78.9 per cent.

There exists a certain connection between the educational level and the activity of the electors. What did Comrade Lenin say? "He who cannot read and write stands outside of politics". The urban population possesses a higher level of education than the rural, and therefore the activity of the electors in the towns is greater. At the last elections the participation in the towns was 50.7 per cent., in the villages 47.6 per cent. Meanwhile the liquidation of illiteracy has made progress, but more in the town than in the country. In the country the increase among those able to read and write is chiefly due to the women. The general increase of activity — greater in the town than in the country — is correspondingly accompanied by a considerable growth of the activity and authority of the women in the villages. The election participation in the towns rose to 64.3 per cent. (increase 13.6%), in the village to 58.2 per cent. (increase 10.6%). We must bring the election participation up to 100 per cent. This will, however,

only be possible when we have achieved 100 per cent. success in our campaign against illiteracy.

The working population places great hopes in the Soviet elections. The women elected to the Soviets will find that they have to learn much in order to cope with their tasks. Life is becoming more and more complicated, and it is necessary to view the situation clearly, to hold the helm on the right course and to hold it firmly.

The Soviet Union is not perfectly free. It is surrounded by the bourgeoisie. If we were not thus encircled by enemies, then we could develop at the rate required by our country; we could avoid crises at home as far as possible, we could make our influence felt solely by conviction to an extent of 99 to 100 per cent., we could choose the easiest path, instead of marching through thick and thin. We should thereby reach our goal more slowly, but without friction. But the fact remains that we are encircled by the bourgeoisie, and we must therefore realise that unless we harness every force at our disposal for the purpose of rapid advance, the bourgeois countries will defeat and destroy us. The bourgeoisie is always on the alert to attack the Soviet Union! We must not believe that it suffices to know how to hold a rifle, and to wear a gas mask, to become invincible. We must learn to handle a rifle so that no shot fails its mark, we must master the whole science of war, but at the same time we must be aware that military preparations alone will not secure our victory. Lenin wrote: "War is a test of the economic and organisational forces of any nation".

If we continue to work on the same lines as our fathers and grandfathers before us, if we use the old prehistoric machinery, then half of our factories will lie idle; if we do not succeed in raising our industry to the level of modern technics and in rationalising labour; if we persist in using the wooden plough, if we do not keep our fields clear of weeds and other pests, if we do not organise our traffic service and commerce, then it will not be difficult for the capitalist countries to swallow us up. We must so re-organise our whole economy that it becomes one closely welded whole, in which the various branches of economy are indissolubly and properly combined. As early as December 1918 Comrade Lenin said:

"We maintain the standpoint that society must represent one great co-operative, both with regard to supply and to distribution ... Society must be converted into a united co-operative of the workers."

In order to attain this it is necessary for us to raise our industry and agriculture, our co-operative system, to a very high level. The re-organisation of industry, and of agriculture and trade, — particularly a rapid re-organisation — cannot be carried out without encountering the resistance of the exploiters, the resistance of those for whom the old order, the want and backwardness of the masses, were a source of advantage. It is therefore not by accident that at precisely this juncture, when we are energetically engaged in re-organising our industry and agriculture, and the Nepman has begun to adapt himself to the Soviet laws, the enemies of the Soviet power gnash their teeth. It is not by accident that they are trying — by making use of our errors — to agitate against the Soviet Government and the Party among the not yet class-conscious and still vacillating strata of the workers. Comprehensive agitation and propaganda must be carried on among the masses, the cultural level of the masses raised, the influence of the anti Soviet elements removed, the masses brought to take part in the work of building up Socialism. Comrade Lenin was right when he spoke, even at his dying hour, of the necessity of the greatest possible intensification of cultural and educational work among the masses, especially among the peasantry. He pointed out the extreme and decisive importance of cultural work.

Five years have passed since his death. We are now faced with this task to its full extent. The Soviets must now devote a maximum of attention to cultural work to drawing the workers, the middle and small peasantry, and especially the women, into this work, in order that the initiative of the workers themselves may be aroused and organised. In this work the Soviets must receive help from all sides: from the Party, the Young Communists, the trade unions, co-operatives, and voluntary organisations.

The village Soviets can play an especially important part. Cultural commissions are affiliated to the village Soviets. They must induce all workers, especially the organised section of the population, to participate in their work. They must at the same time exercise definite influence over the work of the schools, of the so-called reading huts, the libraries, Red Corners, the organisations for the liquidation of illiteracy, etc. They must ensure that all children (boys and girls) attend school; they must approach the parents who keep their children away from school, find out their reasons, and endeavour to remove them. The culture commissions must provide for special courses of instruction or schools in villages where there are still a large number of illiterates, and see that these are kept going regularly. The culture commissions must persuade the illiterates to learn, must see that the reading huts are always open and have sufficient books for children and adults. The culture commission must take care that the schools accord sufficient attention to the children of the small peasantry, that nuclei and various circles and courses of instruction are organised, and crèches and kindergartens provided for the relief of the mothers. The culture commission or section can accomplish much. It can insist upon more newspapers being sent, especially for the small peasantry, upon the village being brought into contact with the town by means of the wireless, upon cinema performances being given in the villages. And by thus raising the cultural level of the rural population, it will awaken at the same time their upward striving towards a new order, new economic organisation, and a new organisation of economic life.

The culture commissions of the village Soviets must be provided with popular pamphlets, to be placed within the reach of every peasant woman.

The work done in the culture commissions of the towns must be no less energetic. The workers must become the masters of their own lives, not only in the eye of the law, but in actual fact. The greatest obstacle to this is the low cultural level of especially those strata who stand most in need of the help of the Soviet power, the badly organised and less class-conscious strata. The working and peasant women have experienced for themselves, more than any other class, the weight of the fetter of ignorance and cultural backwardness. Therefore the peasant and working women who have been elected to the Soviets will certainly give a great share of their attention to the work of the culture commissions. They themselves know, and will convince the others, that knowledge is power.

And we shall all give our help to the city and village Soviets, to the activity of the working and peasant women on the cultural front.

War-Makers Want Docile Women.

From an English Correspondent.

