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Achievements and Difficulties of Socialist Construction.

By W. M. Molotov.

Full Text of the Report delivered at the XVII. Moscow Gubernia Conference of the C. P. S. U., held on February 23rd, 1929.

Comrades! The XVII. Gubernia Conference meets after the lapse of more than a twelvemonth since the XV. Party Congress. The interval is undoubtedly long enough to allow of an estimate of the main directives of the XV. Party Congress and of the results attained by their realisation. Already on that occasion, particular difficulties were pointed out, which characterise the internal and international conditions of the present period. In looking back, we may, nevertheless, observe that in the meantime the positions of the working class have considerably improved, and that we have come face to face with the solution of the fundamental task of the establishment of Socialism in our country.

Let us in the first place view the international situation attending the development of the Soviet Union within this space of time.

I. Of the present stage in the stabilisation of capitalism and of the international position of the Soviet Union.

In the autumn of last year, the VI. World Congress of the Communist International drew the balance of the development of world capitalism in the post-war period. In this connection the World Congress pointed out that in the last few years international capitalism has achieved substantial successes in the development of technics, in effecting the rationalisation of industry, and in the creation of new and yet more powerful capitalist associations (cartels, trusts) than existed hitherto; and that in general the pre-war level of capitalist development has been pronouncedly surpassed. Supported by the reformists of all countries, the bourgeoisie has attained certain results, and if in some countries (such as Great Britain) capitalism has

not quite regained the pre-war level, other countries (such as France and the United States) have experienced a considerable advance in capitalist economy. The VI. Congress at the same time pointed out that the growth of capitalist technics, the consolidation of capitalist rationalisation, the creation of powerful new trusts and cartels, and the constantly increasing concrescence of the capitalist organisations with the bourgeois State system are by no means calculated to diminish the contradictions which capitalist development entails. In regard to the anomalies of the present epoch (the so-called "third period") of international capitalism, the resolutions of the VI. Communist World Congress contain the following declaration:

"This third period, in which the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces and the diminution of the markets became quite particularly acute, inevitably leads to a new phase of wars among the imperialist States, wars against the Soviet Union, and national wars of emancipation against the imperialists, as also to interventions on the part of the latter and to gigantic class struggles. This period, in which all international differences (the differences between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union, the military occupation of Northern China as the first step towards the partition of China and of the struggle among the imperialists themselves, etc.) are growing more and more pronounced, in which the internal differences within the capitalist countries (the urge towards the Left among the working classes and the accentuation of class struggle) find a reflection in the movement in the various colonies (China, Egypt, India, Syria), must inevitably lead by the way of a further development of the differences of capitalist stabilisation to yet greater upheavals therein and to a serious aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism."

The events of the last twelvemonth fully and completely confirm the correctness of this estimation of capitalist development.

From the standpoint of the internal position in the capitalist countries, the characteristic feature of the great majority of these countries lies in the growth of unemployment, which already extends to many millions of workers. In the richest capitalist country, the United States, only 85 per cent. of the number of workers employed in the year 1923 were occupied in 1928. Of every hundred workers occupied five years ago, there were thus 15 out of work. In North America alone there are at present no fewer than three to four million unemployed. In a number of other capitalist countries, unemployment has likewise assumed colossal dimensions. In Germany and in Great Britain the number of unemployed has considerably increased and in either case now figures at between one and a half and two millions. With few exceptions (e. g. France), unemployment has also increased in the other countries.

The seriousness of the growing crisis of capitalism is symptomised most forcibly by this growth of unemployment. On the other hand, unemployment is connected with a growing tendency towards the Left on the part of the masses and with a revival of the proletarian militant movement. Various facts of the past twelvemonth demonstrate that the elements of a new revolutionary rise of the Labour movement are on the increase. Such events as the transformation of the strike of the Lodz textile workers into a general strike comprising 150,000 workers, or as the happenings in the Ruhr district, where the lockout was answered by an action of more than 200,000 metal workers, as also a series of other big strikes in Germany, France, and Czechoslovakia, show what great revolutionary forces have accumulated in the European working class. There are more and more symptoms indicating the fact that the labour movement in Europe is entering with its defensive struggles upon a new phase and is here and there, despite the endeavours of the Social Democrats and the reformist trade unions, assuming an aggressive character. These are some of the highly important symptoms of the internal differences in the present stage of capitalist stabilisation.

In regard to the colonial countries and the other regions held in dependence by imperialism, we must likewise make mention of the presence of considerable revolutionary possibilities, which may become more apparent in a very near future. In the year 1927, it is true, the Chinese revolution sustained a defeat, but there is every indication of the fact that the problems with which the Chinese revolution of 1926-27 was faced have remained unsolved and may find their utterance in a new rise

of the revolutionary movement in China. The task of establishing national unity in China has remained unfulfilled. As a matter of form, the flag of the Kuomintang waves over the entire Chinese territory, but in reality there is no uniform authority in the country, nor yet any genuine national unity. To outward appearances the relations between the Nanking Government and the imperialist States have improved, but in reality it is the imperialist Powers that govern China. To the present day, Shantung, the largest province of China, is occupied by the Japanese. The imperialist Powers have taken steps to recognise China's customs autonomy formally; in reality the Chinese Government cannot even make any use of this right for the purpose of defending its national industry against the competition of the imperialist countries. The question of a repeal of the unequal treaties has simply been removed from the agenda, negotiations merely being carried on about a certain revision of these treaties. The agrarian problem and the question of relief in the position of the peasants do not advance a bit; meanwhile there are no fewer than about 20 millions starving at present in the devastated regions of China. Nor has the condition of the workers improved at all. The problems of the Chinese revolution have thus remained unsolved and are not even likely to be solved. The position in China reminds us of those times we experienced in our own country after the defeat in 1905. This means that a new rising of the peasants and workers in China is altogether inevitable. And this new revolutionary flood will deal a mighty blow to the bloc of soldiery, landowners, and bourgeoisie at present in power as also to the foreign imperialists practically governing China.

It should also be pointed out that the revolutionary movement in India continues to spread to ever greater circles of the worker and peasant population. This is particularly apparent in view of the latest period, with its incessant revolutionary strikes in Bombay and its revolutionary movement among the peasant masses. In the East revolutionary forces are thus rallying against imperialism.

As regards the relations among the capitalist States, facts in this connection also speak for the growth and accentuation of differences. This is manifest in the growth of armaments and military budgets. In spite of the "pacific" work of the League of Nations and in spite of the Kellogg Pact outlawing war, the military budgets and the armed forces of the capitalist countries have greatly overstepped their pre-war limits and are still growing. More and more military-political alliances are concluded. The rivalry between the two imperialist giants, Great Britain and the United States, assumes a more threatening character. This is in connection with the fact that Great Britain has concluded an alliance with Japan for the purpose of opposing the United States in the Far East. Great Britain and Japan wish to reserve to themselves the right of governing China. Almost simultaneously with this agreement, in the summer of last year, a naval arrangement was concluded between France and England, representing an attempt at reviving the Entente against the United States and against the Soviet Union. This Anglo-French agreement amounts practically to an understanding that in the event of a war the soldiers of France will count as soldiers of Great Britain, while the British sailors will count as French sailors. All these circumstances point to the fact that the growth of productive forces in the capitalist countries aggravates the fight for markets, leads to an increased pressure on the workers, strengthens the policy of imperialist violence and imperialist exploitation in the colonies, and makes the danger of imperialist wars more and more acute. This danger of imperialist wars and of a direct attack on the Soviet Union is growing more and more apparent and is based on the fact that the capitalist crisis is deepening in spite of numerous achievements of capitalist economy and that the system of capitalist rule is becoming increasingly shaky. This it was to which the Congress of the Comintern referred so emphatically.

All that has hitherto been said characterises the international position accompanying the development of the Soviet Union in the period under review. From this position arises the necessity of a particularly determined fight for a policy of peace and for the safeguarding of conditions of a peaceful Socialist development in our country. To this end the Soviet Government demands with great insistence of the capitalist countries that they should seriously consider the question of disarmament. After having exposed the hypocritical talk on the part of

the imperialists about peace and disarmament, the Soviet Government first suggested to the Powers represented in the League of Nations the discussion of the draft of a complete and general disarmament and thereupon as a minimum the draft of a gradual disarmament of all nations. It is characteristic that by these insistent suggestions of a real disarmament the imperialist Powers should have been forced for many months to cease their hypocritical talk of disarmament. It is not until April next, more than a year after the last Soviet suggestion, that a new discussion of the disarmament question is envisaged by the League of Nations.

This demonstratively pacific step on the part of the Soviet Government in the interest of disarmament, a step which met with the sympathies of the working classes the whole world over, the imperialist Governments attempted to frustrate by another action. It will be remembered that the Government of the United States appealed to the other countries with the suggestion of a Pact for the purpose of outlawing war as an instrument of national policy. This attempt to pose as an inaugurator of peace the United States did not succeed in carrying off. While the American Government was making propaganda for the Kellogg Pact for the outlawing of war, it was also advancing more quickly than ever in the enlargement of its military budget and in the construction of new men-of-war. As regards the Soviet Government, it not only signed the Kellogg Pact but also took the initiative in using this pact as a weapon against the bellicose intentions of such Powers as were particularly anxious to evoke a war with the Soviet Union. To this end the Soviet Government suggested to Poland that the Kellogg Pact should be put into immediate operation in the relations between that country and the Soviet Union. Poland was forced to accede to signing the so-called "Moscow Protocol" though the frequent appeals of Moscow to Warsaw anent the conclusion of a treaty of non-aggression had until then met with a deaf ear on the part of the Polish Government. By signing the Moscow Protocol together with Estonia, Latvia, and Roumania, Poland took upon itself certain moral obligations in the eyes of the world at large, which obligations cannot but stand in the way of the war preparations against the Soviet Union. In this fact we cannot but recognise a certain advance in the interest of the conditions requisite for the further Socialist development of the Soviet Union.

The international conditions accompanying the development of the Soviet Union in the period under review may be illustrated by a whole series of facts, which prove that the pressure of the imperialist Powers upon our country has by no means diminished. The imperialist press attempted to exploit our economic difficulties with a view to organising a general assault of the imperialist Powers in the direction of economic relations. This found utterance in the following way. Some American banks restricted their credits to the Soviet Union. In Germany a number of banks joined the international consortium of creditors so as to strengthen the pressure brought to bear upon the Soviet Union. At the same time a "Russian Committee" was founded in Germany for trade with the Soviet Union, in which the tendency of certain imperialist circles found expression in the direction of increased opposition to the foreign-trade monopoly of the Soviet Government. France made no attempt in the past year to resume the negotiations broken off two years ago. The Conservative Government in Great Britain continues its pronouncedly anti-Soviet policy and is now again endeavouring to exercise pressure on our country from the direction of the Eastern frontier. In this respect the British agents in Afghanistan have not been idle, while at the same time they have managed to revive the hostility of the emigrants of Buchara. In the Far East, the proceedings on the East China Railway (occupation of the telephone stations, reprisals against the trade unions, and the like) likewise speak of the uninterrupted pressure of anti-Soviet imperialist forces.

The attempt to create a united imperialist front against the Soviet Union can, however, not yet be said to have succeeded. There are facts which speak to the contrary.

Thus our commercial relations with the United States have in general improved. This is demonstrated in particular by the contract concluded with the General Electric Company for a long-termed credit of more than 50 million roubles. Our negotiations with Germany on questions connected with the practical execution of the commercial treaty and also regarding various points of variance between the two countries, have been brought to a satisfactory conclusion. Even among the

British industrialists there appears to be a certain change of attitude in favour of the Soviet Government. This is apparent from the creation of an Anglo-Russian Committee and from the visit, proposed to take place in March, of a great industrial delegation to the Soviet Union for the purpose of credit negotiations. Apparently the policy of the Diehards fails to satisfy the wishes of British industry which requires markets. Therefore we now hear a new tone in the speeches of the British bourgeois politicians. Thus Boothby, Churchills Parliamentary Secretary, was forced to make the following declaration:

"We are often told that the Soviet Government is in danger of a speedy overthrow. I quite openly declare that I do not believe it. The present Government at Moscow has the military and economic power well in hand and to my thinking there is nothing less likely than the possibility of wresting this power from them by means of violence."

The editor of the "English Review" writes in a similar spirit. He declares that there are in England

"certain foreign circles which persist in spreading the rumour that the Soviet Union is on the eve of its collapse and will soon be obliged humbly to beg for mercy. These reports are mainly spread from Berlin. It is humiliating to recognise that while we have undoubtedly restricted the realisation of our own interests, Germany has, under cover of a veil of rumours, doubled its efforts in the direction of a control of the Russian market and achieved very palatable results."

Thus, even if we must take into consideration the possibility of certain political manoeuvres playing a part in the discussion of the improved relations with the Soviet Union, especially in view of the coming Parliamentary elections in Great Britain, we cannot but gather from the above remarks that the tendency among British industrialists in favour of such an improvement is growing apace. This must be estimated as a favourable sign for the Soviet Union.

From the entire international situation, therefore, we can draw the following main inferences:

(1) The Soviet Union must continue perseveringly and insistently to pursue its policy of peace and on this basis mobilise the broad masses of workers in all countries around the proletarian State.

(2) We must in every possible way exploit the possibilities of improving commercial relations, in which improvement not only the Soviet Union is interested but obviously also the capitalist countries which are in need of markets.

(3) We must further consolidate the military forces of our country and pay increased attention to our Red Army. Today, on the eleventh anniversary of the foundation of that Army, we must be particularly watchful in regard to the danger of fresh imperialist assaults on our country.

By this policy we shall be enhancing the international rôle of the Soviet Union as the outpost of the proletarian world revolution.

II. The Achievements of Socialist Construction and Our Further Tasks.

During the time which has elapsed since the XV. Party Congress, we have attained great results in the industrialisation of the country. This is proved by the substantial growth of industry. As was to be seen by the results of the past economic year, 1928/29, the development of our industry is continuing to advance vigorously, and that even in excess of our own estimates. In the past economic year the output of our industry was increased by almost 23 per cent., instead of by 16 per cent., as had been foreseen. At the same time, however, the backwardness of our heavy industries became most clearly apparent. In the production of cast iron and steel, we have not yet regained the pre-war level. In this direction we shall have to effect a radical change for the better in the course of the next few years. One great achievement of the past economic year lies in the fact that for the first time the productivity of labour exceeded the increase in wages. The result is a decrease in the cost of output by about 5½ per cent.

The economic plan for the year 1928/29 must ensure a further substantial growth in our industry. The most important result attained in the realisation of industrialisation in this

year is a further significant advance in the volume of industrial capital investments. In comparison with the past year we have in this direction made an advance of 30 per cent. What has particularly increased in this year has been the attention we have paid to the development of the heavy industries. These must advance by 25½ per cent., whereas for the lighter industries an increase of productivity by 18.2 per cent. has been envisaged. The most difficult task of the current economic year is the further proposed reduction of the costs of output by 7 per cent. This will be connected with an indispensable increase of 17 per cent. in labour productivity, i. e. a greater advance in this respect than we made in the past economic year.

We must naturally not over-estimate the achievements attained so far in industry. With few exceptions (hard coal and beet sugar among them) the Soviet Union's share in the world's output still falls short even of what it was in pre-war times. Though in the last few years we have constantly been increasing the percentage proportion of our share in the world's output, it still remains extremely low, figuring as it does, at 3.9 per cent. for steel, 3.8 per cent. for cast iron, and 6.5 per cent. for naphtha.

Special importance therefore attaches for us to the proposed discussion at the National Party Congress and at the Soviet Congress of the question of our plan of economic development in the five-year period. At the present moment there is not yet any five-year schedule confirmed by the Government, but only a provisional draft drawn up by the Supreme Economic Council for our industry. Some of the essential figures of this five-year estimate I shall still have occasion to quote. Here again it is a characteristic fact that the five-year plans formerly drawn up have been superseded by reality. Thus, e. g., the five-year plan elaborated in 1926 was considerably exceeded by practice. On the basis of this five-year plan a 17 per cent. increase in industrial output was envisaged for the year 1926/27, while in reality the increase figured at 20 per cent. For 1927/28, the same plan provided for a growth of industrial production by somewhat more than 12 per cent. whereas in reality this rate of increase was well-nigh doubled, the increase actually attained being almost 23 per cent. For the current year a growth of about 10 per cent. was envisaged on the strength of the preceding five-year period. Our present estimates, on the other hand, provide for a growth of some 22 per cent. This shows that Socialist economy embodies powerful possibilities of development in the way of productivity and that until quite recently we were not even in a position adequately to take into account the possibilities at our command.

To give an idea of the present estimates on the basis of the five-year plan of the Supreme Economic Council, I shall quote some of the most important figures.

The five-year plan envisages a growth of industrial output by 168 per cent., or to two and a half times its present extent. The heavy industries are to increase their output by 221 per cent. or to more than three times its present volume and the light industries by 130 per cent. or by more than double. The execution of this plan means that our industrial output at the end of the five-year period will figure at almost three times our pre-war production. This is sufficient to characterise the great scale of the tasks with which we are faced. The five-year plan of the Supreme Economic Council provides for a reduction of initial costs by 32 per cent. and of market prices by 24 per cent. This means that a tremendous effort will be required on the part of the workers to cope with the programme set forth. I shall also make mention of those tasks which refer more immediately to the position of the workers. According to the five-year plan, the number of industrial workers is to increase by 740,000, wages will rise by 56 per cent., the housing area falling to the share of a worker will increase from 5.6 to 6 square metres. Finally, all industry is in the course of the next five years to be placed on the basis of the seven-hour working day. That means that the realisation of the five-year plan is connected with a very substantial improvement of the position of the workers, which again only proves how indissolubly the interests of Socialism are connected with the life interests of the proletariat.

We have set ourselves grandiose tasks in the direction of the development of industry. This imposes upon us, the entire working class of the Soviet Union, an extraordinary

responsibility in regard to economic administration. We must now enhance our activity particularly in two directions: firstly in that of an all-round increase in rationalisation work in industry, and secondly in that of an all-round enhancement of labour productivity and in connection therewith of working discipline.

In the period under review we have had certain successes in rationalisation. Thus our naphtha industry is at present already to a great extent on the level of the progressive capitalist countries. In the coal industry (of the Donetz basin) we have made great progress in the mechanisation of operations, the percentage of mechanisation (which will this year figure at 32 per cent.) already considerably exceeding the relative percentage of mechanisation in the British coal industry (20 per cent.).

We have likewise attained good results in the introduction of the conveyor system. Some 80 concerns have already introduced this system to a greater or smaller extent, not counting those works in which the conveyor even in former times formed an integral portion of the productive plant.

As regards the productivity of work, the situation in this respect is anything but satisfactory. The first quarter of the current economic year afforded us a far smaller increase in labour productivity (12 per cent.) than had been envisaged in the plan (17 per cent.). In this connection we must refer quite particularly to the adverse condition of working discipline in some of our enterprises. The question of an enhancement of working discipline gains in importance on all hands. It will be necessary for the C. C. to issue a special declaration in this regard to all the Party organisations. Circumstances prove that the recession of working discipline has in part revealed a certain weakening of the administrative and technical administration. At the same time it is apparent that our trade unions and Party organisations do not pay sufficient attention to this matter. The overwhelming majority of the workers reacts most satisfactorily to the appeals of the Party and Soviet authorities in regard to an increase in productivity. There are, however, not infrequently groups and single individuals in the works that have a disorganising influence on the entire atmosphere of production. This may also be ascribed to the fact that of late years a great number of new workers have been absorbed in our industrial apparatus. In the last five years no fewer than 1,057,000 workers were newly engaged by the industries subject to the Supreme Economic Council. A great portion of these workers is connected with the village, the interests of which very often take precedence with them of the interests of Socialist industry. Industry, moreover, has absorbed a part of the artisans who were recently still independent. Among the workers there are at present also elements recruited from impoverished bourgeois circles. Nevertheless, our trade unions have until quite recently not even attempted any classification with regard to the composition of the working class. The Socialist work of education among the new workers was likewise extremely lax.

All this forces us to underline a number of facts which speak of nothing less than a disintegration of discipline and an altogether inadmissible attitude on the part of certain groups of workers in relation to their obligations in the matter of productivity. The all-round protection of the material and everyday interests of the workers is the matter of the trade unions, whose task also comprises an all-round invigoration of the fight against bureaucratic abuses in the economic organisations, the support of proletarian inventors, and the like. At the same time, the cause of a Socialist education of the workers must under present circumstances be connected with an all-round fight for the improvement of working discipline, for the elimination of leishureliness, for the extermination of the negligent treatment of equipment, tools, and machinery, and for the creation of such a moral atmosphere in the enterprises as will entail the moral ostracism and isolation in proletarian circles of all negligent and disorganising elements. In this direction the work of our trade unions and Party organisations leaves very much to be desired. The status of discipline in the factories shows an open tendency towards deterioration. Besides the leisurely method of working, increased attention must also be paid to the fact that many workers arrive late at the factories, fall asleep at their work, appear on the premises in a state of inebriation, and the like. We might mention numerous facts in connection with the work in our factories which point to an unsatisfactory state of affairs in this regard. In certain

cases there has even been a regular disintegration of whole groups of workers. Thus, according to an undenied report in the "Industrial and Commercial News",

"there is complete disintegration among certain groups of the workers of the recently erected factory "Red Purveyor" (Moscow). The most serious infringements of working discipline, cases of drunkenness, and systematic idleness among the workers have become the order of the day. A considerable portion of the workers are former artisans, who are particularly inaccessible to education."

This is but one of many examples cited in recent times. This naturally does not refer to the broad mass of workers, but even in regard to certain groups of workers such a state of affairs is untenable. Another case, this time in the "Amo" concern:

"The treatment of the machinery and tools by the workers is uneconomic. A great percentage of the breakages of tools and machinery must be put down to the carelessness of the workers. Thus in 1926/27, instruments were destroyed to a value of 250,000 roubles and in 1927/28 to a value of 361,000 roubles."

In certain works we may witness symptoms of out-and-out rowdiness. I may cite one such example, also taken from the "Industrial and Commercial News".

"In the Dresnen Works the entire technical staff and the most cultured and active section of the workers, male and female, are constantly under the threat of ill-treatment. All cultural work in the factory has come to an end. There are certain places which cannot be approached without the danger of ill-treatment. In connection with this terrorism on the part of the rowdies the working discipline has been greatly impaired. There is the greatest possible confusion in production. Workers come to their work tipsy and not infrequently continue to drink while attending to their machines. The general atmosphere is such that both in the works and in the street the rowdies feel themselves masters of the situation. The technical operatives are altogether cowed."

It is hardly necessary to point out that if these newspaper reports are true, such facts are quite unbearable in a Soviet Republic. Finally it must be emphasised that in a series of enterprises ("Sickle and Hammer", "Amo", etc.) machinery breakages have of late become more and more frequent, and there is evidence that these breakages have in some cases been wilful. All this unfortunately does not yet meet with such organised and systematic social opposition as would be essential for the growth and development of a proletarian State.

What must be particularly pointed out is the fact that the infringement of labour discipline is not infrequently the fault of members of the Party and of the Youth League. It should rather be the prime duty of these Party and youth members to join with the advanced Party workers in acting as champions of an enhanced discipline and as the most cultivated and advanced members of the staff.

I must point particularly to the necessity of enhancing working discipline among the engineers and technical operatives. Here, too, the situation is by no means satisfactory. On the other hand, a fight must also be waged against the excessive hostility to our "specialists" and against the altogether criminal attacks on our engineers and technicians in general. That there are abuses in this direction is shown by the example of the Dresnen Works just detailed. In connection with these facts, too, the necessity must be emphasised of creating such a moral atmosphere among the workers as will make the presence of rowdies and disorganisers in the works an impossibility. It is all the more necessary to point this out, seeing that the relative importance of the engineers and technicians in the productive apparatus has declined. Thus the percentage proportion of the engineers and technical operatives to the entire staffs receded by almost 17 per cent. between the commencement of 1927 and the end of 1928. All this shows how much work is needed among the workers for the purpose of creating satisfactory conditions for the engineers and technicians in the productive apparatus and that an all-round support of these functionaries is indicated, since they observe exemplary discipline themselves and may therefore require the same of all who are engaged in the respective concerns.

(To be continued.)

POLITICS

The Uprising in Mexico.

By Bertram D. Wolfe.

The uprising in Mexico was a development out of the campaign for the election of a president in Mexico to take the place of President Obregon who was assassinated. In the last two decades all presidential elections in Mexico have been decided on the battlefield, and not in the voting booth. This is due to the lack of a powerful national bourgeoisie with the consequent lack of parliamentarism, the rapid development of Mexican economy with the consequent instability of class forces, the activities of competing American and British imperialisms and their struggle for the rich oil and mineral resources of Mexico, and the development of agrarian labour and anti-imperialist revolutionary forces.

The uprising is quite clearly **reactionary in character**. Its leading figure or candidate for the presidency is **Gilberto Valenzuela**. He is supported by the rebel generals, **Escobar** (military chieftain of the uprising), **Manzo**, and **Aguirre**, and apparently by the renegade agrarians, **Manrique** and **Soto y Gama**. His chief slogan during the "peaceful" or propaganda period of the election campaign was "religious freedom". The immediate content of this slogan is freedom for the **Catholic Church** (which is forbidden by Mexican law to own land, participate in politics, carry on religious education for the young etc.). Behind the Church stand the **big landowners**, particularly the older Spanish families of semi-feudal landowners. They have been the backbone of all of the recent counter-revolutionary uprisings in Mexico. The **Communist Party of Mexico** and the **Worker-Peasant Bloc**, largely under Communist leadership, have already issued a declaration branding the uprising as counter-revolutionary.

Leagued with the landowners appear to be a larger proportion than heretofore of the rising capitalist elements and modern landowners who have been enriched in the course of the revolution. The rebel Generals and the former Agrarian politicians, **Manrique** and **Soto y Gama** and the presidential candidate **Valenzuela** are all so-called "men of the revolution". They were revolutionaries in the early stages of the development of the bourgeois democratic revolution in Mexico who enriched themselves in the course of the revolution after coming to places of power in the unstable petty-bourgeois government that resulted from the first stages of the long revolutionary development through which Mexico has been going. They have become landowners on a large scale and formed also the beginnings of a native bourgeoisie. They are capitalist and semi-capitalist, in contradistinction to the older semi-feudal landowners. The fact that such a large number of former Obregonistas and "men of the revolution" could have made an alliance with the older landowning class and Catholic Church symbolises the growing crystallisation and sharpening of class forces in Mexico and the development of differentiations inside the unstable petty bourgeois elements that have thus far led the bourgeois-democratic revolution and dominated the recent Obregon-Calles governments.

Calles himself, has symbolised his support of the Central Government of **Portes Gil** by taking over the post of Minister of War. **Rubio**, the candidate for President who was favoured by the government, and **Saenz**, the candidate who withdrew in favour of **Rubio**, have both declared their support of the central government. Thus the break in the old Obregon group is deep-going.

At the other pole the crystallisation of class forces is manifested in the growing independent role of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the small but increasingly influential Mexican Communist Party. The workers and peasants, particularly the latter (since Mexico is predominantly an agrarian country) have formed the bulk of the fighting forces of all of the various revolutionary movements from 1910 to the present time. But they have until recently always accepted the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie that make up the bureaucratic and military apparatus of the Mexican government. The maturing of class forces, the growth in the agrarian movement, the growth in the anti-imperialist movement, the growth of the labour movement, the development of industry, the rift in the petty bourgeoisie and the beginnings of a larger bourgeoisie.

the vacillation and treachery of the petty bourgeoisie, their attempts to block the agrarian revolution, their violation of pledges, their attacks upon the labour movement, their surrender of post after post to American imperialism, and above all the existence and growth of the Communist Party, have all served to disillusion the masses with the petty bourgeois leadership of the past, to hasten their leftward development and to make them appear more and more as an independent force under the leadership of the proletariat and the Communist Party. For the first time, in the present presidential campaign, the workers and peasants have had a candidate of their own as the candidate of the Worker-Peasant Bloc which is largely under communist leadership. Undoubtedly, the Communist Party will utilise its big and growing influence among the workers and peasants to mobilise them as independent guerrilla forces against the counter-revolution and for the realisation of their own class interests.

Already large sections of the peasantry are armed. Some of them acquired arms in previous revolutions and have resisted all attempts of the Calles Government to disarm them. Portes-Gil, foreseeing the present uprising has been trying to win peasant support by distributing land and arms. The Valenzuela supporters have also tried this, but to a more limited extent, and it is even possible that the arms that General Aguirre distributed in the State of Vera Cruz will be used by the peasants there, who are the most advanced in the country, against General Aguirre himself.

An important role in the struggle is being played by American and British imperialism. Both Central Government and rebels angle for support of American capital. The present government of Mexico has made so many important concessions to American oil interests and financial interests (debt payment) and has demonstrated that it has sufficient popular support, that the American capitalist interests find it profitable to support it as long as it seems to show strength enough to survive. At the same time, American interests flirt with Valenzuela and cautiously watch developments. British capital has been traditionally allied with the Catholic Landowning movements in Mexico, and Valenzuela was Ambassador to the Court of Saint James. Thus behind the developments in Mexico at present is the shadow of American military intervention and the shadow of the Anglo-American antagonism — the dominant world antagonism inside the ranks of the imperialists. The present developments in Mexico involve the ripening of the Mexican revolution. They also involve the possibility of world war.

The Situation in France and the Working Farmers.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

At the industrial town of Montluçon there was held, from the 1st to the 3rd of March, a national Congress of Working Farmers, which represented a milestone on the way of the mass-organisation of the exploited French peasants and agricultural workers.

The poorest sections of the French peasantry comprise more than 2 million agricultural workers, 300,000 small tenants, several millions of small farmers, and a great number of "independent" farmers, many of whom have not enough land to live on and must therefore work for part of the year in the neighbouring factories.

The organisations of the agricultural workers, which are attached to the two trade-union federations, have a very small membership. The other categories of small farmers are to a great majority organised in the 7,000 odd "agricultural associations", which are in reality nothing but a sort of buying and selling co-operatives. These associations, however, are grouped in large national and district organisations, the conduct of which is exclusively in the hands of the big landowners or of the agrarian industrialists, who make use of these organisations for their own economic and political purposes.

In 1925 an attempt was made to create a class organisation out of the working peasantry, i. e. the small farmers, crofters, and small tenants. This was the nucleus of a movement known as the "Peasant Council", affiliated to the Peasant International. The press of the landowners designated this movement as a Communist sub-organisation and did its utmost to wrench from it such adherents as it had already gained. Thanks, however, to the weekly publication "The Peasant's Voice", which

numbers 10,000 subscribers and is read by many thousands more, the directives and principles of the "Peasant Council" had already spread to wide circles in the open country.

Last autumn the "Peasant Council" revolved to extend its propaganda, and at its initiative an organisational committee, composed of peasants of all tendencies, was entrusted with the preparation of a national congress of the working peasantry, at which an organisation on a large scale with a programme of concrete demands was to be created.

The time chosen for this step was highly favourable. The existence and probable expansion of an agrarian crisis was generally recognised. The bourgeois press complained of the emigration from the open country to the towns and of the growing misproportion between the feverish industrialisation of the country and the decline of agriculture. The small farmers, groaning under the weight of taxation, are growing as radical as are the workers in the cities; they begin to feel the irksome rule of big capital and our agitation has not failed to draw their attention to the dangers of new wars. The capitalists on their part are fully alive to this discontent and endeavour at the same time to lure the rural population into the "Agrarian and Peasant Party", which is very demagogically conducted by reactionary politicians.