The rising artificial silk industry of England is notorious for the determination with which the least signs of class-conscious propaganda or desire for organisation are watched for and suppressed. The reason for this is not only to be found in the capacity of the capitalist firms for profit. For the capitalist state is largely interested in the development of this industry, which can be so rapidly converted to war purposes. A striking example of this is to be found in a great artificial silk factory near Derby. This factory, which is capable of being adapted in a space of 24 hours for the manufacture of poison gas, acids, and aeroplane wings, is organised already almost as if it were an arsenal, with a system of passports, each bearing the worker's photograph, barbed wire fencing at its boundaries, and so on.

It employs 6000 workers, of whom the majority are women. This staff of workers is in a continual stage of change. Not only is any sign of class-conscious activity visited with immediate dismissal, but in anticipation of any such attempts, systematic intimidation is carried out. Recently 1000 girls were discharged and a new 1000 engaged, apparently for no other reasons than as an insurance against the possible introduction of "dangerous" ideas, and to show how easily workers could be dispensed with.

A. N.

Women's League for War against War.

To the Russian women comrades of the rubber factory "Treugolnik"!

We have read the letter from the comrades who took part in the celebrations of the Tenth Anniversary of the Soviet Union, and should be very happy if we could enter into correspondence with you.

First of all we must state that our Women's League against war has been formed for combating the war danger now becoming clearer and more threatening day by day.

We have realised that we must not stand idly on one side but must take up the struggle against all capitalist wars and all those responsible for them.

The character of our struggle against war differs in principle from that of all other women's organisations, which pretend to combat war by designating themselves as pacifists, but do nothing to discover the real causes of war, and on the contrary encouraged their men to continue the struggle during the great massacre of the peoples in 1914—1918.

There is one sole organisation which attempts to combat war as we do, and this has received its stimulus from us: the "International Women's League for Peace".

It is our activities which have forced this organisation to combat the Paul Boncour law and the chemical war.

But as this organisation is composed chiefly of petty bourgeois of definitely pacifist views, its main activities are devoted to demanding women's suffrage. The pacifists assert that if women were given the vote, they would abolish war. It need not be said that this is a delusion. The wars of the past have demonstrated this, for the women had the franchise in many of the belligerent countries.

We maintain that the best means of effectually combating war is first of all to be clear as to its causes.

We know that wars are embarked upon for the purpose of gaining new colonies and new wealth, and thereby to provide fresh markets for big capitalist industry. The resultant conflicts are the source of immense profit to our French and other exploiters; these do not hesitate to provoke a world war if it enables them to lay their hands on raw materials, to grab the ore mines of Morocco, or to grasp a share of the oil fields in Syria.

At our meetings we investigate these causes, of which we only make brief mention here, and seek the most effectual means of combating them and of enlightening the innumerable women who are still ignorant of the reasons why wars are prepared and waged. In the works and factories, in the workshops, everywhere where women are to be found, we reveal to them the true causes of war. Often these women find it difficult to decide to follow our movement, for they are still doped by the bourgeois press, which makes no effort to open their eyes.

We hope, however, that these women, too, will soon follow our example, that they, too, will realise that it is their duty to join us in fighting against the crime of capitalist war and against those responsible for it. Until we take up an energetic struggle against all these causes and consequences, wars will be inevitable.

This, Russian sisters and comrades is what we have grasped.

With this we end our letter of today; in our next we shall send you a report on the women in our organisation and on the practical work which we accomplish.

It is true that what we accomplish is nothing in comparison with what you have attained in ten years of building up of Socialism, in the country in which you have gained, and will maintain, the victory of labour over capital, in spite of capitalist rule in other countries.

We admire you, and will help to defend you to the utmost of our power.

We hope that you will give us the pleasure of entering into correspondence with us, as speedily as possible.

With fraternal greetings.

Section of the Women's League for War against War.
Department "Les Lilas". (Seine), France.

The C. P. of Germany and the International.

The C. P. G., the Rights and the Conciliators.

Full Text of Speeches Delivered by Comrades Kuusinen and Lozovsky at the Meeting of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on December 19th, 1928.

Comrade KUUSINEN.

Clearly, it is not with a casual question of factionalism that we have to deal here. It is rather a question of a new stage in the struggle which originated already at the time when the Communist Party was founded, namely the struggle between the Communist Party and the Social Democracy for the proletarian masses. There have been different stages of this struggle in Germany, and it is characteristic that every time when the Social Democracy is confronted with a great danger of losing its influence over the masses, an auxiliary force arises either within the Social-Democratic party or within the Communist Party which helps the Social-Democracy in sidetracking the masses that are beginning to turn in the direction of Communism. For instance, in 1923, when there was a high revolutionary tide in the labour movement, the Left wing of the Social-Democracy was formed under the leadership of Zeigner which served at the time as a successful means towards diverting the masses which were becoming radicalised. During that period there was no appreciable pressure brought to bear upon the Social-Democratic leadership by the mass of the workers, and since this pressure was lacking, naturally the Left Social-Democracy was not called upon to play any particular part. Paul Levi & Co. surrendered again and again before the Right Social-Democracy, until eventually at Kiel they gave up entirely their opposition even on the question of coalition politics. Yet along with the advent of rationalisation and capitalist stabilisation in Germany, when a Leftward movement emerged again among the working class, there was founded once again an auxiliary force of the Social-Democracy, this time within the Communist Party, for the purpose of objectively sidetracking a section of the workers from the road of Communism. I refer to the ultra-Left opposition in our Party. At the present time we have to deal again with a similar phenomenon, even if in a new form corresponding to the new stage.

This new stage has already been characterised by a number of comrades here. I must say that I was on the point of making a mistake, because I was not sufficiently acquainted with the material which reveals the opinion of the German conciliators about the character of the present stage of stabilisation. It seemed to me at first as though the conciliators had really taken upon this question a standpoint similar to the one laid down in the resolution of the VI. World Congress. For instance, Comrade Ulbricht has drawn my attention to a highly characteristic fact: in a speech by Comrade Ewert, which I had read, it was quite clearly emphasised that along with stabilisation there was a sharpening of the contradictions in Germany; yet in his first speech in the C. C. he did not mention this. Was this a matter of chance? Of course, it was not. On carefully studying the formulae of Comrade Humbert-Droz I could see that they are affected by the same one-sided view. Thus, he spoke literally about the period of the stabilisation of capitalism and of the strengthening of the State power of capitalism.