The Congress of Montluçon justified the hopes entertained of it. Before all by the great extent and varied composition of its attendance. 146 organisations were represented from 43 departments (about half the total number), the 165 delegates being of the most varied political and religious orientations. Of these organisations, 50 already belonged to the "Peasant Council" in former times, while 43 had been created during the preliminary campaign. Besides these, 25 autonomous organisations and 28 associations were represented, which were dependent on national or district organisations; these included several organisations of small tenants attached to the reformist trade-union federation.

The discussion at the five sessions of the Congress was most comprehensive and serious. Reports, seconded by ample documentary material, were delivered in regard to the economic situation, the demands of the working peasantry, the lease system, the system of rural co-operatives, technical progress, the cultivation of the soil, and the struggle against the menace of war. Numerous delegates voiced their opinions on these matters at the plenary sessions and commission sessions, especially in the commission entrusted with the elaboration of resolutions.

Many of the expatriations, it is true, were not suited to the requirements of a consistently revolutionary standpoint, since they bore witness to a fairly considerable confusion in regard to perspectives and to the methods to be employed. Many small farmers are inclined to deny the doubtful character of their "independence" and their dependence on the big industries, especially such as are engaged in the working-up of agricultural produce, which industries are quite particularly subject to trustification, exploit the small farmers to the very marrow, and aim at depriving them of their property. Many small farmers fail to see the connection between the change in their productive conditions and the increasing rationalisation of all economy. They refuse to be convinced that the small proprietor, living on the proceeds of his ground, is doomed to ruin. They believe they can fundamentally improve their position by the development of the co-operative system within the confines of capitalism and are therefore afraid of attacking this system at its foundations. Many of them do not believe in the imminent danger of war and are still full of all sorts of pacifist illusions.

The overwhelming majority, however, albeit often guided by their instinct than by class-consciousness, enthusiastically applauded the speakers, who pointed out that the agricultural crisis is a crisis of society, that the old system of leases does not want to be patched up but to be removed altogether, and that an end cannot be put to wars save by the institution of a government of workers and peasants.

Among the awakening masses there is need for a comprehensive work of enlightenment. Even now, however, we can point to the following achievements attained by the delegates to the Congress in regard to tens of thousands of peasants: 1. They are now fully alive to the treachery of the bourgeoisie, in whose hands the conduct of so many of their organisations lies. 2. They now rely only on their own actions taken collectively in seeking the realisation of their demands, and no longer on the favour of the ruling class. 3. They have evinced the very greatest

sympathy for the Soviet Union and have expressed their determination not to suffer the workers' and peasants' State to be attacked by the imperialists. 4. The enthusiastic reception they accorded a delegate of the great industrial concerns of Montluçon, who came to welcome them in the name of the workers, and their answer to this welcome show that they repudiate the capitalist attempt to sow discord between the workers and the peasants. All in all, it is obvious that the elect of the peasantry assembled at Montluçon have found their class footing.

The participants in the Congress worked out the statutes of the "General Union of Working Peasants", which is soon to become a mass-organisation. It is affiliated to the International Peasant Council. Its members can be only "tenants, small farmers, and crofters, tilling their land themselves either unaided or else with the aid of their families or of an occasional paid assistant, as also agricultural labourers and agronomists who support the movement of the working peasants".

The "Peasant Council" has resolved on its dissolution and will merge in the "Union", the basic organisations of which will be the "Associations" or else the "Local Committees of Working Farmers", the latter being provided in places where there is no immediate possibility of founding an "Association" or where the members eligible for such a purpose are already working as the fraction of an existing association under bourgeois management. General associations may be formed for definite branches of production. The individual subscription is five francs yearly, mainly for the purpose of facilitating the recruiting of new members, which is to begin shortly. The "Peasant's Voice" will figure as the press-organ of the "Union", in which connection its publication and distribution will be fostered by all possible means.

The Congress unanimously elected Comrade Renaud Jean chairman, the five vice chairmen being active non-party farmers.

The Congress of Montluçon is a promising beginning for the formation of a united front of the small farmers, who are shaking off their almost proverbial indifference in regard to capitalism. The Congress has found a weapon for a gigantic mass who still doubt, the social differentiation of which is progressing apace and which is making class differences in the open country more and more pronounced. The poor and proletarian sections of the 18 millions of French peasants must be gained, trained, and employed for the revolutionary movement in close alliance with the urban proletariat, whose rôle is ultimately decisive.

The New Syrian Crisis.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

After six months of abortive negotiations with the leaders of the Syrian nationalists, which were conducted partly in Syria and partly in Paris, M. Ponsot, the French High Commissioner, announced the indefinite prorogation of the Syrian Constituent Assembly and sent its members home.

This was to be foreseen for a long time and was only the logical consequence of the dissolution of the Syrian Constituent Assembly on August 11th, 1928. The leaders of the Syrian national movement, who since the defeat of the Syrian insurrection have followed an opportunist course, were of course not capable, in spite of their fiery phrases and asseverations, to wrest any positive concessions from the French. The long drawn out negotiations, at which the nationalist leaders themselves again and again pointed to the "spirit of mutual confidence" etc. prevailing between them and the French representatives, have only served to create harmful illusions in the Syrian masses and weaken their revolutionary élan.

These protracted negotiations, during which the nationalists themselves safeguarded peace in the country, provided a favourable opportunity for the French to build up undisturbed their strategic positions, their intelligence service and their administrative influence in the country. Ponsot now considers himself strong enough to continue his open provocations and to say goodbye to his nationalist "friends" after having thrown sand in their eyes for over two years.

Ponsot is probably not mistaken in assuming that most of the official leaders of the Constituent Assembly will quietly pocket the insult and will even be prepared to enter into fresh negotiations later on (during the recent negotiations rumours were already current that a portion of the nationalist leaders, such as Haschem Atussi and Djemil Mardam had capitulated to

the French with regard to their chief demands). But in Syria, as in the other Arabian countries, there is taking place such a great change in the relations of forces that the opportunism of the official nationalist leaders can by no means be considered as a reflection of the real mood of the people.

There is taking place, before all in the towns, an increasing organisation of the working class, accompanied by a growing activity of the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie. This applies both to the district of Lebanon, where, on the occasion of the approaching Parliamentary elections, appeals appeared warning the workers from voting for the capitalist and imperialist lists and calling upon them to set up their own workers candidates; and to inner Syria, where the industrial workers are commencing to organise themselves. As new industrial undertakings are now being founded in Syria (mixed companies with French and "native" capital) a further growth of the working class in the towns is to be expected, whereby the great economic exploitation of the worker compels him to take up the struggle against the capitalists.

But the oppositional and revolutionary tendencies of the small peasant masses are also growing. If the forces of the workers and peasants are welded together into a united revolutionary movement, then the French will doubtlessly encounter a more serious resistance than the national movement, which is led by the big landowners and the bourgeoisie, has been able to offer up to now.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Wage-Struggles in the Paris Metal Industry.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

The general radicalisation of the masses had but little affected the 300,000 metal workers of the Paris district (engineering, daily-commodity industries, automobiles), and the activity of their revolutionary trade union was extremely small. Since the beginning of February the constant rise in the standard of living and the general introduction of new working methods combined with the requirement of overtime put forward by the employers to cause a movement among the metal workers. Thanks to the favourable business position, the employers are in general aiming to reduce piece work rates and induce the workers to increase their working output so as to make up for the loss of wages. The fact that there is a great shortage of labour has also contributed to inducing the workers to put forward new demands. The movement among the workers has in the first place found expression in an increasing number of letters addressed by workers to the "Humanité".

It is in the first place highly-qualified workers who — acting as a minority unconnected with the masses — started the movement in the big automobile and aeroplane factories, the tool-makers and boiler-smiths of the Peugeot and Voisin works; their movement failed. On February 21st, 2,000 workers of the Gnome et Rhône works, who had demanded a wage increase of 75 centimes per hour, were locked out by their employers; two days later the factory reopened its doors, but no one returned to work and the lock-out turned into a strike. This was the sign for the movement to be carried into the smaller concerns. During the last few days of February 600 workers of the Regina telephone factory and 400 and 150 workers, respectively, of two other factories as also some hundreds of workers in four small foundries laid down their work.

These movements, which are still in progress, are characterised by the following features. 1. The revolutionary metal-workers' trade union and our nucleus allowed themselves to be taken by surprise by the movement and were devoid of any suitable contact with the broad masses, but nevertheless immediately placed themselves at the head of the movement. 2. The spirit of the fight has seized even upon the most exploited sections of special workers, women and young workers. 3. In most cases the workers of the affected factories formed works committees immediately after the inception of the movement, in which connection their delegates forming the strike committee were everywhere elected by the participation of the masses. 4. The demands put forward are everywhere the same, viz. a wage increase from 50 to 75 centimes an hour and recognition of the works committee. 5. In view of the measures of pers-

cution on the part of the police, our comrades have taken the lessons of the last strikes to heart and have looked to the strengthening of the pickets.

In themselves, these movements are of no very great importance, but they constitute a sort of revival of the readiness to fight which had been lacking in our organisations, composed as they are to the main of qualified workers. The movement has spread to the masses. Even in the great concerns, such as Renault's (automobiles), in which the terrorism of the employers is especially irksome, the staff of entire departments have spontaneously laid down their work, and several employers have conceded wage additions so as not to incur hostilities.

We may therefore reckon with an extension of the fight in this decisively important industry of the Paris area. In preparation thereof word was spread of a conference of the metal works to be held shortly, for which reason the efforts towards formation of works committees were redoubled in the great enterprises, where these demands were favourably received. For the purpose of eliminating the existing shortcomings, the Party has issued the following directives: 1. Connection and co-ordination of the small, isolated movements under a uniform head, which can at the same time act as a preparatory committee for the metal workers' conference. 2. Organised procedure of the Party members in the strike leadership and at the strike meetings for the explanation of the Party's attitude and suggestions. 3. Inner and outer connection (the latter not only through the "Humanité") between the movement and the slogan of war against war. (In the Paris area great quantities of war-material are manufactured). 4. Determined and unbending leadership of the strikes and transformation of the strike pickets into a permanent workers' guard for purposes of self-defence. 5. Agitation for the Party and for the revolutionary trade unions among the strikers with especial orientation in the direction of the most exploited categories of workers, so that the social composition of our organisations, which are still too greatly influenced by the "labour aristocracy", may be improved.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Disruptive Policy of the German General Federation of Trade Unions.

By Paul Merker (Berlin).

The practical activity of the revolutionary trade union opposition towards the exploitation of the election of factory councils for the creation and consolidation of a united militant Labour front has provoked positively grotesque excitement in the camp of the social-imperialist trade-union leaders. In the Social-Democratic and trade-union press a disgraceful agitation is being carried on with the meanness of abuse against the Communist Party and against the revolutionary trade-union opposition. In a number of places and unions the bureaucracy is trying to expel the opposition factory council candidates from the unions.

The main attack is being made by these accomplices of the bourgeoisie against the measures of the revolutionary opposition for the formation of fighting committees and for the mobilisation of non-union workers. Their nervousness shows that it is just these measures and their consequences which are most dangerous to the social-imperialistic trade-union leaders.

The executive of the German Metal-Workers' Union publishes in the union journal a proclamation under the heading: "Be on your guard!", in which they threaten with expulsion all members

"who contravene the resolutions of the Kassel Union Congress regarding the election of factory councils or go so far as to support and obey the directives issued by the C. P. G.

The executive of the Miners' Federation also utters these threats in a special proclamation in which it is demagogically set forth:

"Any members who comply with the invitation of the Communist Party to take part in the oppositional miners' conference to be held on March 10th (the revolutionary op-

position is convoking a conference for that date in order to facilitate the preparations for the prospective wage movement of the miners — P. M.) thereby sever themselves, in accordance with the above mentioned resolutions, from the union. This also applies to members who in the approaching election of factory councils allow their names to appear on the oppositional or revolutionary candidates list."

The wood workers' journal publishes an article on the front page under the heading "Russian Imperialism and German Trade Unions", in which they inveigh against the stolen and partially forged draft of the directives for strike strategy compiled by Comrade Losovsky. (After the Brandler fraction had distributed it, the draft was recently dispatched by the executive of the G. G. F. T. U. to all central committees and local groups of the G. G. F. T. U.) The article concludes with the following words:

"Self-respect demands that the trade unions should sever all connection with people who acknowledge Losovsky's strike strategy..."

"Der Proletarier", the journal of the German factory workers' union, "Der Grundstein", the journal of the German building-trade union, "Der Bekleidungsarbeiter" and other trade-union papers publish an article by the G. G. F. T. U. secretary Schulze under the title "Party Command to split the Trade Unions". In this article, too, reference is made to the above-mentioned draft of the directives for strike strategy, and the opposition is accused of splitting the trade unions. It states:

"Up to the present it has been a principle that in times of the most difficult contests with the employers, i. e. in strikes and extensive lockouts, all differences of opinion have to be forgotten in order that the perfect fighting unity may be preserved, but now it appears from the plans of the Communists that such fights are to be used to split the trade unions."

This article, too, in which the G. G. F. T. U. leaders make special reference to the utterances of the Brandler-Thalheimer-Walcher group, which likewise accuse the Party of organising a split in the trade unions, concludes with an appeal for a sharp fight against the revolutionary opposition.

The abuses contained in the articles of the trade-union bureaucracy against the Communists and the revolutionary trade-union opposition, are disgraceful. They call the Communists "politicians of catastrophe", "party of psychopaths", fools", etc. and over that "non-union workers and Yellows are proper company for Communists". The journal of the factory-workers union puts the cap on it by heading a notice with the title: "Against the Vermin of the Labour Movement", in which notice it quotes statements by Marx and Engels about the slum proletariat and adds thereto:

"During the political revolution of 1918 the rabble hidden in the large towns came up to the surface. Even to-day it is still active in leading capacities in the C. P. G. Of these dregs of human society Marx and Engels said...: This sort of people are roaming about as political and trade-union brigands."

The Brandler-Thalheimer-Walcher group have ranged themselves in the same front as these raving agents of the bourgeoisie. They, too, declare open war upon the trade-union tactic of the Party and say:

"The primary condition of this is that a proletarian fighting programme proposed by the Communists gets any hearing at all among the social-democratic and non-party workers ... without this every such fighting programme remains empty words, a scrap of paper."

In the Ruhr Districts, in Berlin, Halle-Merseburg and other places the social-imperialist trade-union leaders have already started to use expulsion against oppositional factory council candidates, members of the fighting committees, etc. In some cases they presented to these comrades a form of declaration in which the incredible demand is made that these comrades should fight against the tendencies of the Communist International in the economic fights and at the factory council elections. Naturally, the declarations were replied to with mass mobilisation and a refusal to sign.

The nervousness of the social-imperialist trade-union leaders has very real cause. The Social-Democratic Party Executive was obliged to postpone the Party Congress, in consequence of difficulties with the members of the Party who firmly objected to the social-imperialistic military programme drawn

by a former nationalist general-staff officer. In all the places where they are seriously presented the slogans and the tactical directives of the Communist Party in the economic fights and factory council elections are gaining ground among the masses. The action of the revolutionary opposition is clear cut and steadfast. In many important factories the workers have set up revolutionary factory council lists against the sabotage of reformists.

On account of the more solid organisatory foundation of the influence of the revolutionary opposition among the workers, and, thereby, in the trade-union federations, too, the expulsion and splitting measures of the social-imperialist leaders are losing their injurious effect. The gathering together of all the revolutionary forces in the factories, the consistent course of the revolutionary opposition towards the mobilisation of the whole of the workers, the active recruiting among the masses to strengthen the revolutionary trade-union opposition, the acquiring of new factory functions, the strengthening and promoting of revolutionary auxiliary organisations — all this is leading to the growth of the fighting force of the working class, in spite of the sabotage on the part of the trade-union bureaucracy.

Towards a New Scottish Miners' Union.

William Allan Suspended.

By W. M. Holmes.

London, 11th March.

The delegate council of the Lanarkshire Miners' Union has decided, by 35 votes to 18, to suspend from office the Union's Communist general secretary, William Allan.

The question was raised by the reformists at the council meeting last Wednesday, March 6th, and the motion carried after a more than usually violent storm of abuse directed by the reformists against Allan.