(Humbert-Droz: And what did I say afterwards? About the class struggles, about the war danger!)

To be sure, Comrade Humbert-Droz mentions also the contradictions of capitalism, but he does not treat them as political factors from which political deductions are to be made; he makes his political deductions solely from the perspective of stabilisation. In this manner the revolutionary perspective vanishes. A certain sharpening of the class contradictions went on even during the period of the greatest prosperity of capitalism. Yet the perspective, as we see it today, is not one of the consolidation of the stabilisation of the capitalist system, but on the contrary, the decline and collapse of stabilisation. This is the deciding fact.

I believe I was right in saying that it was an exaggeration to assert that the conciliators had the same perspective as the Social-Democracy; yet it is equally clear that they are over-estimating the stabilisation of capitalism in the present period. What is really new in the political resolution of the VI. World Congress? The statement about the fact of stabilisation? Oh no, that was already repeatedly stated by the Comintern. But the VI. Congress has given us new, or at least more precise reasons for the revolutionary perspective, namely by pointing out the growing acuteness of the capitalist contradictions, by pointing out the inevitable, undermining antagonisms of capitalism. This leads precisely to the line of the VI. World Congress, which is now obviously ignored by the conciliators. For instance, when Comrade Droz particularly objects to the statement by Comrade Neumann to the effect that the present mass fights are undermining the capitalist stabilisation, I fail to see what is wrong in this assertion. For it is quite clear that the present mass fights are bound to undermine the capitalist stabilisation. The capitalist stabilisation is being undermined by the deepening of the capitalist contradictions, by the political activation of the working masses, by the accelerated radicalisation of the labour movement. An accelerated ripening of the revolutionary crisis is going on, and this is the most important fact. Hence not the perspective of consolidation and stabilisation, but rather the perspective of undermined stabilisation is correct. There is as yet no rise of the revolutionary tide, in this Comrade Droz is absolutely right; but nobody has asserted this. There is only a ripening of the revolutionary tide which is going on, even if at a slow pace.

Perhaps in the resolution of the VI. World Congress this was not yet expressed so concretely and clearly as to leave no room for any other interpretation. Since the VI. World Congress a number of important events have taken place, and above all, great economic fights in a number of capitalist countries, which have enabled us already to concretise somewhat more closely the resolution of the VI. World Congress whilst still remaining upon precisely the same line. And when it is now said in the submitted draft of the Open Letter that in the present stage there is a continuous ripening of the postulates for the coming revolutionary tide, it means precisely the concretisation of the line of the VI. World Congress which is now essential.

It seems as though Comrade Droz, instead of sharpening the struggle against the Social-Democracy, would like to say: a "wiser struggle" against the Social-Democracy. Well, Comrade Droz, a wiser fight against the Social-Democracy will always be necessary. But at the present time it is also necessary to wage a sharper fight against the Social-Democracy. Any concealment of the fundamental difference between the line of Communism and of Social-Democracy helps only the Social-Democrats to hinder the emancipation of the masses from their influence. A clearly drawn bolshevist line in the practical struggles, a sharp demarcation from the Social-Democratic practice and theory, is essential just now.

The very opposite is being done by the Rights in the German Party: they are helping the Social-Democracy to demonstrate that there is really no substantial difference between the Social-Democratic line and a "reasonable" — as they say — Communist policy, i. e. as long as it is not an ultra-Left policy, as even Comrade Droz has characterised the policy of the Party majority of the C. P. G. Hence the best aid to the German Social-Democracy at the present moment is furnished by the Right faction in the C. P. G. Indeed, under the present situation this is the historic mission of the Right faction in the C. P. G. The so-called "Left" socialdemocratic leaders

Paul Levi, Toni Sender etc., have so discredited themselves by their participation in the coalition policies of the Right social-democratic leaders that they are no longer able to carry out their historic mission of diverting the social-democratic working masses any further from the road towards the Communist Party. An auxiliary force must therefore be found within the C. P. to carry out this historic mission of the Left social-democrats. It is precisely for this reason that the Right faction is so dangerous at the present moment; there are historic postulates for its existence. Whether it will grow into a big party, is a matter which I doubt. Yet even if it will form an ever so little group between the C. P. and the S. P., it will be of political service to the Social-Democracy against Communism.

Criticisms have been levelled here at the erroneous formulae of some leading comrades, for instance the "break through fights"; at the same time it was ignored wherein the grain of truth is contained even in such erroneous statements. It is important how the Communist Party behaves towards capitalist stabilisation. What has been the attitude of the ultra-Lefts towards the fact of capitalist stabilisation?

They knew nothing better than to reply by empty shouts. They proved incapable of carrying out bolshevist activity in the course of capitalist stabilisation; all they could do was to indulge in Left phrasology. On the other hand, the Rights conceive the necessity for adapting themselves to the capitalist stabilisation. Yet the bolshevist standpoint is to act in the proper manner against the capitalist stabilisation, to contribute, as a Party, to the undermining and combat of capitalist stabilisation. This revolutionary attitude towards capitalist stabilisation is revealed even in the erroneous statements made by the respective leading comrades in Germany, and substantially this is the only correct line.

It seems to me as though Comrade Humbert-Droz, regardless of his experience in our work, has forgotten who the Right leaders in Germany are. Thus, this question was brushed out already at the V. World Congress, and we recollect that these Right leaders have never realised or admitted the cardinal mistake which they committed in 1923. They are still describing this cardinal mistake, like Comrade Thalheimer, as a "legend". Is this a matter of chance? No, it seems to me that both Brandler and Thalheimer, who came into the Communist movement from the social-democratic opposition, have not yet experienced a real "socialist" revolution in their own heads. It is true, we have a great many excellent comrades who have come to us from the ranks of the Social-Democracy; yet we must say that this is by no means an easy road. Many of our comrades who have traversed this road have found it necessary to experience even several revolutions in their heads. Yet if we consider the evolution of such officials like Hausen, for instance, who was here, it can be seen quite plainly that he has continued to be a Left social-democrat, although he believed himself to be a Communist. He has told us that in 1923 he followed Brandler, but that since then he was one of Meyer's supporters until the spring of the current year. This strikes me as the greatest political discrediting of the Meyer group. Hausen's statement has cleared up with one blow, what in reality has been the role of the Meyer group. Hausen and the others were with Meyer at the time when they were living underground in our Party, when they had no possibility of openly advocating their views, when there was absolutely no demand for their policies. Now, since the spring, when the Comintern has made a move towards the Left, the Rights are driven by the unavoidable impulse of making an open move towards the Right.