Last Friday, March 8th, the Union Executive decided to operate the suspension, and Allan with two other Communist members of the Executive, Laughlin and MacGregor, were formally declared suspended.

This is the sequel to the issue, by the Scottish "Save the Union" Council, of a call for the formation of a new Scottish Miners' Union, following the exclusion of the Communist-led Fife Miners' Union from the present Scottish Miners' Union — which is not a Union at all, but a loose Federation of the district Miners' Union in Scotland — and the acceptance by the discredited reformist majority on the Scottish Miners' Executive of the blackleg "breakaway" Union formed in Fife by William Adamson.

That call, which appealed to the now excluded Fife Miners' Union to act as the rallying centre for the campaign for a real Scottish Miners' Union, was signed by William Allan.

It will be recalled that the exclusion of the Fife Miners' Union followed the passage of a new Rule by the Scottish Miners' Conference on February 18th which excludes any district Union more than one year in arrears with its dues. This new Rule — adopted solely as a weapon against the militant Fife Union — also theoretically excludes the Stirlingshire Miners' Union, which is sixteen months in arrears, and will in a week or so exclude the Lanarkshire Union.

It remains to be seen whether the Scottish bureaucrats will operate the new Rule against these Unions; if they do, it will leave the so-called Scottish Union with only three small Unions in the coalfields of Ayrshire, East Lothian and West Lothian — and the biggest coalfields in Scotland, Fife (22,000 miners employed) and Lanarkshire (31,000 miners employed) will be outside the nominally all-Scottish organisation.

The present proposal of the "Save the Union" Council is to summon an all-Scottish conference of delegates from the different coalfields as soon as possible to go into the whole question of the campaign for a new One Scottish Miners' Union to supersede both the existing moribund county Unions and the present effete Scottish Miners' Union (i. e. Federation).

The whole question was discussed in detail by the Executive Board of the Fife Miners' Union last Saturday, March 9th, and by 13 votes to 12 it was decided to circulate a full statement to the members urging them to support the campaign for a new Scottish Union.

ECONOMICS

The Negotiations for International Regulation of the Coal Question.

By G. Sobottka (Berlin).

On February 27th there began in Geneva before the Economic Commission of the League of Nations the further negotiations concerning the possibilities of creating an international coal syndicate. On the previous day there was a meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Miners' Union for further discussion of this question. As is well known, the Amsterdam miners' leaders are the motive power behind the creation of a coal syndicate, at least, for the European countries, which syndicate, in their opinion, should control coal production and coal sales.

As early as the year 1926 the secretary of the Miners' International, Hodges, who in the meanwhile has become General Manager of a big coal concern, propagated a syndicate of this kind. In May of last year Hodges' proposal was taken up again at the congress in Nimes of the International Miners' Union at the suggestion, made beforehand, of the French big industrialist, Minister Loucheur. The congress adopted a resolution, in which it was demanded of the Labour Office of the League of Nations that a world conference of all mining countries should be convoked for the purpose of considering an international regulation of the coal question. In this resolution it was also demanded that at this conference representatives of the workers (read: reformist trade-union bureaucrats) and representatives of the coal owners should participate with equal rights.

After some hesitation, the League of Nations fulfilled this wish of the reformists and instructed its Economic Committee to investigate the matter. The Economic Committee, again, nominated a so-called Coal Commission to go into the question.

After these preparations the reformist bureaucrats of the Amsterdam Miners' International proclaimed the alleged success of their Nimes resolution. At their next committee meeting, in September, 1928, they elected the President of the English Miners' Union, Smith, the secretary of the International, Delattre, Vigni (France) and Dr. Berger (Germany) as their representatives and experts for the approaching negotiations before the Coal Commission. At the end of October, 1928, this commission held its first session in Geneva. The experts and representatives of the Miners' International boarded the express train and travelled to Geneva for the session of the Coal Commission. When, however, they got there to participate at the session, it was explained to them that their presence was not needed; the matter could be settled without them. The representatives of the Miners' International were left to chew the cud of reflection.

This treatment accorded to the toadies to capitalism in regard to the so-called coal commission of the League of Nations led to a great deal of indignation on the part of the executive committee, though the indignation was not aired publicly. However, the surge of indignation was stilled through the mediation of Mr. Albert Thomas, the head of the Labour Office of the League of Nations. It was proposed by this gentleman that the experts and representatives of the Miners' International should be officially heard by the commission; not, however, together with the coal owners and the governments, but apart.

In January, 1929, the representatives of the coalowners were heard by the coal commission of the League of Nations and the experts and representatives of the Miners' International were invited to a hearing at the February session. The above-mentioned Smith, Vigne and Dr. Berger, represented England, France and Germany, and the Secretary of the International, Delattre, represented Belgium; there were also delegates from the reformist miners' organisations in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Holland. This turn of affairs and the ministrations of Albert Thomas have brought the sunshine back into the lives of the reformists. They are all out for the capitalist order of society. To be received by the reactionary League of Nations agents, to have sat at the same table with them — this is the proper way, in the eyes of the reformist miner leaders, to represent the interests of the miners.

Hundreds of thousands of miners are suffering under the terrible rationalisation and exploitation methods employed in all countries. Just as the miners are about to defend themselves against capitalist exploitation, as they have shown in their recent strikes in Czechoslovakia and in France and also in the present movement in the Ruhr district, the reformists have nothing better to do than to discuss with the agents of the League of Nations how capitalist society can be saved. Moreover, experience has shown, especially in the recent Ruhr fight, that the formation of an international syndicate in the coal mining industry is an advantage for the owners exclusively, as is the international crude steel and iron syndicate. A most determined fight should therefore be put up by the workers against the creation of an international coal syndicate.

INTERNATIONAL PERSECUTION OF COMMUNISTS

Concerning the Recent Arrests in Hungary.

The Social Democrats in Alliance with the Police.

By J. Kemény (Vienna).

The Hungarian political police, in the last days of February, arrested a number of workers in Budapest. Among the arrested were members of the Young Communist League of Hungary, and in connection therewith the police arranged a regular drive against all those Left-inclined workers who in recent months, in their organisations, in the trade unions, workers' cultural organisations etc., adopted an attitude hostile to the social democratic bureaucracy. In this action the social democracy openly played the role of denouncers of workers and confederates of the political police.

In the last few years the Hungarian police have not succeeded in forcing their way to the centre of the illegal Communist organisation, as was the case in the years 1925 and 1927 on the occasion of the arrest of Comrade Rákosi and Szántó. The police endeavoured to bribe Left-Wing workers and to make spies of them. But this method also proved of no avail. At the same time pressure was exerted upon the political police from above. They were urged on by the Government to do something against the Communist "plague" which is beginning to spread. For the fighting spirit of the working masses grew. The opposition increased in all the workers' organisations. The miners, against the will of their trade union leaders, went on strike. The unemployed arranged three demonstrations one after the other in the streets of Budapest. The oppositional tendencies in the trade unions increased in strength. In the workers cultural associations, in whose ranks the rising generation of workers gathered, there developed an oppositional militant spirit, even if in many respect it was somewhat unclear.

The work of the C. P. of Hungary was to be noticed in all spheres of the Labour movement: the sporadic, spontaneous Left development of the masses began gradually to acquire a more united, a more conscious form. The illegal leaflets of the Party found their way into the big factories, into the mines: the illegal paper of the Party, "Communist", appeared uninterruptedly for nine months, and its circulation increased. The slogans of the Party against the fascisation of the labour Movement, which is being systematically prepared by the Government in alliance with the social democracy, found an ever-increasing response among the masses.

This radicalisation process of the working masses, the growth of the influence of the C. P. of Hungary, took place in the midst of a crisis, which became more and more obvious, of the fascist system of the Bethlen Government. The fascist "National unity" broke up into fragments; the impoverished petty bourgeois strata in the town and village rebelled. The general discontent of the petty-bourgeois masses found expression even in the camp of the government coalition: the Christian National Economic Party began to adopt an oppositional tone.

In such circumstances it was time to undertake a blow against the Left Labour movement and its leader, the C. P. of Hun-

gary. The government and the social democracy had common interests. The refractory petty bourgeois was to be intimidated by the spectre of Bolshevism. The Left workers were to be terrorised and cowed by arrests and tortures in order to re-establish and strengthen the monopoly of the social democratic leaders in the legal labour movement by means of the State power.

On the basis of this real harmony of interests there took place the collaboration of the social democracy with the police. Among the Hungarian workers there prevails the belief that anybody who ventures to express oppositional opinions in the workers organisations will, sooner or later, but inevitably, be delivered over to the police by the bureaucracy. This is what happened in the present case. The police used the occasion of the arrest of some members of the Young Communist League in order to arrest all workers who had been formerly involved in a Communist trial. The police were actuated by the conviction that a wholesale torturing of more than 80 workers must yield some "result", that by this means they would be able to get on the track of the Central Committee of the Party and the illegal printing press. On the other hand, oppositional workers were indiscriminately arrested on the basis of denunciations by the Hungarian social democracy. Thus, for example, numerous members of the oppositional leadership of the workers gymnastic League, who some weeks ago had turned out the old reformist leadership, were arrested. In the same way the opposition in the Workers' Esperanto League, as well as in the Workers Temperance League, were arrested. Leading oppositional workers in the Wood Workers' Union also fell victims to the denunciations of the social democrats.

The Central organ of the social democracy "Népszava" quite openly named those workers' cultural associations in which the Left opposition was strong and in which the "undermining" work — as the "Népszava" expressed it — was carried out, "according to the instructions of Moscow". When the first news of the arrests appeared, the Budapest correspondents of the Vienna newspapers reported that the Hungarian police had been actively assisted by the Hungarian social democracy in "discovering" a "Communist plot". The correspondents obtained this news direct from the Hungarian political police, for whom of course it was not important to conceal the fact of their co-operation with the social democratic leaders.

The indignation even among social democratic workers at this work of denunciation by their leaders and the base attitude of the "Népszava" was so great that the last-named considered it advisable, after two days, to deny the news contained in the Vienna papers. At the same time it made the stupid assertion that this news had got into the papers "by means of Moscow agents". In order to meet the indignation of the workers at the base denunciation, the paper resorted to the approved method of calumny. At the same time in which the social democratic leaders gave the hint to the police, their central organ began to make statements to the effect that police spies are in the Communist organisation, that the Central Committee of the Party consists of police spies, that the whole Communist movement is the work of police spies. By this means the Hungarian social democracy is trying to divert attention from its acts of denunciation, to intimidate the workers, to play upon the backward workers' fear of and disinclination to illegal work.

But it can be said already that the blow which the police and social democracy together endeavoured to aim at the Left labour movement and the C. P. of Hungary has this time failed. The arrests did not lead to the intimidation of the masses, but on the contrary resulted in increasing their rage and bitterness. The Workers Gymnastic League, the oppositional leaders of which were arrested, two days after the arrests held a "cultural evening" which was attended by 2500 workers. And in the midst of the pogrom-campaign against the Communists, 2000 miners of the Salgótarján mining area under oppositional leadership, went on strike.

The Left movement of the Hungarian labour masses cannot longer be crushed by policy measures nor by social-fascist denunciations.

ELEVEN YEARS OF THE RED ARMY

The Achievements of the Red Army.

By W. Alexandrov (Moscow).

In the following it is not intended to enumerate the achievements of the Red Army in purely military matters but, so far as it is possible within the scope of an article, to show its significance as a factor in the raising of the general level of culture and politics and as a school of socialism. By means of facts taken from daily life it will be shown that the Red Army, in contrast to the mere barrack drill which prevails in the armies of capitalist countries, educates the citizens of the Soviet Union to class consciousness and to active participation in socialist construction.

In the political field, owing to its active participation in such an important campaign in the Soviet Union as a Soviet election, the Red Army plays an important role. The percentage of Red Army soldiers who attend election meetings can only be compared with the workers' participation in elections in proletarian centres like Moscow and Leningrad. In addition, the Red Army exercises great influence on the election campaign in the village by means of letters from the soldiers to their relatives, exchanges of collective letters, group canvassing of the villages. In all these ways the soldiers of the Red Army help their village comrades to understand the complicated political situation and to see through the machinations of the Kulaks.

The activity of the members of the Red Army are not limited to the period of service with the colours. When they join the reserve they still take an active part in all important political campaigns. They support the Party nuclei by creating blocks of poor and middle peasants and combating the big kulaks. Former members of the Red Army are strongly represented in the administration of country districts (village Soviets, department and district executives). Of the members of village Soviets, nearly 30 per cent. have been in the Red Army, and of the chairmen of village Soviets, as also of department and district executives, 45.7 per cent. and 45.1 per cent., respectively. The training of the soldiers in special courses prior to their leaving the army is of great significance. Indeed, the Red Army is a pioneer force in the matter of training of lesser politicians, as may be seen from the following data of several divisions. It trained as active members of the

	1925	1926	1927
Villages Soviets	850	1713	10,168
Co-operative societies	2242	1454	8,000
Militia	1245	786	3,035
Village libraries	2095	960	3,196
Land Committees	1245	786	51

In regard to socialist construction the Red Army includes among its tasks the training of agitators for the reorganisation of agriculture on a more socialist basis and of organisers of collective farms. In conjunction with the resolutions of the 15th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U., special stress is laid in the general Party political working plan upon the training of organisers of collective farms. Consequently, the campaign of the Red Army has during the last year been devoted to this particular task. In this regard the decrees of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union were of great significance, as they greatly facilitated and ensured the taking on of former Red Army soldiers for the building up of collective farms by putting at their disposal arable land belonging to the State and by employing them on collective farms already in existence.

Closely connected with the above-described participation of the Red Army in the reorganisation of agriculture is the training of Party and Young Communist cadres for the villages, as may be seen from the following figures showing the composition of recruiting years according to membership of the Party:

Among the recruits born in 1902 there were 4700 Communists and 20,000 members of the Young Communist League, among those born in 1913 being 8845 and 28,000, respectively. When the latter year of recruits was discharged the number of Communists and of members of the Young Communist League had risen to 30,245 and 36,500, respectively. Among the soldiers born in 1904 there were 36,500 Communists when the category

left the army. When one takes into consideration that among the men who have served in the Red Army over 50 per cent. are agricultural labourers and poor peasants, it will be seen what significance the Red Army has in the matter of training of Party cadres. One must also bear in mind that the members of the Party and of the Young Communist League undergo a systematic Party schooling during their term of service in the Red Army, such as could not be offered to them in the village.

Finally, attention must be drawn to the Red Army as a factor in raising the standard of education and combating illiteracy. During the Red Army's ten years of existence more than 600,000 illiterates have learnt to read and write. Every year 100,000 soldiers of the Red Army are raised to a higher level of education. It is of interest that in contrast to this the tsarist army discharged about 30 per cent. of illiterates every year. The comprehensive educational work of the Red Army is of the very greatest significance in regard to the cultural revolution.

In addition, there are the numerous clubs, Lenin corners, libraries, cinemas and broadcasting. In the clubs and circles there are about 325,000 Red Army men participating, 400,000 are registered in the libraries and about 22 million visits were paid by the Red Army to the cinemas during the year 1927.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Cultural Revolution among the Eastern Peoples.

The New Turkish-Latin Alphabet in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan.

By Ossan.

At the beginning of this year the Latin alphabet was introduced in the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan in place of the Turkish-Arabian alphabet. The toilers of Soviet Azerbaijan have laid aside for ever the Arabian alphabet, which was so difficult to learn. On January 1st of this year, all the schools, the public offices, the whole of the Press and all the other institutes of cultural life went over to Latin characters.

Ever since the year 1922 the Soviet Government of Azerbaijan has been trying to combat the ignorance of the masses of the workers in regard to Latin characters. The reactionary elements opposed this endeavour of the Government to extend the achievements of the October Revolution to cultural life. There ensued a tremendous fight over this question and at first the counter-revolutionaries succeeded in getting a portion of the conservative teachers, writers and vacillating strata to support the retention of Arabian characters. At the same time, the political emigrants in Paris and the feudal-bourgeois party "Musawat" (Musawat is the Arabian word for equality) in Constantinople began an ideological fight against the introduction of the new alphabet by declaring that the new alphabet was an "attempt on the part of the Moscow Government at Russianisation". The Musawat Party called upon the teachers to refuse to work with the new alphabet and recommended the writers to start an agitation campaign against the supporters of the new alphabet.