Comrade Humbert-Droz believes that by having a few chats with Brandler and Thalheimer the latter would have been won over to the correct line. Yet he is quite naive when he believes that it would have been possible by means of kindly talk to save these Rights who have really followed a Left social-democratic line in the course of ten years whilst wearing a Communist garb. Comrade Serra has declared in his resolution that the inner-Party course of the present leadership of the C. F. G., even if it afforded no direct justification, could at least serve as an "explanation" for the political platform of the Rights. This is absolutely wrong. This platform of the Rights has been the same in 1923, as well as before and after. It is for this reason that a split with the Rights has now taken place.

If one really understands their historic role at this moment, their role as a group of the kind of a 2½ International between the Communist movement and the Social-Democracy, one must say that every Communist must decide, and there can be no other decision for a Communist, in favour of a relentless struggle by the Communist Party against the Rights.

It were an exaggeration to say that these Rights would now simply go over to the Social-Democracy. I know not when they may eventually go over to the Social-Democracy, but just now they will play their role between the Social-Democracy and the Communist Party. Should they not take up this middle position, as was done for instance by Paul Levi and Friesland, they would not be of any dangerous significance as regards retarding the radicalisation of the masses. They happen to be dangerous particularly when they do not directly go over to the Social-Democracy, but prefer to play a middle role.

The unconscious defence of the Rights by Comrade Humbert-Droz finds even a comical expression when he says: is a Right says 'two and two are four', should we not agree that it is so? In politics one has to take a definite stand, and if it is a question of choosing between the Left Social-Democratic and the Communist standpoint, one has to take an unequivocal stand on one side or the other, there can be no middle course. If one says, I part company with these Right Communists who are really Social-Democrats whilst I shall fight also against the Communist Party, it is a position which is perfectly untenable. If Comrade Humbert-Droz so believes, he really does not take a stand against the Rights, but rather against the Communist Party, the same as the conciliators in Germany who are in practice waging a sharp fight against the Party leadership.

If on the question of the perspective such confusion is reached as it was by the Comrades Humbert-Droz and Serra, this can be described as a lack of revolutionary perspective. Under such conditions it is impossible to understand the new tasks which emerge in the present situation of the trade union question and on other important questions.

It seems to me that the leading elements of the Rights in Germany are already really outside of the Party; they represent an extra-Party group standing between the Communist movement and the Social-Democracy. On the other hand, the conciliators represent in reality the Right wing of the Communist Party. Indeed, their struggle against the Party majority under the present circumstances constitutes a flagrant Right mistake. If this does not hinder and prevent the struggle against the Right danger in Germany, then nothing else does. It is my earnest conviction that Comrade Droz should clearly and seriously grasp this fact. I am of the opinion that the line laid down in the draft resolution submitted by the Commission is entirely correct.

Full Text of Speech by Comrade Losovsky.

Comrades; the situation in the German Party at the present time is very serious and those decisions which we will adopt now, will, undoubtedly, have an international significance. In this sense, we can agree with what has been said by Comrade Clara Zetkin in the beginning of the session, when she proposed to postpone the consideration of this question. But just because the decision which we must adopt has a great international significance, it is just the reason why it must be taken as quickly as possible. And now the answer must be given to those questions which are raised at the present time by the growing activity of the Right faction in the C. P. G.

For politically inexperienced people it would appear, that the struggle within the German Communist Party has as its starting point the moral considerations of the Wittorf case, etc. But it is quite clear for everyone that the Hamburg incident was only a pretext, upon which various elements, not only within the Party, but chiefly in the Central Committee seized. And only after the Presidium of the Comintern adopted a political decision on this question, only then it became clear that the Hamburg incident is only a petty pretext used by the Rights. Because, in reality, on account of the fact that in Hamburg there were misappropriated 1800 marks — an event of the greatest historic importance — it could not in any degree follow that the decisions of the VI. Congress are incorrect, that the programme of the Comintern is unacceptable and that the entire Comintern holds an incorrect line. It is quite apparent that this entire staging of the Hamburg case on a national wide scale in Germany and then an attempt to carry the Hamburg case into the entire Comintern was nothing more nor less than a strategic manoeuvre. We have to deal now with serious political differences, we have to deal now with serious disagreements and for this reason all these petty matters have a very small significance.

The external form of those documents, about which Comrade Serra spoke condescendingly, also do not have a great significance in the present case. Comrade Serra undoubtedly has a very refined literary taste and he could write these documents in a much better way but we do not argue with Comrade Serra about the literary form, but about the content, and if Comrade Serra desires that the content of the letter should be written in a somewhat better style, not a single member of the Presidium would argue against it. But his talent of literary style was directed, in this case, towards writing a document of a different political content, and this is unacceptable. For this reason Comrade Serra, we shall argue with you, not about the form but regarding the essence of the documents, regarding the essence of a split existing in the C. P. G.

I would like to dwell here chiefly on the differences and disagreements in the sphere of the trade union tactics, because in this question fundamental differences have been reflected, regarding the method of winning over the masses, i. e., that fundamental question which has always occupied the attention of the C. I. And if in a few words, we shall define in what consists the essence, the roots of the differences, then we must state that they consist of the following: The factional struggle on the part of the Rights sharpened, beginning with that very moment, when the Comintern and the Profintern decided to sharpen the struggle against social democracy, and the moment when the Comintern and Profintern decided to sharpen the struggle against trade union bureaucrats, at the IX. Plenum of the E. C. of the C. I., at the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U., at the VI. Congress of the Comintern. From this moment the Right faction within the C. P. G. has definitely shaped its political line and advanced a new platform. In this lies the root of the differences and I wish that Comrade Serra would give an answer to this question. Because, in reality, all the differences within the C. P. G. revolve in the sphere of the attitude towards the social democracy. The question of our attitude towards the methods of winning over the masses and the attitude of our Party toward social-democracy and the trade union bureaucracy is reflected in the trade union questions and the problem of the strike committee. If we take this basic problem and ask ourselves what position is taken at the present time by the Right faction within the German Communist Party in relation to this fundamental question — whether it was necessary to sharpen the struggle against the social democracy — yes, or no, — what do

the Rights say in regard to this question? They say the following: the Comintern and the Profintern (they say so word for word) have purposely invented some sort of a change in the character of social-democracy and of the trade union bureaucracy in order to create counter-arguments and to carry out its own tactic. This is actually written in that number of "Against the Current", which does not particularly beautify the German Right faction and those who defend it.

In general, Comrades, the Comintern opposition has acquired such a habit: as soon as they begin to go out of the Comintern, they proceed to issue an organ "Against the Current". Such was the case in France, and is now taking place in Germany. They want to utilise the historic example of Lenin in 1914 when he issued the slogan against the chauvinist current in the working class. Against what current do they go? They go against the Communist current and for this reason their organ should be called: "Against the Communist Current". This will be clear. There is no use aping. There is no use taking up banners which have no relation to the deeds of this faction and which cannot in any degree cover that opportunism and that openly social-democratic, thoroughly decayed spirit with which are permeated absolutely all writings of this German opposition.

Let us return to the essence of the argument. And so the Comintern and the Profintern have purposely invented changes in the character of social-democracy and in its policy in order to find justification for their tactic. In a number of this organ "Against the Current" they quote the fundamental resolutions of the Comintern and Profintern dealing with the characterisation of the present Amsterdam trade union bureaucracy, namely the merging together with the apparatus of the bourgeois state, the participation in the suppression by the police of the strike movements and so on. And about this characteristic they say: "Here, this characteristic, given by the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. represents an excessive exaggeration". Not simply an exaggeration but an excessive exaggeration. And further: "did not Noske betray the workers in 1919, was the social democracy of ten years ago better? It would seem that out of the fact that the social-democracy was the same as at the present time, it would have been necessary to make the conclusions regarding the sharpening of the struggle against the social-democracy before. But they advance all this not for the purpose of defending the line of the Comintern but in order to find a loophole in order to prove that no changes took place, that everything remains as of old, that the Amsterdam trade union bureaucrats carry out the economic struggle, that the Amsterdamers did not go over from political to economic strike breaking, that the merging together with the apparatus of the bourgeois state, did not take place, that those changes about which the resolutions of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. and the VI. Congress of the Comintern speak, did not take place. And if it is so, then, according to their opinion, it is necessary to leave everything as of old, as it was in the old times.

But comrades, what old times do they want? In this organ "Against the Current", in three numbers in succession, they charge the Comintern and the C. P. G. that the Comintern and the Profintern, on certain questions, changed their old position or adopted new formulations regarding our tactic, which differs from the position taken by the III. Congress of the Comintern and the II. Congress of the Profintern, etc. Consequently, it seems that we create such a situation: that we are calling the Congresses of the Comintern and of the Profintern in order to repeat that which has been already said before. Because, if we did not make at the Congresses of the Comintern and the Profintern conclusions out of the new developments which arose in the international, inter-state, and inter-class relationships, then it would not be necessary to call the congresses.

But, comrades, what are they referring to, what are they chiefly emphasising? They have several fundamental striking points. And these several fundamental points they are concentrating around the question of our trade union policy. But it is necessary to see that all the other questions revolve around the question of the trade union policy. I am dealing only with the question of the trade union policy and with those weak spots which they found in the decisions of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. and the decisions of the VI. Congress of the C. I.

First of all I was exceedingly pleased by Comrade Serra, who studied, with pencil in his hand, the decisions of the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. and quoted certain parts which he thought, justified his line. Comrade Serra, during the course of half an hour, has tried to prove here that it is necessary to work in the reformist unions. Please notice, that every time when in the Communist International in the sphere of the trade union work an opportunistic error is contemplated, there begins a counter-attack with the cry: Do not leave the trade unions, do not split the trade unions, etc. This, comrades, is a very clever strategic manoeuvre but in view of the fact that in the Profintern and in the Comintern we have repeatedly seen it, it is impossible to fool us. We argue with them not on the question as to whether it is necessary to work in the trade unions, but on the question how to work, what to do there and how to conduct the struggle with the reformists. And it is not necessary to come to the Comintern and to quote the resolutions proposed by us and to speak about the necessity of work in the trade unions. With such manoeuvres you will not confuse anyone, except yourself. The question consists in determining how to work in the trade unions, what to do in the trade unions, what work to carry on and how to sharpen our struggle against the social-democracy and against the reformist trade union bureaucracy. I ask Comrade Serra, if in his opinion, it is accidental that the opposition within the C. P. G. has grown up at the time when the C. I. decided to sharpen the struggle against the social-democracy? Is it accidental, in your opinion? Do you think that it is an accident that the Right opposition finally took definite form at the time when we carried out a number of decisions to the effect that the Party must fight for an independent leadership in the economic struggles? Do you think that this is accidental? No! Here are manifested those social-democratic remnants, that social-democratic ideology which still has its influence on a number of Communist functionaries in Germany. This is not an accident. Such a coincidence should have compelled such leading comrades as Comrade Serra and others to think. But let us go further. What do they propose in opposition to that which is being done by the Communist Party? They say "The bankruptcy of the Party line, which means the line of the Comintern and the Profintern, was with particular clearness shown in the Ruhr conflict. In the Ruhr the Party has suffered a defeat and here the new position of the Profintern and the Comintern has also suffered a defeat. Look, is it true or not? What are the fundamental changes which have taken place in economics? If the resolutions declaring that we have, particularly in Germany, great successes of the capitalist rationalisation, signed by Comrade Serra and others are true, and it is undoubtedly true, then I confirm that the capitalist stabilisation signifies a change in the structure of the masses of the workers employed in production. It means that the number of the highly qualified workers will become smaller, it means the drawing in of the new cadres of the untrained and women proletariat. It means that millions of new workers who play a decisive role in production, are drawn into industries and that the Party which bears the name of the revolutionary Party not in vain, but which is actually revolutionary, must now pay attention to these new millions of the unskilled workers and women who are handling all the production machines, under the supervision of a very small number of skilled workers. And if the Party will not do this, then such a Party is unworthy to be called a revolutionary, a Communist Party. Such a change in the structure of the working class — is an entirely new process which has taken place in the economics of capitalist society, the new phenomena which were taken into account by the Comintern and the Profintern. This, Comrade Serra, must be seen. But, Comrade Serra does not see it and he gets tangled up in a forest of three trees repeating one and the same thing and failing to see that new problems, in the sense of the new methods of action, are confronting us in order that we may be able to set in motion new broad masses of the workers whom it is necessary to lead into a struggle both against the bourgeoisie and against the social-democracy. And out of this grow absolutely all the sins, not only of the Right faction in Germany, but also all the sins in the arguments of Comrade Serra. And truly, what does the right faction say? First of all, they state that the very fact that the Party appeals to the unorganised, the very fact that the unorganised were drawn into the strike committees is the violation of our tactic, is the violation of our line and that this tears away the organised from the unorganised.