In the course of this ruthless fight the idea of the new alphabet constituted the partition between counter-revolutionary and Soviet ideology. The revolutionaries of Azerbaijan comprehended immediately how to put up the proper resistance to these reactionary tendencies. They saw that the learning of the new alphabet caused the workers much less difficulty than the old one. This fact is best confirmed by the circumstance that within the last two years 18 per cent. of the inhabitants of Azerbaijan, i. e. 400,000, have learned to read and write Latin characters; in Usbekistan 200,000 (6 per cent.), in the North Caucasus 200,000 (15 per cent.) and among the whole Turkish population of the Soviet Union more than 1,300,000 (5 per cent.).

Apart from the Azerbaijan Turks, who originated the idea of the new alphabet, the following races adopted the idea: Turkestans, Usbeks, Kirghizes, Tartars, Dagestans, Chechenians, Crimean Tartars, etc.; also the non-Turkish races: the Abchses, Mountain Jews, Ossetins, Dungsans (Chinese), etc. This list alone speaks in favour of the vitality of the new alphabet and of the soundness of this revolutionary measure.

It was only the new alphabet that rendered it possible to bring the broad masses of the working people into close contact with political and cultural life. Within the last few years the distribution of literary publications in Soviet Azerbaijan (population 2.5 millions) increased to more than 600,000 copies, in Uzbekistan (4.5 million) to 250,000 copies and in the North Caucasus (2.25 millions) to 470,000 copies. If one adds to this the immense number of political pamphlets, propaganda writings, etc., which are not included in the above figures, an idea can be formed of the tremendous significance of the new alphabet.

As is well known, the Angora Turkey of Kemal Pasha also went over to the new alphabet on January 1st, 1929.

While the introduction of the new alphabet was put through by the workers' and peasants' Government of Azerbaijan as a great work of cultural and educational development within the confines of Socialist construction, the Angora government resorted to administrative and police measures to execute the reform. In Angora Turkey about 89 per cent. of the population can neither read nor write the new alphabet. In the post office, ministerial offices and other public departments special employees have been engaged to fill up forms for the public, who swarm in looking for help. The natives stop the Europeans on the streets and ask them to read out the names of the streets. In the cinemas the spectators shout for the captions to be read aloud to them. Such phenomena are quite common. The Angora population is not at all prepared for this reform. It would have been much more advantageous for the Angora Government to have given a portion of the population a chance to learn the Latin alphabet before carrying out the reform. But the Kemal Government was in a hurry. It must demonstrate to the whole world its "cultural progress" and in doing so it made use of the following lying report on January 1st, 1929, when it issued its first newspaper with the new alphabet: "The first and only paper of its kind in the world." It omitted to say that the first Turkish paper in Latin characters was published in Soviet Azerbaijan in the year 1923.

Even Lenin said: "The new alphabet is the greatest cultural revolution in the East." Soviet Azerbaijan has succeeded in converting these words into deeds. The achievements of the October Revolution are supplemented by a new factor, by the new Turkish-Latin alphabet! The awakening of the East, the idea of the new alphabet, is a product of the October Revolution. In this stirring up of the East the workers and peasants of Soviet Azerbaijan have played a leading role.

PROLETARIAN COMMEMORATION DAYS

Appeal of the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid on the Occasion of 18th of March.

To the Toilers of all Countries!

On 18th of March, the 58th anniversary of the Paris Commune, the Executive Committee of the International Red Aid lowers its banners in honour of the memory of the Communards of 1871 and all heroes and martyrs who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of the emancipation of the toilers.

The class struggle has assumed an intensified character in the whole capitalist world. The bourgeoisie is organising on a broad scale a cruel and bloody campaign against the revolutionary champions of our time in order to be able to check the advances and revolutionary strikes by means of which the proletarian masses are resisting capitalist rationalisation and the efforts of the bourgeoisie to stabilise the regime of suppression and exploitation. The imperialists, in preparing for new wars and before all for an attack upon the first workers and peasants' Commune -- the Soviet Union -- intensify their methods of persecution and suppression of the working and peasant class in the capitalist countries.

The bourgeoisie and their social imperialist lackeys are persecuting with particular rage and particular spite the members of the Communist Parties of all countries who in these days are celebrating in the proletarian world organisation -- the Comintern -- the tenth anniversary of its existence. In the course of these ten years of white terror, of bourgeois class

justice and imperialist colonial cruelties, hundreds and thousands of workers and peasants have died as revolutionary heroes. In torture chambers, on the gallows, under the executioners' axe ten thousands had to yield up their lives only because they were Communists or were sympathising with the Communists.

On the anniversary-day of the Paris Commune the Executive of the International Red Aid sends its warm and hearty greetings to the advance-guard of the proletariat, the Communist International, as well as to the tens of thousands of its best fighters who are pining in the dungeons of the bourgeoisie.

On the 18th of March the Executive of the International Red Aid appeals to all toilers to rally still more closely for the struggle against the crimes of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Honour to the heroes who have fallen for the cause of the Commune!

Demand the release of all revolutionary fighters for freedom who are pining in the prisons of the bourgeoisie!

Down with imperialist war!

Defend the proletarian Commune, the fatherland of all the toilers -- the Soviet Union!

Join the ranks of the Red Aid for the struggle against fascism, white terror and bourgeois class justice!

Long live international solidarity!

The Executive of the International Red Aid.

From the Paris Commune to the October Revolution.

By N. Lukin-Antonov.

I. The Paris Commune, the First experiment in Proletarian Dictatorship.

The Paris Commune was the first **Proletarian** revolution not only in the sense that the proletariat was the main driving force in it, but also because in March 1871 the workers for the first time in the history of the world, have actually captured power. That was the first experiment in **Proletarian Dictatorship**. Owing to objective conditions that experiment was very short-lived (the Commune existed 72 days). The cause of the defeat is to be sought in the fact that in France at that time the productive forces, this main prerequisite of a victorious social revolution, had not yet reached a sufficiently high level. Paris was at that time more of a workshop than a factory. Its industrial proletariat was lost in the multitude of artisans and handicraft workers. That was the cause of the immaturity of the Parisian workers, the insufficient development of their class-consciousness, the weakness of their trade and political organisations. On the eve of the March revolution of 1871 the proletariat had no **strongly welded Communist Party armed with Marxian theory and closely bound up with the masses**. The small and disconnected Blanquist circles had no deep roots among the workers of Paris. In addition to that, the Blanquists underestimated the importance of economic transformation and did not understand that the tactics of the proletariat in the social revolution cannot be a simple repetition of the "plebeian" methods of 1793. The Federation of the Paris Section of the International was in the hands of the Proudhonists, who denied the need for a political struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat as a phase of transition towards socialist society. The Federation had no binding programme and no clear tactics. Finally, there was no unity and no centralism in its organisation. The leaders of the Federation were unable to take into their hands the rising proletarian revolution which broke out without the participation of the International as the unifying and directing centre. The internationalists participating in the Commune could not organise a strong and disciplined fraction with a clear programme and a truly revolutionary tactic. Thus, the proletariat of Paris had no suitable leadership in its heroic struggle. Such was the main cause of the fall of the Commune. It was hastened by the fact that working class Paris was not supported by the other towns of France, nor by the French peasantry or the proletariat of the other countries.

But notwithstanding the immaturity, notwithstanding all shortcomings of the leadership and the mistakes that were made, the workers of Paris were instinctively able to lend their revolution a truly **proletarian socialist** character and to set up a political regime of a perfectly new type.

The socialist character of the revolution of 1871 is manifest in a number of measures taken by the Commune in improving the position of the working class and in organising production on socialist foundations. It can also be traced in the actions of the responsible men in the Commune, in its anti-militarism and internationalism (the demolition of the Vendôme Monument), etc. In reading the press, the speeches of the club speakers and the resolutions of the labour organisations of that period, one vividly feels that proletarian thought linked up the Commune with a new social stratum, a displacement of the rule of capital by the kingdom of labour.

II. The Reformists Relinquished the Lessons of the Paris Commune.

This first, as yet imperfect, but already historically given experiment in proletarian dictatorship, was closely studied by Marx and Engels who drew lessons from it.

The Paris Commune enriched the strategy and tactics of revolutionary Communism and helped Marx to lay down concretely his doctrine of proletarian dictatorship as an inevitable phase in the struggle for socialism, a doctrine which he had already worked out on the experience of the revolution of 1848.

In the subsequent epoch, the epoch of pre-war imperialism, the Paris Commune experiment was quite forgotten. The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries were years of stormy development of capitalism accompanied by a certain improvement in the position of the labour aristocracy of Europe and the United States, a powerful development of trade union and political organisation, a constant growth in the number of socialist representatives in the parliaments owing to the institution of democratic forms of representation under pressure of the working masses. That era of peaceful conquest to which it seemed there was no end in sight exerted its influence on the theory and practice of the socialist parties of the II. International. The socialist leaders still worshipped Marx, but in their version Marxism lost its true revolutionary spirit. The revolutionary traditions of 1848 and 1871 were gradually being forgotten. It is characteristic to note the term proletarian dictatorship is not to be found in any of the programmes of the socialist parties of the II. International. The revisionist Bernstein openly declared that the "word dictatorship has outlived its usefulness". The "orthodox" Kautsky in his polemics with Bernstein was quite ready to "leave it to the future to solve the problem of the proletarian dictatorship". The illusion that it was possible peacefully to capture power by means of acquisition of a parliamentary majority reigned supreme in the ranks of social democracy. From that point of view the idea of an armed insurrection for the capture of power by the proletariat was regarded as a pernicious revival of Blanquist traditions. The social revolution was understood simply as a substitution of a social democratic ministry for the bourgeois Cabinet.

In that epoch of worship of lawfulness and complete abandonment of revolutionary methods of struggle, the experiment of the Commune of 1871 was considered to have been long ago discarded. On the anniversaries of the downfall of the Commune they spoke about it, they sang praises to the virtues of the fighters, they cursed the henchmen, but they refused to see in it a model of the coming proletarian revolutions. Already in the nineties, Kautsky believed that the Commune "had marked the apex of the period of great defeats of the proletariat" after which the latter has been changing its tactics and marching from victory to victory. The strategy of overthrowing the existing regime is displaced by a strategy of tiring it out. It is of interest to note the fact that the experience of the Commune was absolutely of no interest to Kautsky even later in 1902 when he wrote his "Social Revolution". Instead of that, in his work especially devoted to the "forms and weapons of the social revolution", Kautsky definitely declared that "we have no reasons whatever to believe that armed uprisings, barricade fighting and other military methods, could play any important role today."

III. Lenin Resurrects the Paris Commune.

Interest in the Paris Commune revived again at the beginning of the twentieth century when the epoch of peaceful development was giving way to a period of new revolutionary upheavals. In the years of the first Russian Revolution (1905), the experience of the Paris Commune became of interest to the Russian social democrats, the Bolsheviks. Already then, in his

polemics with the Mensheviks on the possibility of a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry in Russia and the admissibility of participation on the part of social democrats in a provisional government, Lenin saw in the Commune the first experiment of co-operation of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie'. In an article, "The Commune of 1871 and the December Uprising of 1905", Lenin compared the position of the Menshevik Plekhanov in relation to the December armed insurrection in Moscow and Marx' position on the revolution of March 18, 1871. The former "faint-heartedly exclaimed — 'There was no need to take up arms', the latter hailed the 'historical initiative' and 'heroism' of the Parisian workers who were 'ready to storm the heavens'." In that article, referring to Marx' example, Lenin emphasised that a truly revolutionary social democrat must not lightly reject a consideration of the technical sides of an armed insurrection, its strategy and tactics". Thus, already in the epoch of the first Russian Revolution, Lenin saw in the consistent revolutionary tactics of the Bolsheviks a continuation of the glorious traditions of the Paris Commune.

But Lenin began an earnest and thorough study of the experiment of the Commune in 1917, when the world war had disclosed the absolute bankruptcy of the old and tested social democratic tactics, when the most complex problem no longer of a democratic, but of the socialist revolution had risen before the world proletariat and primarily before the Russian Bolsheviks. The Commune now interested Lenin as one of the forms which the proletarian dictatorship may assume. Lenin saw a most valuable lesson in the Commune in the fact that having captured power the workers of Paris did not "simply take hold of the ready-made machinery of State", but "broke" it (Marx). It is from that viewpoint that he criticised the system of bourgeois parliamentarism and demanded the transference of all power to the Soviets which in his opinion were precisely "the type of government which was being shaped by the Paris Commune"

Without exaggeration, it may be stated that Lenin's doctrine on the State and the dictatorship of the proletariat as a phase of transition from capitalism to the perfect socialist order, the doctrine laid down in his "State and Revolution", is built chiefly on a most thorough study of the experience of the Paris Commune and an analysis of the appraisal given by Marx and Engels.

IV. What the October Revolution Has Taken from the Experience of the Paris Commune.

The Russian proletariat and its ingenious leader utilised the experience of the Commune, not only in theory, but also in the actual work of the October Revolution. They learned much from the experience of the Commune and were able to take everything that was new and valuable in the first proletarian revolution, combining its experience with the experience of their own revolution of 1905 and the experience of the international labour movement of the end of the nineteenth century, avoiding its mistakes as far as possible.

"The Soviet Government", wrote Lenin in 1919, "is the second historical step or phase in the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The first step was the Paris Commune"

Let us see then where the first and second experiments in proletarian revolution resemble one another and to what extent the October Revolution of 1917 is a higher and more superior type of proletarian dictatorship. Both revolutions arose in conditions of great military defeats, in conditions of destruction of the productive forces, great deprivations and want created by war. Both were preceded by bourgeois revolutions (the fall of the Empire of Napoleon III, on September 4, 1870, the overthrow of Tsarism in 1917) and unsuccessful attempts to capture power by the proletariat (October 31 and January 22 in Paris, the July days in Petrograd). In both cases the victory of the proletarian revolution was made possible by the preceding collapse of the machinery of the bourgeois State. In both cases the fact

¹⁾ See Lenin — "Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution."

²⁾ Lenin: "Collected Works", Vol. VIII, p. 193—197, Russian Ed.

³⁾ Lenin: "Collected Works", Vol. XIV, p. 46—47, Russian Ed.

⁴⁾ Lenin: "Collected Works", Vol. XVI, p. 7.

that war provided the workers with rifles played a colossal role. Both in France in 1870-71 and in Russia in 1917, the mass of the proletariat did not at once part with its patriotic ardour, did not at once put on the order of the day the question of civil war in substitution for national war. But the position of the young Soviet Republic during the first months of its existence was much more precarious than the position of the Commune on the morrow after the Revolution of March 18. The Paris Commune was opposed only by the internal foe — the defeated but not destroyed army of Thiers. It is true that the Prussians stood on the North-Eastern side of Paris, but since the armistice they were strictly neutral. The Russian Soviet Republic had from the very moment of its formation not only the counter-revolutionary forces at home arrayed against it; it was menaced with the mortal danger of being crushed under the heavy boots of Wilhelm II., or of falling under the blows of Anglo-Franco-Japanese intervention.

Both the Commune and the Soviet system meant a departure from parliamentarism and the principles of bourgeois democracy. The transition of power to the Soviets was accompanied by depriving all exploiters and parasites of their political rights. The Commune, while it formally remained a democratic institution elected on the principle of universal suffrage, was actually a live negation of bourgeois democracy. The defection of the majority of the bourgeoisie to Versailles after the revolution of March 18, extensive abstention on the part of the electors of the bourgeois districts in the elections of the Commune, the withdrawal of the small radical faction from the Commune — all this actually converted the Commune into a workers' government. Just as the Soviets, the Commune "was not a parliament, but a committee of action which embodied both executive and legislative powers" (Marx). The Commune did not give rise to the Soviet system, but it arose with the support of mass organisations as a Soviet type. (The "committee of 20 districts" was a body of the type of a Soviet of Workers' Deputies. The Executive Committee of the National Guard reminds one of the councils of soldiers and officers' deputies.) Both the Commune and the Soviet Government had to overcome the vicious sabotage of the old officialdom and considerable sections of the intellectuals.