What kind of a Party would we be, if in this lockout, where 60,000 organised and 118,000 unorganised were locked out, we did not appeal to the two-thirds of the proletarians who are unorganised? We would then resemble the same scoundrelly social-democrats who, from the height of their social democratic machine, look down upon the unorganised workers, upon this "common trash". We would prove that we did not understand the new processes which are taking place, had we not appealed to this two-thirds of the proletarians, had we not attempted to draw them into the struggle, had we not organised them into the strike committees and did not draw them towards us in order to mobilise them against the social-democratic reformist apparatus of the trade unions. I am asking you — what is there in this that is uncommunistic, what is here that is unrevolutionary, what goes here against the line of the Comintern?

Comrade Serra, if he will stop to think, will say of course that he is not entirely in agreement with the Rights, then he will say that he is entirely not in agreement, and if he will think a little bit more then, perhaps he will sharply come out against them. Because that line which has been taken at the present time by the Right faction of the C. P. G. has in view not only to work within the trade unions, — about this there is no quarrel, — but to await that moment when we will be able to win over the reformist apparatus. They have in view not to strive at the present time for an independent leadership of the struggle, not to strive that the Party should carry on these struggles through the strike committees, but to await that moment, when the trade union apparatus will be in our hands and we will be able through the trade union apparatus to carry on the strikes. I confirm that this is the most common social-democratic cretinism, which has absolutely nothing in common with Leninism and with the entire line of the Comintern.

But let us go further. Let us take that which they write. They say: (comrades, I will not quote although I have a whole pile of these quotations) — the Party which now appealed to the unorganised is turned into the Party of the unorganised. And word by word, the "Vorwärts" writes the very same thing. You can find there verbatim quotation from the organ of the Right Communists: "Against the Current". The "Vorwärts" writes: "The Communist Party of Germany is turning into a Party of the unorganised". You understand that on this question "Vorwärts" took the same position as the Right Communists for the very reason that we, in organising the unorganised, have struck a blow at the most painful and more sensitive part of the reformists. The "Vorwärts" understood this, and the Right faction of the C. P. G. did not understand it. But Comrade Serra is a member of the Political Secretariat and he should understand it. He must understand that if we succeeded in leading, let us say, 118,000, or one third of that number, — about the numbers I will not argue, — this is the business of the German comrades — but whether it is 118,000 or one half of that, — I am asking you, is it not a gigantic gain for the Party, if we were successful in leading tens of thousands of the unorganised? I think that such attacks of the Right faction against our appeal to the unorganised, against the drawing them into the strike committees, against our attempts to play a leading role in the economic struggles is a thoroughly anti-Communist position. They reply: Here in the resolution of the III. Congress of the Comintern, it is stated that the Party does not independently lead the struggles, that it must lead through the trade unions. Just think of it, the people who call themselves Communists are quoting the resolution of the Comintern Congress of 1921 and saying that in these resolutions it is stated that it is necessary to lead the struggles not directly but through the trade unions. Regarding what did we speak, when we wrote this resolution? We did not state that the Party must itself lead, but that it must lead through the non-Party revolutionary organs, whether they will be called strike committees, committees against the lockout, the trade unions, etc. But what must be done if the reformist trade union apparatus does not want to carry on the strike? It is clear that we must seek other means of unifying the working masses for the strike. To understand the resolution in such a formal manner and to speculate with the resolution to argue against our playing the leading role in the economic struggle, by leading them through the non-Party organisation, — this, in the true sense of the word, is a play upon ignorance. And this is being done by the Right faction within the C. P. G.

But there is something still worse. And this worse thing will now illustrate to you. A gigantic conflict is taking place

The forces of the Party are not very great in Germany and in the Ruhr the Party is not particularly strong. This we know. Under the pressure of the Comintern and the Profintern the Party sends scores of men in order to assist the organisation of the organised, to create committees, in order to counter-act the pressure of the manufacturers. What is being done at such a moment by the Rights? They are sending their people not in order to assist the Party in organising the struggle, but in order to come out at the meetings and to prove that the Party is carrying on an incorrect line. What is written in the organ "Against the Current" which came out in the very heat of the lockout in Germany? There it is written that the line which has been carried out by the Party is the Left liquidatorism, that this is a double-meaning tactic, that this is a policy of adventure, that this is a false destructive path, and in conclusion it states that: what the Party is doing in the Ruhr is not revolutionary but counter-revolutionary. Did you hear, comrades, that is the way it is written: That what has been done by the Party in the Ruhr, is — counter-revolutionary.

This is written in the organ "Against the Current". (A voice: This is written by Enderle.)