Just as the Communards, the Russian Bolsheviks did not only build a new proletarian state, but also materialised certain points of the bourgeois democratic programme which, for fear of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie could not enforce while in power (separation of the Church from the State, and the school from the church, abolition of castes, etc.). In creating a new governmental machine, the Commune for the first time brought ordinary workers to the administration of the State. The Soviet government applied this experience of the Commune on a wide scale.

Put parallel with the analogous features there are also great contrasts. Russia in 1917 was at a much higher level of capitalist development than France in 1871. Distinct from Paris, Petrograd and Moscow were the most important centres of heavy industry and their industrial proletariat sharply differed from the handicraft workers of Paris. Whereas the Parisian proletariat commenced its revolution while insufficiently organised and ideologically ripe, the Russian proletariat had a splendid vanguard in the form of a consistently Marxian and firmly united Bolshevik Party, forged in battles with Tsarism under the ideological and organisational leadership of which the October Revolution was accomplished. The existence of a strong proletarian party facilitated the organisation of a workers' government, communicated to it homogeneity and strength. Whereas in the Commune the Socialists constituted a minority which was split into two rival factions (Blanquists and Proudhonists), the Soviet government consisted from the very beginning of an overwhelming majority and later entirely of Communists. In both cases the proletariat was the main driving force of the revolution, but in France the numerous urban petty bourgeoisie which wanted to play the role of an agent between the combatant forces played an enormous part, while in Russia in 1917, the relative strength of the urban petty bourgeoisie was insignificant. Both in France and Russia, the overwhelming part of the population consisted of peasants. But whereas the Commune could not overcome the hostile attitude of the peasantry towards revolutionary Paris, could not interest them in the triumph of the proletarian revolution,

include in its programme demands which were near to the heart of the peasant, in brief, could not establish an alliance with the peasantry (the Commune advanced to slogan "Land to the peasants and instruments of labour to the workers" in a proclamation to the agricultural workers only in the last days of its existence), the Bolsheviks immediately after the victory of the October Revolution gave the landed estates over to the peasants and concluded peace which the peasant army, worn out by the war, was thirsting for.

Like the Communards, the Bolsheviks destroyed the old military bureaucratic apparatus, but they did a much more thorough job of it (for instance in the judiciary).

The Commune very hesitantly entered the path of socialist transformation and took a too cautious position towards bourgeois property. It did not go beyond transferring (with compensation) the workshops closed down by their owners to the workers' organisations, limited itself to the introduction of State control of railways instead of nationalising them, the establishment of workers' control only in some government institutions and workshops. It is true that in the course of the 72 days of its existence, the Commune could not "expropriate the expropriators" on a large scale. But its wrong policy in relation to the Bank of France, the Lombard and the insurance companies, its irresolute position on the housing and labour questions, is well known. The Soviet Government also began with workers' control, but it extended that not only to the public, but to all enterprises only in order later to nationalise the most important branches of national economy. It nationalised the banks and turned the palaces and mansions of the bourgeoisie into schools, clubs and health resorts. It enforced a policy of moving the workers into bourgeois dwellings. At the same time it, from the very beginning, materialised also the social democratic minimum labour programme (especially the 8 hour day) and introduced all forms of social insurance. The Commune was essentially a dictatorship of the proletariat of Paris. But it was hesitating and inconsistent in the enforcement of the dictatorial regime which called for merciless suppression of the enemies of the new government — which also hastened its downfall. The Soviet Government openly rejected the principles of bourgeois law as incompatible with civil war and intervention. In reply to the white terror it deliberately introduced the Red Proletarian Terror. Both the Commune and the Soviet Government inherited an old army exhausted by war and demoralised. The Commune could not and did not succeed in creating a powerful and disciplined army of the armed proletariat. The Soviet Republic built a new workers' and peasants' army with a strong new (Soviet) discipline, conscious that it is fighting for the "defence of its own cause, its land and its power in the factory" (Lenin), which, therefore, defeated the combined forces of counter-revolution and intervention.

The Paris Commune was alone in its heroic struggle; the labour movement of the other countries was still too weak to lend it moral and material aid. The Soviet Republic was better off in this respect. It must be remembered that the intervention of the most powerful capitalist states proved powerful chiefly because the workers, soldiers and sailors of the allied countries, revolutionised during the world war, were largely able to paralyse the military strength of their governments, and that the workers of Germany and Austria overthrew their governments and thereby made the rear of the Soviet Republic harmless.

One of the causes of the quick doom of the Commune was its divorcement from the rest of the country which had remained in the hands of the Versailles Government. The Russian Commune, having arisen at first as a commune of Petrograd, spread like wildfire throughout the country, which guaranteed its final victory. Finally, while the defeat of the Paris Commune hastened the collapse of the I. International, the triumph of the October Revolution called forth the Comintern under the leadership of which the proletarian revolution must be victorious as an International Revolution. But the International Revolution will triumph not by applying the methods of the II. International, which are adapted to peace, but by the revolutionary methods of the Paris Commune and the October Revolution.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Resolution of the 17th Moscow Gubernia Conference of the C. P. S. U. on the Work of the C. C.

The 17th Moscow Gubernia Conference of the C. P. S. U., after having accepted and discussed the report of Comrade Molotov on the work of the C. C., fully and entirely approves the political and organisational line and the work of the C. C.

The Conference holds the line of the C. P. S. U. delegation in the Comintern to be absolutely correct. The estimation of the international situation given by the VI. World Congress of the Communist International has been entirely confirmed in the past period. The shaky and partial character of capitalist stabilisation finds a clear expression in the growing contradictions within the capitalist system; in the antagonisms between the greatest imperialist countries, in the first place between America and England; in the growth of contradictions between the imperialist countries and the colonies which are oppressed by them; in the revolutionising of the suppressed colonial peoples; in the rising wave of the workers' struggle against capitalism.

The international proletariat is confronted by new struggles. Within the working class social democracy constitutes a reactionary force which is hampering the victory of the international proletarian revolution and which has become converted into a direct agency, a direct tool of the bourgeoisie, especially as regards capitalist rationalisation at the cost of an increased exploitation of the working and toiling masses. In this period of the ripening of new struggles the Communist Parties have to conduct the fight against social democracy with particular energy and dispel the social democratic illusions which are still prevalent among the working masses, to draw to their side the workers who are still following social democracy, and at the same time mobilise for the struggle new strata of the proletariat which are not yet organised. In this situation the Right opportunist tendencies within the Comintern, which are growing into a traction struggle, as well as the cowardly conciliatory attitude towards them are especially dangerous; they hamper the fight of the Communists against social democracy and prevent the growth of the revolutionary proletarian movement in the capitalist countries. Therefore, our Communist brother parties have to wage, apart from the ruthless struggle against the social democracy (particularly against its "left" wing which applies much more refined and therefore more dangerous methods of deceiving the workers) and the continuation of the struggle against the "left" Trotskyist tendencies, an irreconcilable fight against the Right opportunist deviation and against the conciliators, as this is the main danger in the present period. The purging of the Communist Party of the Right opportunist elements is in the present stage the most important means of consolidating the Communist Parties as the real Bolshevik leader of the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

The Conference approves the foreign policy of the Soviet Government as the only correct policy in the struggle for peace, a policy which ensures the further socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The Conference records the successes which the Soviet Government has achieved during the period under report in exposing the imperialist war plans and mobilising the toiling masses, both inside and outside the country, for the struggle for peace. The Conference notes at the same time that the growth of the capitalist contradictions is conjuring up the danger of a war in general and of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union in particular and calls upon the toilers of the Soviet Union to be on the watch and to support energetically the organisation of the defence of the country, the increase in power and fighting capacity of the Red Army and the Red Navy.

The Conference records a number of great successes which the Party, under the leadership of the Central Committee, achieved with regard to the further industrialisation of the country (great increase of capital investments, progress in the carrying through of socialist rationalisation and in the lowering of prime costs). The Conference records the commencing collectivisation of agriculture and a further development of the

measures for raising the level of the undertakings of the poor and middle peasants, further the raising of the material and cultural level of the working class and of the toiling peasantry, the progressive ousting of the capitalist elements, the consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the middle peasantry and the leading role of the working class in this alliance on the basis of a firm carrying out of the line of the XV. Party Congress.

The Conference states at the same time that the Party has to overcome a series of difficulties which are connected with the backwardness of technique, with the backwardness and extremely scattered nature of agriculture, with the scarcity of material means within the country, with inadequate raising of labour productivity, not to mention the new attempts on the part of the capitalist countries to establish a financial and economic blockade.

The Conference emphasises that the Central Committee of the Party, having regard to the international and internal situation, correctly carried out the policy of realising at a rapid and feverish pace the industrialisation of the country and the growth of the whole national economy. The slowing down of the pace of industrialisation would have led inevitably to a weakening of the international positions of the Soviet Union and at the same time to a weakening of the positions of the proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction within the country. It is necessary to carry through the technical reconstruction and the electrification of the country with all determination and consistency. In this respect we must be guided by the slogan of Lenin: "To catch up and overtake economically the capitalist countries!"

The Conference notes that the results achieved in regard to the growth of industry in general and of heavy industry in particular render possible an advance along the path of the further consolidation of the alliance of the proletariat and the village poor with the masses of the middle peasantry in the period of socialist reconstruction of the whole economy.

Socialist industry is beginning to provide the village to an ever greater extent not only with articles of mass consumption but also with modern agricultural means of production, with tractors, fertilisers etc. On this basis the productive alliance between town and country is becoming consolidated, and there arise the material pre-conditions for a thorough transformation of the technically backward and scattered undertakings of the small peasants upon the collective basis of the co-operatives. The Conference approves the revival of the Party policy in regard to the establishment of new points of support for socialism in agriculture, of new and powerful Soviet estates and collective undertakings.

The extreme backwardness of agriculture is, as correctly stated by the C. C., the chief source of the difficulties of further advance on the way of the industrialisation of the country.

The Conference repudiates the defeatist talk regarding the degradation of agriculture and fully and entirely approves the measures of the Central Committee directed towards improving the undertakings of the small and middle peasants, of greatly increasing the area under cultivation and towards increasing the fertility of the soil. These measures, as well as the reduction of the tax burdens for the middle peasants and the firm execution of the decision of the Central Committee regarding the abolition of extraordinary measures for the requisition of grain, will promote the further consolidation of the alliance with the middle peasantry.

The Conference considers it necessary to continue on the largest possible great scale the support of the individual undertakings of the poor and middle peasants, but at the same time to conduct systematically and ruthlessly the attack on the capitalist and kulak elements in the village. The Conference emphasises that only the realisation of Lenin's co-operative plan, the inseparable part of which is the collectivisation of agriculture, can lead to a thorough raising of agriculture, as well as of the material and cultural level of the main mass of the peasantry, can abolish the exploitation of the agricultural labourers and the village poor by the kulaks and overcome the century-old backwardness of the village in comparison with the town.

In carrying out the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture the Leninist policy of the Socialist offensive of the proletariat on the basis of N. E. P. finds expression. This offensive, which is directed toward-

the extermination of the last roots of capitalism, which is fostered by and grows out of the small-commodity production, calls forth an intensified active resistance on the part of the capitalist elements in town and country which have grown in the years of the N. E. P. In the present period of socialist construction, which in the last resort will lead to the abolition of the classes, there is taking place an inevitable intensification of the class struggle. On the one hand, the whole working class and broad strata of the poor and middle peasants are rallying round the policy of the socialist transformation of the country, on the other hand the new bourgeoisie and the kulaks endeavour to draw the backward sections of the peasantry, which are immersed in the century-old prejudices of capitalism and private property, into the struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the cause of Socialism.

If the Party in the first period of the N. E. P., by realising Lenin's slogan, "Learn trading", achieved considerable results in ousting the private trader, the chief point of the question "Who whom?" is now shifting to the sphere of the struggle between Socialism and capitalism for the further development of small-commodity production. In its further work the Party must unreservedly adhere to the standpoint that the victorious construction of Socialism is only possible with a rapid development of industry and a simultaneously developing socialist transformation of agriculture.

The Conference emphasises at the same time that without such a policy the further raising of the material standard of the working class and of the peasantry is also impossible. The Conference records the further increase of real wages, the improvement of the position of the workers as a result of the gradual introduction of the seven-hour day, the growing satisfaction of the cultural requirements of the working masses, and some progress in the construction of workers' dwellings.

The realisation of the tasks set by the Party of raising economy upon a socialist basis and the further improving of the position of the working class are only possible on the basis of an all-round rationalisation of production, of an unconditional lowering of the prime costs according to the directives issued by the Party, the increase of labour productivity and the carrying out of measures in the sphere of the cultural revolution. It is particularly necessary to carry out consistently the measures decided by the July Plenum of the C. C. for the training of new cadres of proletarian specialists in all spheres of socialist construction. The Conference considers it necessary to call the serious attention of the Party to the revival of reactionary bourgeois intellectuals including the specialists and professors, which fact is undoubtedly connected with the intensification of the class struggle in the country.

The Conference, after having recorded a number of achievements in the work of the trade unions in regard to the organisation of the working masses, sets the trade unions the task of working more intensely at the socialist education of the workers, especially of the new cadres who have been drawn into production. The trade unions must get the whole mass of the workers to participate in the building up of industry, in increasing labour discipline, which has slackened here and there, and removing the symptoms of petty-bourgeois slacking and dawdling on the part of certain backward strata of the working class. At the same time it is necessary to reinforce our struggle against the distortions of the class line by bureaucratism and by mismanagement in the State and trade union apparatus, by means of the development of self-criticism, of drawing workers into all branches of State administration, of energetic purging of the State apparatus of elements hostile of the working class, and a broad entrustment of new proletarian cadres with responsible posts in the State apparatus.

The inevitable feverish pace of industrialisation requires the overcoming of a number of serious difficulties. These difficulties become greater in a situation marked by intensification of the class struggle and vacillations of the petty-bourgeois strata of the population, and cause even some sections of the working class to vacillate. These vacillations find their expression in some links of our Party. The Party has dealt an annihilating blow to Trotzkyism; it has to a great extent overcome the Trotzkyist ideology in its own ranks and, at the XV. Party Congress, drove the Trotzkyists as a foreign

element from the Party. In its evolution Trotzkyism, which masks itself with "Left Communist" phrases, actually converts itself into a petty-bourgeois counter-revolutionary tendency.

The Conference approves the measures of the Central Committee in the struggle against the Trotzkyists as anti-Soviet elements. At the same time the Conference records certain symptoms of Trotzkyist and semi Trotzkyist tendencies within our Party, and it considers it necessary to continue the persistent struggle against these tendencies, against the conciliatory attitude towards them and against the under-estimation of the counter-revolutionary role of Trotzkyism.

The Trotzkyist variety of opportunism is, practically speaking, exposed before the Party. The main danger in the present period is the open opportunist Right deviation. The Party must wage a determined struggle on both fronts, but especially direct its fight against the Right opportunist deviation and the conciliatory tendencies towards it. The main danger of the Right deviation consists in the fact that its political line is leading to the unchaining of the capitalist elements in the country, as the nature of the Right deviation consists in the abandonment of the rapid pace of industrialisation, in the abandonment of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture; it leads to the abandonment of the hegemony of the working class in its alliance with the peasantry. The policy of the Right deviation proceeds from the false conception that the kulak will grow into Socialism, and leads in reality to an abandonment of the offensive against the capitalist elements and to frustrating the construction of Socialism. In its political tendency the Right deviation is organising the petty-bourgeois elements in the country against the proletarian dictatorship.