I do not know the name of this "Communist", but that he is not a Communist is very clear. I am asking you — in the heat of the struggle, at the time of the lockout, in the organ which is created against the Party, in the organ which is called "Against the Communist Current", in this organ there is a statement that the Party carried on a counter-revolutionary policy. I am asking you: if the C. P. G. is carrying on a counter-revolutionary policy, then such "revolutionists" have nothing to do in this Party and this is the worst kind of strike-breaking, because this is a blow in the back of the Communist Party, when these people come out during the struggle and state that the Party is carrying on a counter-revolutionary policy. I ask Comrade Serra, can we agree with this and does he think that these people can be convinced to the contrary. If Comrade Serra wants to convince them, then why didn't he do it before? If Comrade Humbert-Droz can convince them, than so much the better! But do not forget that they were not convinced either by the decisions of the Congress of the Profintern or by the decisions of the Congress of the C. I. Can it be, that if you will give them time of a few months then it will be possible to convince them. They have a social-democratic formulation and a social-democratic line and in the future only life will convince them.

I will cite a few quotations from this remarkable number "Against the Current", it is really monstrous. This is written by the so-called local correspondents without a signature, from the editorial board:

"The meetings in the Ruhr took place with an insignificant attendance of the workers. The Communists have against them a consolidated front of the workers."

Here is what is written in this organ. We get the following, in the Ruhr the Communists have against themselves the workers. Not a consolidated front of the manufacturers and the social-democracy but a consolidated front of the proletariat. And further, it ironically and humorously relates that at a certain factory there are five thousand workers and only five men came to the meeting. This is a most dastardly and unheard of mockery at what actually took place in the Ruhr. We have information not only from the local Communists, but also from some of our Russian comrades who were in the Ruhr, and we know that in reality the new tactic of the workers has raised to action new strata of tens of thousands of workers. Even if not 118,000, but only 40—30 thousand, but does it mean that we have a united front of the workers against us. And do you know how one of the articles which is printed in "Against the Current" ends? It ends in this way:

"One experiences a sense of shame when one sees the tactic of the Party in the Ruhr and its attempt to organise the unorganised, etc."

Of course, comrades, I know that Comrade Serra is a very good-hearted man and so on, but there is a limit to everything. How can you permit that the members of the Party, being within the Party, should have on the matter of such an important conflict a diametrically contrary opinion. The Party thinks that it is carrying on a revolutionary policy; the Comintern thinks that it is carrying on a revolutionary policy; we suppose that the

Profintern is carrying on a correct line. And now the comrades come and say that this line is counter-revolutionary. Well, comrades, what do you think, — can you seriously assume that here we can limit ourselves to a purely ideological action? Undoubtedly you went much further than you yourselves expected. And what conclusion does this organ make? It concludes that on account of the line of the Party in the Ruhr, the influence of the Party, the role of the Party in the struggle of the workers in the Ruhr district was never so insignificant as at the present time. I will not quote a number of other passages from the same documents where it is stated that the Party gives false information to the Press, that the reports of the Press to the effect that thousands of workers are attending meetings is a conscious deception of the working class and so on. All this is written. But comrades, do not think that this is written only by the people from the "Against the Current". The same thing is also being written by Maslow's followers. They write word for word, verbatim, the very same thing. "The confidence of the workers is particularly strongly undermined by the Hamburg events, particularly in view of the fact that the opposition in the trade union has suffered a complete collapse." This Trapichkin, an eye-witness from the Maslow organ, writes the very same thing and relates the very same thing although he pretends to estimate the position of the Party from the so-called Left. The Party does not dare to advance the slogan of the strike committee, the Party lost influence, the workers do not come to the meetings, etc. Comrades, I ask you, how is it necessary to act when we have such a situation, where the Party is straining all its forces, when the Party is carrying on the most serious struggles, which are supported by the Comintern, the struggles which the Comintern and Profintern consider as the carrying out and the application of the line of the VI. Congress of the Comintern, — what attitude can we have toward those members of the Party who occupy such a position as the Right Communists in Germany?

Now, Comrade Serra, instead of discussing in what measure all this is permissible, occupies himself with an entirely different question. He looks in an entirely different direction. He does not see that the entire conception of the Rights goes against the Comintern. He fails to see it. But he considers that at the present time, the course of the Party is on the whole ultra-Left, that the Party has an insignificant influence in the trade unions, or as he expresses it, that the Party does not carry on trade union work. At the same time, as an example of the fact that the Party works poorly in the trade unions, he cites that at the last Congress of the A. D. G. B. they had three delegates and that secondly the reformists work well and that the number of members of the A. D. G. B. has increased by 400—500,000 men.

Comrade Serra, who went through the school of the Italian trade unions and knows the methods of the Italian reformists and the fascists, knows how the entire local organisations were barred from the congresses, when they elected Left delegates. The same thing is being done, and even with greater success, in Germany. He cannot help knowing that the following is applied in Germany: As soon as a local branch is won over then it is immediately dissolved and a Commissar is sent there. He knows that when at the congress of the A. D. G. B. in Berlin Communist Delegates were elected, that their credentials were annulled. And instead of observing under what conditions our comrades are compelled to work, and against what a great apparatus it is necessary to struggle, and instead of observing how great is the influence of the Party in the masses and among the members of the trade unions, instead of that he measures the influence of the Party at the top. Of course the higher we go the smaller is the influence of the Communists. Of course, they are entirely absent in the A. D. G. B. and they are also entirely absent in the Central Committee of various unions. Does it mean that we have no influence there? No, it does not mean that, we have there great influence. How is it then that you do not pay attention to this, how can you blame the Party for such things? And, on the other hand, Comrade Serra puts it to the credit of the German reformists that their trade unions have grown by 450—500,000. Comrade Serra does not take into account the fact that the growth in the membership of the Trade Unions took place as a result of the fact that in the course of three years we have carried on a persistent agitation among the workers in Germany to join the trade unions. We overcame the senseless policy of Ruth

Fischer, but this does not mean that having overcome this policy, we must go along the line of the social democracy, i. e., to agree with that malicious anti-Communist line which expresses itself in the slogan "Zwingt die Bonzen" (Force the reformists). This conception maintained by the Right Communists in Germany, would condemn the Party to an eternal delivery of revolutionary speeches without any kind of revolutionary deeds. He who rejects the attempt of an independent leadership of the struggle, will never wrest the leadership from the hands of the social-democracy. He who does not see the unorganised, will never understand why it is necessary to struggle with the social-democracy.