Proceeding from the necessity for a decisive struggle against the Right deviation as the main danger of socialist construction in the present period, the Party must at the same time energetically combat the vacillations between the line of the XV. Party Congress and the Right deviation which found clear expression in the last period. It must decisively expose the inadmissible vacillations in the question of the pace of the industrialisation of the country carried out by the Party, no matter with what panicky talk regarding adaptation to the weak spots in our economy, regarding the degradation of agriculture etc. these vacillations may be cloaked. The Party must deal a blow to all those elements which are hesitating in the main question: whether the course shall be directed to the collectivisation of agriculture and the establishment of Soviet estates, i. e. the course to the socialist transformation of the peasant undertakings and thereby to the annihilation of the class contradictions, or whether our positions should be abandoned under the assault of the capitalist and petty bourgeois elements, i. e. the masses of the poor and middle peasantry should be delivered over to the power of the kulaks and of capitalism.

Especially harmful under the conditions of the intensified class struggle are the vacillations between two irreconcilably antagonistic lines: between the policy of an intensified attack upon the kulaks and the capitalist elements, and the theory of the kulak who is peacefully growing into socialism, which in practice leads to the abandonment of the offensive against the kulaks, the unchaining of the capitalist elements and the restoration of the power of the bourgeoisie.

The Party must deal a decisive blow to those elements which in the period of an intensified struggle of the Party against bureaucratism and of a large-scale development of self-criticism, are repeating the Trotzkyist calumny of the bureaucratism of the Party, and thereby reveal their isolation from Party life and from the masses of the Party members. The Party must deal a blow to those elements which diplomatically shield the Right deviation and the conciliators in the Comintern, which in reality means a frustration of the Bolshevik consolidation of the Communist Parties and thereby a support of social democracy.

The Conference is of the opinion that the crystallisation of the Right deviation as a special line fundamentally distinct from the line of the Party, and the increased vacillations in the direction of this deviation are at present calling forth the immediate danger of a fractional anti-Party activity on the part of the Right and the conciliatory elements.

The Conference considers it especially important and necessary that the Central Committee, in the present difficult moment, ensures the unconditional observance of iron Bolshevik

discipline on the part of every Party member, no matter what position he may hold. This means that every Party member and every member of the C. C. is bound to carry out, under the leadership and control of the Party and its C. C., the work which has been entrusted to him.

The Conference, after having recorded the growth of the political activity and the class-consciousness of the working masses, considers it necessary that the directives of the Central Committee regarding the increased recruitment of factory workers, agricultural labourers and members of the collective undertakings be energetically carried through, while at the same time a thorough purging of the Party of disintegrating, bureaucratic and anti-class elements must take place. The Conference considers it necessary to carry out a general Party purge in the near future.

The 17th Gubernia Conference of the C. P. S. U. declares to the Central Committee that the ideologically firmly-welded Bolshevik Moscow organisation constitutes a firm support of the C. C. in the carrying out of the general Bolshevik line of the Party.

The 17th Party Conference calls upon the whole Moscow organisation to continue the energetic struggle against all deviations from the line of the XV. Party Congress and to mobilise new masses of the workers and toiling peasants under the banner of the Party for the victorious socialist construction.

Long live our Leninist Party!
Long live its Bolshevik Central Committee!

The C. C. of the C. P. of Italy on the Open Letter to the C. P. of Germany and the Attitude of Comrade Serra.

The C. C. of the C. P. of Italy dealt at its last Conference with a number of questions relating to the international situation and the policy of the Communist International. It discussed, among other things, the Open Letter which the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. has addressed to the Central Committee of the C. P. of Germany, and the attitude adopted by Comrade Serra at the session in which this letter was approved, as up till now, owing to the difficulties arising from the illegal conditions under which the Italian Party is working, neither the Open Letter nor the attitude of Comrade Serra could be examined.

The Central Committee declares that it fully and entirely approves the Open Letter of the Presidium to the C. C. of the German Party and considers this document of the greatest importance in the struggle against the Right danger and the conciliatory tendencies towards it. The VI. World Congress of the Comintern has shown the necessity for this struggle and declared that, in view of the objective situation and the tasks with which the advance-guard of the working class is confronted, this struggle constitutes one of the fundamentals of Communist Party policy at the present moment. The events which occurred after the VI. World Congress, especially in the German Party but also in a number of other Parties, have proved that this directive issued by the VI. World Congress is perfectly correct and that it must be applied with greatest determination both internationally and in every individual Party. The attitude of Comrade Serra at the Presidium and the manner in which Comrade Serra, proceeding from this attitude, put forward a number of political assertions which, in their totality, constitute an attempt at a radical revision of the line of the VI. World Congress, have demonstrated to the C. C. the necessity for defending the line of the VI. World Congress with the greatest energy against every such attempt at revision.

The points to which attention must be specially directed and the directives of the VI. World Congress which must be energetically defended against any attempt at revision in the sense of open opportunism or paving of the way for opportunism, are, in the opinion of the C. C. of the C. P. of Italy, the following:

1. **The analysis and definition of the objective situation:** It is a serious mistake to assert that the VI. World Congress, in using the term of the "Third period", wished to define the present situation as a situation of the economic and political strengthening of the bourgeoisie and a "pause" in the capitalist

crisis. The VI. World Congress thoroughly investigated the processes which are today taking place in the capitalist world and has designated as one of the characteristic symptoms of the present period the extension of the production-basis and of production beyond the pre-war standard. But the VI. World Congress designated as a fundamental feature of the "third period" the intensification of the inner contradictions of the capitalist world. This intensification of the contradictions finds expression in a sharpening of antagonisms in the international and national sphere and in an intensification of the class struggle. It renders the war danger particularly acute. Every attempt to change or to revise this attitude adopted by the VI. World Congress, every attempt to relegate to a second place the contradictions which are becoming more acute in the capitalist world, constitutes an expression of opportunism which must be combated, as this leads to a distortion of the whole policy of the parties and of the Comintern, to a neglect of the war danger and of the struggle against it, and befores the mind regarding the fighting tasks which the advance-guard of the working class must set itself today or in the near future.

2. **The radicalisation of the working class and the significance of the present economic struggles.** At the same time every tendency which denies that, among the broad working masses, under the pressure of the objective conditions, an obvious process of radicalisation is taking place, must be designated as a symptom of opportunism. The analysis of the different forms of this process must be carried out with the greatest care in order to be able to conduct correctly the political actions which the Communist Parties must undertake in order to place themselves at the head of the working class. The great mass movements which are proceeding in the greatest capitalist countries in the economic sphere, form one of the most important symptoms of the present situation; they are shattering the tottering building of capitalist stabilisation and must become the starting point of the present actions of the Communists among the workers. The Communists must not regard these great economic struggles as being simply defensive struggles, but must bear in mind that these struggles constitute a counter-attack against the offensive of the capitalists and that they signify the first symptoms of a new rising wave of the labour movement. The estimation of the present economic struggles as mere defensive struggles is the ideological expression of an incorrect political line, the essence of which is the abandonment of the struggle to place oneself immediately at the head of the working masses which are beginning to move.

3. **The trade union tactics.** The C. C. of the C. P. of Italy in particular is in a position to confirm the correctness of the trade union tactics laid down by the IV. Congress of the R. I. L. U. and the VI. World Congress of the C. I. It is especially in a position to judge what the open attacks upon the reservations against it mean. The rapid bureaucratic and reactionary transformation which the Italian trade unions have undergone under the pressure of fascism, had as a result that the advance-guard of the Italian proletariat had to cope somewhat quickly and determinedly with the problem of evoking a trade union action amongst the masses, in the factories, proceeding against the "legality" of the reformist trade unions, supporting themselves upon the broad mass formations of the organised and unorganised workers (agitation committees, strike committees etc.). The opposition to such a development of trade union activity in our Party was always a characteristic feature of the Right tendencies and has been combated as a sign of opportunism. On the other hand the successes which we achieved in the trade union sphere and which enabled the Communists to place themselves at the head of the mass movement at a moment when the reformist leaders went over openly to the enemy, which permitted the continuation of the C. G. L. (General Trade Union Federation) as class trade unions — these results were achieved only because our Party understood at the right time that it is necessary to break through the trade union legality and also to work outside of the trade unions. It is just in this direction that all Communist Parties must learn to work today, before all in those countries where clear symptoms of the radicalisation of the working class are to hand and where the reformist trade union apparatus is exerting a greater pressure upon the organised masses. The difficulties of this tactic, the vacillations and the partial mistakes which may have come to light in the application of this tactic, must be investigated internationally in order to tabulate the common experiences of all Communist Parties, but they must not constitute a

pretext for a revision of this tactic in order to discredit and abandon it. The work among the unorganised and the direct trade union activity of the Communists are not in contradiction to the work in the trade unions but are closely connected with the work aiming at winning the trade union organised masses.

4. **The struggle against the social democracy.** The opportunist tendencies react to the relative strengthening of the positions of social democracy, which is a symptom of the present period, with the opposite tactic to that laid down by the VI. World Congress, which corresponds to the requirements of reality. Instead of conducting the fight more energetically against social democracy and especially against those groups of social democracy which make use of radical phrases, **the opportunist tendencies, which consequently also modify the forms of the application of the united front tactics, are inclining to capitulate to the social democracy, to yield to the pressure of its apparatus and propose to change the tactical principles which the International has laid down in its Programme (application of transition slogans only in acute revolutionary crisis) in order to attempt, together with the social democracy, to divert the masses from the revolutionary struggle (economic democracy etc.).** In this attitude there are to be found the germs of a revision of the whole policy of the International (conceptions regarding the workers' and peasants' government, demands of the proletarian revolution etc.).

Comrade Serra has, in a number of documents, adopted an attitude to all these questions which, starting from a conciliatory attitude towards the mistakes of the Rights, ends in completely denying the existence of a Right danger upon the combating of which all our forces must be concentrated, whereby he openly demands a revision of the decisions of the VI. World Congress (Slogan of return to the Third Congress, revision of the decisions of the IX. Plenum regarding the French and English question etc.).

5. **The Russian questions.** In his attitude to the questions of socialist construction in Russia and to the inner-Party questions of the C. P. S. U. Comrade Serra has developed views which deviate completely from the political line which the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. is at present pursuing. The Congress of the International recognised this line as the only one which, under the conditions obtaining in the Soviet Union, guarantee the success of the socialist economic construction. Comrade Serra denies the existence in the C. P. S. U. of a Right danger against which the Party has to concentrate its fire, as well as the existence of the danger of a conciliatory tendency towards this Right danger. Regarding the economic questions he demands a revision of the line laid down by the XV. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U. concerning the struggle against the growth of the capitalist elements in the village and regarding the efforts which must be made in order to promote the development of socialist industrialisation and the socialist economic elements in the village. His views represent an ideological disarming of the proletariat in face of the class enemies against which the proletariat has to fight in the period of the proletarian dictatorship -- a capitulation in view of the difficulties at the present period.

The whole questions dealt with by Comrade Serra and the solutions which he proposes prove that he has abandoned the line of the VI. World Congress, which is the line pursued and defended by the C. P. of Italy. The C. C. emphatically condemns the attitude of Comrade Serra and sees in it a complex of serious opportunist deviations, against which a determined fight must be waged in order to prevent them from taking root in any way in our Party and to prevent any conciliatory tendencies towards these deviations showing themselves.

The Communist Party of Italy, which since the foundation of the Comintern stood in the front ranks at all the struggles of the C. I., will unhesitatingly conduct the struggle against the opportunists and the conciliators. It declares its solidarity with the struggle which is being waged in this sphere by the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. and the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany. It will continue to contribute with all its forces not only to the elaboration of a correct international political line, but also to its better application in the present difficult situation in which the advance-guard is called upon to fight today.

1st March, 1929.

TEN YEARS OF THE COMINTERN

Ten Years of the Communist International.

Theses of the Agitprop of the E. C. C. I.

I. The Comintern in the First Period of the General Crisis of Capitalism.

1. The Communist International was born of the general crisis of capitalism and proletarian world revolution. The first imperialist war of 1914 to 1918, in shaking the foundations of the capitalist system, initiated the period of the general crisis of capitalism. The October revolution, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country and creating the new type of State represented by the Soviet power, struck the first note of the proletarian world revolution. In the period of the acutest crisis of the capitalist system, which evoked the maximum upsurge of the revolutionary movement of the masses all over the world (March 1919), the strivings of the proletarian vanguard in various countries resulted in the founding of the Communist International, which inscribed upon its banners the slogans of the struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for World Communism. "The founding of the Third Communist International" -- wrote Lenin on 5th March, 1919 -- "is the preparatory stage of the international Soviet Republic and the world victory of Communism".

2. The creation of the proletarian International of Action was placed on the agenda of history by the base treachery of the II. International at the beginning of the imperialist world war. In August 1914 the II. International was making preparations for celebrating the Jubilee of its 55 years of existence and the 50th anniversary of the founding of the I. International. Then the war broke out, and the II. International disintegrated with lightning rapidity into national "socialist" parties swearing allegiance to "their" fatherlands and "their" imperialism, and giving the sanction of the flag of proletarian solidarity to the world massacre organised by the imperialists. The shameful collapse of the II. International thrust into the foreground the necessity of forming a new international association of the workers. To the Bolshevist Party, headed by Lenin, fell the task not only of characterising the new epoch -- the epoch of imperialist wars and socialist revolution -- in a striking manner, but at the same time the task of pointing out the concrete problem set the workers of the whole world by this epoch. The Manifesto issued by the Central Committee of the R. S. D. L. P., on 1st November 1914, may be regarded as the first decisive step towards the formation of the Communist International. In this Manifesto the proletarian vanguard is called upon to recognise the collapse of the II. International as an accomplished fact and to realise the causes of this collapse, to the end that a new and firmer association of the workers may be made possible with the utmost rapidity. On the same day (1st November, 1914), Lenin wrote:

"The Second International is dead, defeated by opportunism. Down with opportunism; long live the Third International, purged not only of "turncoats" ... but of opportunism."

3. The Manifesto of 1st November was followed by various attempts to gather together the revolutionary forces of the international labour movement, and to organise them under the slogans formulated in this manifesto. Among the most important stages of this organisational preparatory work we must count, besides the activities of individual organisations, especially of the Bolsheviks in old tsarist Russia, the Zimmerwald Conference (5th to 8th September, 1915), and the Kienthal Conference (14th April to 1st May, 1916). At the Zimmerwald Conference Lenin and his adherents were in the minority. The Conference was not yet competent to grasp the fundamental slogans of the Leninist platform: the formation of the Communist International and the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war. The Bolsheviks nevertheless considered it necessary, after definitely formulating their standpoint, to join the Left groups of the Germans, French, Swedes, Norwegians and Swiss, in signing a joint manifesto; this manifesto they regard-

ded as a step forward towards the real struggle against opportunism, towards breaking away from it, and towards final rupture with it.

At the second Conference (Kienthal) the Zimmerwald Left was conspicuously larger, and the Conference as a whole tended considerably more to the conclusion of the necessity of a determined struggle against the imperialist war. Also the question of the necessity of a complete break with the II. International and of the founding of a fighting Communist International was formulated more definitely and precisely at this Conference.

4. During the imperialist war the revolutionary forces gathered but slowly round the banner of the III. International. The power of reformism, and the traditions of unity within the confines of the II. International, weighed heavily upon even those revolutionary elements who realised the profundity of the treachery of the II. International, and who felt instinctively the dawn of the new epoch in the history of the world, with its imperative call for immediate revolutionary struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

The II. International was defeated by opportunism — this weapon which imperialism has forged for itself in the course of these decades. Aided by the super-profits squeezed out of the colonies and semi-colonies and by the whole apparatus of compulsion and stupefaction employed for holding down the masses of the people, imperialism exerted every effort for the subjugation of not only the proletarian masses, but of the organisations which the latter have created. By means of a complicated system of deception, provocation, and corruption, the bourgeoisie succeeded in subjecting the leading cadres of social democracy and of the trade unions to its influence, and converted these into actual vehicles carrying bourgeois influence into the proletariat, into efficient pillars of the capitalist system. The imperialist war, revealing the general crisis of capitalism, showed at the same time what immense reserves imperialism has ensured for itself: the power of the social democratic and reformist organisations.