Instead of condemning this incorrect formulation, Comrade Serra, in quoting a number of documents, tried to prove that it is necessary to work within the trade unions (this is — America for the Profintern). And he was also attempting to prove that the Profintern resolution has some good paragraphs. In the resolution of the Profintern there is a special sub-division regarding the strike committees. Are you in agreement with it or not? Do you agree that it is necessary to struggle for an independent leadership of the trade unions, that it is necessary to draw the unorganised into the strike committees? And if you agree, then why do you not come out against those who are disrupting this work, who are acting against it? Why do you not come out against it? I think that Comrade Serra wanted to find some sort of a middle line. He wanted to preserve some sort of an equilibrium. But comrades, there were created very unstable equilibriums, much more unstable, than the capitalist stabilisation. With all its instability the capitalist stabilisation is nevertheless much more stable than that position which was defended here by Comrade Serra. He could not make both ends meet. Why? Because, instead of seeking that which is the main danger in the leadership in Germany, he sought individual errors. If we go to the Ruhr and see what work took place there, then it is possible to find there many weaknesses and many shortcomings which it is necessary to correct in that or the other resolution. There are these or the other errors but is it in this that the centre of gravity of the question lies? Where is the main enemy in Germany? The VI. Congress of the C. I. stated: The main enemy — is the Right danger. And where is the main enemy as Comrade Serra puts it? He considers that in Germany the main enemy — is a certain exaggeration in the formulations which he quoted. Pardon me, but it is impossible not to see that which is virtually staring into the eyes of everyone. You do not see that in Germany we have a newly formed Party. Perhaps not a big party, but it never will be big. Is it accidental that in the organ "The Unity" (Einheit) there are articles by Thalheimer and Brandler and those of a large number of social-democrats. I quoted in my report at the Congress the speech of the social-democrat Benevick who says the same thing as the Rights. We have a block of the Left Social-Democracy and of the Right Communists, a block which is being formed within our Party for the struggle against the Comintern. For the struggle against the Profintern, Comrade Serra, instead of fighting this danger and of stating definitely that we must put an end to this, instead of that he comes and relates that the letters of the Comintern are very poorly written, that they are on the level of some kind of a provincial judge.

Comrade Serra is a very experienced orator and an old political worker, and if he became so badly tangled up then this is, of course, due to the fact that he has a confused position. And if the position is confused then it is impossible to do anything good.

The last question is about the group of reconciliators which exists within the German Communist Party. Look how the situation is developing there. When the Comintern and the Party placed the emphasis on the ideological struggle, reconciliators stated that the struggle was necessary on two fronts, both against the Rights and against the Central Committee. At the

same time, chiefly against the Central Committee. When in the Party and in the Comintern the question arose about the expulsions, then the reconciliators counter-act this and say: No, not expulsion but an ideological struggle. At the same time, in order to prove that the ideological struggle is chiefly necessary, they are quoting the speech of Comrade Stalin at the last Plenum, — Comrade Stalin himself can refute them — and they say that Comrade Stalin places the emphasis on the ideological struggle against the Rights. But comrades, it is necessary to have even a little common sense, and I ask you, will any of the Rights in the C. P. S. U. (b) say that which has been said by the Rights in the "Against the Current"? And do you think that our Party even for one moment would wait with conclusions if anyone would say that the tactic of our Party is counter-revolutionary. It is necessary to understand we cannot take as a comparison that which has been stated by Comrade Stalin in relation to the Rights who are afraid to speak, who are only appealing with letters to the Central Committee, and even that in an isolated way. It is in relation to them that he said that it is necessary to place the emphasis on the ideological struggle and on the basis of that they propose in Germany also not to expel those who rebelled against the Party, and who have formed their own Party, jointly with the Left Social Democrats. What does this look like? Where is the logic? I think that this is a rotten position, and those of the comrades who hold this position cannot long retain it as it is dangerous for them.

Regarding the draft of these letters, — let us admit that in a literary sense they are not particularly good. I think that the Presidium of the Comintern will gladly accept all improvements in these letters which will be proposed by Comrade Serra, if they will not deviate from the line of the Comintern. — from these letters it can be seen that the Comintern draws a distinction between the Rights and the reconciliators. As far as the Rights are concerned, it may be stated that in the Comintern they are hanging on a very thin thread which is 99% torn. As far as the reconciliators are concerned, they are confronted with the problem — will they in the future continue to consider that the Rights are a "legal shading" within the Comintern? In one of the letters, namely in the closed letter, the Comintern proposes that you should say to the Central Committee of the C. P. G. that it is necessary to carry on a differentiated policy in relation to the rights and toward the reconciliators. One group openly rebelled against the Party, created a faction, and others are still tangled up, and for this reason a differentiated policy is necessary.

I ask Comrade Serra, is he in agreement with this or not? Apparently Comrade Serra is in agreement because he did not speak about this part of the Letter. But this cannot be seen from his position. That is the reason why it is necessary to tie together both ends. It is necessary to cast aside all petty matters, all formal questions, all superfluous matters which accumulated around these differences and to look at the essence of the question. The essence of the matter consists in an incorrect attitude of the Right faction towards the social-democracy in the overestimation of its influence, in the fear to come out against the reformist trade union bureaucrats, in a desire to submit, at any cost, to everything prescribed by the trade union bureaucrats and in the denial of the necessity to struggle for an independent leadership in economic struggle. This is the essence and this is the foundation. And that is the reason why the line of the Comintern and the line of the Right faction came to the cross roads, as it is related in one story — "As the ships on the ocean." In reality they are now outside of the Communist Party, because they are carrying on the struggle against it, and I think that the Comintern will draw the logical conclusions out of what is going on in Germany, if it will adopt the proposed drafts and will make clear that it is not permissible to create within the Communist Party a new Party in a bloc and jointly with the Left social-democrats.