5. The October revolution — this greatest victory of the world proletariat — gave a mighty impetus to the revolutionary movement all over the world, and created the prerequisites for the genesis of an International of Action. With capitalism shaken all over the world, with class warfare acuter than ever before, and under the immediate influence of the October revolution, a number of revolutions and revolutionary actions broke out in every part of the world. Among the most important of these events we may mention: the workers' revolution in Finland in 1918, the rice insurrections in Japan in August 1918, the revolutions in Austria and Germany in November 1918, overthrowing the old monarchies with the rapidity of lightning, the proletarian revolution in Hungary, the rising in Korea in March 1919, and the establishment of the Soviet power in Bavaria in April 1919.

The beginning of 1919 was thus not only a period of great struggles in the young Soviet Republic against native and international counter-revolution, but was at the same time a period of violent revolutionary action in different parts of the world. Upon this foundation of revolutionary struggles the Communist International was erected.

6. The international conference convened on the initiative of eight organisations, under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party, for the purpose of founding the Communist International, was opened on 2nd March, 1919. At the sitting held on 4th March the conference decided to declare itself to be the inaugural congress of the Communist International.

Only a few delegates took part in this Congress, but it derived its force from the force of the rapidly growing world revolution. "Our Congress", said Lenin, "is of world historical importance. It proves the collapse of all illusions regarding bourgeois democracy." And on the following day, after the Congress had constituted itself as the first Congress of the Communist International, Lenin wrote: "The founding of the III., the Communist International, rests on a firm basis."

7. During the period of the acutest crisis of capitalism the fundamental weakness of the international movement became apparent. The revolutionary struggle broke out in every country in the world. But beyond the frontiers of the first Soviet Republic there were either no Communist Parties at all, or the Communist Parties existed in embryonic form. Even in Germany, where the revolutionary movement was led by courage-

ous revolutionists — the Spartacus comrades — there was no Communist Party steered in battle, capable of leading the movement to victory. Lenin, referring long afterwards to this time, wrote: "But at the time of the crisis the German workers, in consequence of the belated split, the yoke of the accursed tradition of 'unity' with the venal... band of the lackeys of capital, had no really revolutionary party." At this juncture the all-important task was to form Communist Parties simultaneously all over the world, and to unite these young Parties by a uniform and common leadership. The importance of the I. Congress of the Communist International lies not only in the fact that it formed the general-staff for the world revolution, but also in that it stimulated the formation of new Communist Parties and promoted the firmer establishment of the young communist organisations already existing at that time.

The Communist International was born as the historical successor of the Communist League and of the I. International, and as the inheritor of the best pre-war traditions of the II. International. The Communist League had directed an appeal to the young working class just emerging from the womb of the capitalist order, calling upon it to stand united in the struggle against capitalism, in the struggle for socialism. The I. International had already unfurled the banner of the fight for socialism. The historical service rendered by the II. International lay in the gathering together and uniting of the broad masses under the banner of socialism against capitalism. After the defeat of the Commune, the First International proved to be only a central organisation, made strong by the discipline of Marx' leadership, but lacking the mass basis. This was the real cause of its death. The collapse of the Second International, on the other hand, was expressed by the betrayal of the international army of the proletariat by its general-staff at the critical moment. The task falling to the Communist International, formed in March 1919, was the combination and unification of the mass movement with a systematic and central revolutionary leadership. The III. International, according to the idea of the First Congress, was to become an international of open mass action, having for its aim the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat all over the world, in the form of the Soviet government.

8. The importance of the I. Congress is therefore due: firstly, to its laying of the foundation stone for the building up of an international fighting organisation of the working class; secondly, to the impetus which it gave to the formation of Communist Parties in the whole world; and thirdly, to its exact formulation of the fundamental and decisive task of the new epoch — the epoch of imperialist wars and revolutions — the task of the organised mass struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviets. This Congress closed with Lenin's profoundly intuitive words: "The victory of the proletarian revolution all over the world is assured. We are advancing to the founding of a world republic."

9. The period between the I. and II. Congresses was characterised by severe struggles and by a rapid growth of the Communist movement in every country. The urge towards Moscow, the recognition of the Soviets and the Comintern, was so intense that not only the genuinely revolutionary elements were carried along with it, but even the centrist and semi-centrist organisations expressed a wish to join the Communist International founded by the I. Inaugural Congress. The fact of the formation of the Communist International now put the question fairly and squarely to the proletariat: whom was it going to follow? The Comintern for Soviet power, or the reformists for the power of the bourgeoisie? The masses turned to the Soviets, and thereby obliged the centrist parties, too, to seek contact with the Comintern. At the same time, however, this period revealed the fundamental weakness of the international proletariat in these great and decisive years: the weakness of the Communist parties, and the strength of the social democratic parties defending with weapons in hand the strongholds of the capitalist system.

Immediately after the I. Congress had finished its work, the Hungarian Soviet Republic was born. It was maintained for only a few months. It had to contend against the overpowering coalition of the imperialist enemies, who were able to drown the young republic in the blood of the best of its sons. When analysing the history of this republic, we see plainly that the tragedy of the young Hungarian Republic lay in the lack of a strong, internally firmly knitted, battle-trained, revolutionary Communist Party. The fundamental error of the Hun-

garian communists was their failure to recognise the treacherous part played by the social democrats, and their failure to win over the broad masses of the Hungarian peasantry, by means of a suitable agrarian policy, for the Soviet power.

At almost the same time the Bavarian Soviet Republic was born. Had there been a strong Communist Party in Germany at that time, then Bavaria, in spite of its industrial backwardness, would have provided a rallying centre for the revolutionary struggle of the whole German proletariat. But German social democracy did its utmost to save German capitalism in this emergency, whilst the young Communist Party was unable to hasten in time to the aid of the young Bavarian Soviet Republic.

The Hungarian and Bavarian Soviet Republics were overthrown. But the revolutionary movement continued to grow all over the world, and the Russian Soviet Republic, born in the flames of the October revolution continued to defend itself successfully against all its foes.

10. The II. Congress of the Communist International met on 19th July, 1920. The crisis of capitalism revealed itself in its acutest form. At the same time a gigantic development of the revolutionary movement in the whole world was observable.

The Red Army rapidly approached the capital of white-guardist Poland. The workers of the whole world knew that Pilsudski's Poland had opened the campaign against the land of the Soviets, intending to shatter the citadel of the international proletariat. The advance of the Red Army was greeted by the workers' vanguard all the world over as the victorious march of the army of social revolution. In Germany the revolutionary crisis became more acute from day to day. In Italy a mighty movement developed, whose results were seen a few months after the II. Congress of the Comintern. In England the bourgeoisie fell into a state of literally frantic alarm at the growth of the revolutionary movement. It was during this period of the II. Congress that the movement for the formation of committees of action set in — one of the best pages in the history of the English labour movement, only surpassed by the General Strike and the miners' struggle in 1926. Thus it came about that the II. Congress was called upon to draw up the whole strategic plan of the revolutionary struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat.

11. The II. Congress of the Communist International will always retain a leading place in the history of the international revolutionary movement. This congress formulated the principles of the international struggle for the world dictatorship, and these principles formed the basis of the programme of the Communist International finally laid down by the VI. World Congress.

Among those documents of the II. Congress which represent a permanent and integral part of the Communist International, a first place must be accorded to Lenin's theses on the "Fundamental tasks of the Communist International", and special emphasis laid upon them. These theses contain an accurate characterisation of the correct relations between the leading Communist Party, the revolutionary class, and the mass, i. e. the totality of the workers and exploited. In point 4 of these theses we read:

"Only the Communist Party, when this is actually the vanguard of the revolutionary class and includes all its best representatives, when it is composed of fully conscious and devoted communists, enlightened and steeled by the experience of obstinate revolutionary struggle, when this Party has proved capable of binding itself by indissoluble ties to the whole life of its class and therewith to the whole mass of the exploited, and of gaining the complete confidence of this mass, only such a Party is able to lead the proletariat in the final decisive struggle against all the powers of capitalism."

12. Bolshevism, as the movement of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia, has not only carried on a relentless fight against Menshevism and centrism, but against Ultra-Left deviations.

The theses of the II. Congress give an exact characterisation of the importance of these various deviations for the destinies of the world revolution. The Leninist theses stress the fact that two errors or weaknesses have already crept into the extremely rapidly growing international communist movement. One of these dangers, which the theses designate as exceedingly

serious and immediately threatening the success of the cause of the emancipation of the proletariat, is the persistence in the methods and practice of the II. International. The theses expressly state that:

"...such a state of affairs cannot be permitted, for it brings immediate confusion to the masses ... lessens the respect felt for the III. International, and threatens a repetition of the treachery committed by the Hungarian social democrats, who hastened to provide themselves with an outer coating of communist Red."

The theses deal differently with the other faults and weaknesses of the communist movement:

"Another and much less serious error, which is rather a growing pain of the movement, lies in the striving towards "radicalism", leading to the incorrect estimation of the rôle and tasks of the Party with regard to its class and to the masses, and with regard to the duty of the revolutionary communists to work in the bourgeois parliaments and reactionary trade unions."

Thus, the II. Congress furnished not only a characterisation of the two fundamental weaknesses of the movement, but pointed out their significance from the standpoint of the further growth and development of the international revolutionary movement. At the same time the II. Congress emphasised that "it is the duty of the Communists not to preserve silence on the weaknesses of the movement, but to criticise them openly, that they may be the more rapidly and thoroughly eliminated."

13. The strategy laid down in the Leninist theses on "the fundamental tasks" does not confine itself to the process of struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also includes the tasks of the proletariat after the victory of the dictatorship.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most decisive form of the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie" (point 8).

Before this the theses, however, already emphasise that: "...the conquest of political power by the proletariat does not put an end to its class war with the bourgeoisie, but on the contrary greatly extends and intensifies it, and makes it ruthless" (point 6).

These theses must be accompanied, on the one hand, by the 21 conditions formulated by the II. Congress for the parties seeking affiliation with it, and, on the other, hand by the theses of the Congress on the national and colonial question, and on the agrarian question.

The object of the 21 conditions was to set up a barbed wire fence against all those centrist and semi-centrist parties who were anxious to enjoy the shelter of the Communist International whilst the revolutionary storm passed over their heads. The rules of guidance laid down in the national and colonial question had for their object the exact determination of the relations between the Communist World Party and the great reserves of revolution — the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial peoples on the one hand, and the masses of the oppressed peasantry on the other.

To the II. International, even in its best days, the dictatorship of the proletariat was never more than an abstract slogan. Bolshevism differed diametrically from the II. International in placing in the foreground the definite tactical programme of the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. This meant that Bolshevism had to raise the question of the allies of the proletariat plainly and clearly. The II. Congress formulated precisely and exactly the whole of the strategy and tactics towards the allies of the proletariat.

14. The period following the II. Congress demonstrated most plainly the comparative forces of world revolution and international counter-revolution. The international revolutionary movement was strong enough to prevent the victory of imperialism over the first Soviet Republic, but proved too weak to bring about the immediate triumph of the proletarian dictatorship beyond the frontiers of the Russian Soviet Republic. The disparity between the upsurge of the revolutionary movement and the forces of the Communist Parties, who fought with the greatest devotion and staked their best forces, was illustrated above all by the fact that White-Guard Poland was able, with the aid of world imperialism, to beat back the Red troops. In various countries the bourgeoisie succeeded in not only warding off the attacks of the revolutionary movement, but in passing from the defensive to the offensive. The events in Italy, England, and Germany, are worthy of special attention.

In September, 1920, a mighty proletarian movement, which was joined in with enthusiasm by broad masses of the peasantry, spread over Italy. In the villages of Sicily and South and Central Italy, the peasant divisions with their red flags occupied the latifundian landed estates. In the towns the workers occupied the works and factories. Hundreds and thousands of proletarians and peasants took part in the slogan of control of production by the workers. The leaders, anxious to compromise, began negotiations with the Government on the basis of this slogan. The fighters were scattered, the masses deceived, and the vast movement, bearing within it the greatest of possibilities, suffered a severe set-back. The disappointment felt by the broad masses after this defeat was proportionate to the impetus with which the movement had begun. The betrayal of the revolutionary struggle of the Italian proletariat immediately prepared the soil for the triumph of Fascism.

In England we witnessed the movement of the committees of action in August, and the general strike of the railwaymen in September. The Government, under Lloyd George, executed a variety of skilful and complicated manoeuvres, including grandiloquent promises of reforms, and succeeded in dealing the labour movement a severe blow. On 15th April, 1921, a day known in the history of the English labour movement as "Black Friday", the leaders of the railwaymen's and transport workers' trade unions, conspiring with the Government, betrayed the miners, and thereby ensured complete victory to Lloyd George. At this critical moment the British Communist Party was still in an embryonic stage. Its inaugural Congress had taken place simultaneously with the II. Congress of the Comintern, that is, at the end of July 1920.

The apex of the development of the first period of the acute crisis in the capitalist system was reached by the March struggles in 1921 in Germany. The weak point of the March rising in Germany lay in the fact that the struggle was forced upon the communist vanguard of the proletariat by the enemy, before the broad masses of the proletariat had come into action. The Communist International, after making a comprehensive study of the results of this March rising, emphasised that "the vanguard, if not in a position to evade the struggle, if this struggle can accelerate the mobilisation of the whole working class, must not forget that it may not enter into any decisive fight so long as it stands alone and isolated". At the same time, at the III. Congress of the C. I. it was especially stressed that "the March action is a great step forwards, in spite of the wrong leadership of this movement". (Lenin.)

II. The Beginning of the Offensive of Capital.

15. The first period of post-war struggles closed, on the one hand, with the victory of the U. S. S. R. over the forces of intervention, and, on the other hand, with a number of severe defeats suffered by the West European proletariat. At the time of the III. Congress of the Communist International the general offensive had become apparent to its full extent. The Young Communist Parties were subjected to a severe trial of strength. The general offensive of capital threatened to crush completely the Young Communist Parties which had been born during the post-war struggles, had fought courageously under the banner of the Comintern, but had not succeeded in establishing themselves firmly enough in this period of storm and stress.

16. The III. Congress was held under the slogan of: "Go to the masses." It was Lenin, the greatest master of revolutionary leadership, who formulated this slogan at the moment of the powerful offensive of capital against the proletariat. With the utmost energy he opposed those who having failed to grasp that essential changes had taken place, preached the offensive at any price, apart from the given situation. "He who in Europe, where almost all proletarians are organised, does not understand that he must win over the majority of the working class, is lost for the Communist movement; he will never learn from anything if he has not learnt that in the course of the three years of the great revolution." After a long and fierce struggle, the slogan of: "Go to the masses" was accepted by the Congress. At the same time the Congress pointed out another danger which had made itself conspicuous in connection with the beginning of the offensive of capital. The Congress called for a determined fight against the vacillations of those hangers on who permitted themselves to be led astray and intimidated by the attacks of reaction and the offensive of capital. The III. Con-

gress added to the slogan: "Go to the masses", another appeal: "Purge your ranks of elements likely to weaken the fighting spirit and fighting discipline of the shock troops of the world proletariat."

17. The systematic offensive against the standard-of-living of the proletariat was accompanied by an imperialist thrust against the colonies and semi-colonies. The period of the III. Congress is characterised by revolutionary ferment in the different colonial countries, the most important resultant effect being the victorious struggle of Turkey against the enslaving treaty of Sevres. The awakening of the peoples of the East strengthened the international army of revolution and aroused the furious hatred of the imperialists. "The imperialist war of 1914-19 and the Soviet power in Russia convert these masses (the working masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries) into an active factor of international politics and of revolutionary destruction of imperialism" — thus we read in Lenin's theses "On the tactics of the R. C. P. (b.)", passed by the III. Congress.

The tactical standpoint of the III. Congress culminated in the main in the determination to save the Young Communist Parties from annihilation, to bring them into contact with the broad masses, and to set them in sharp form the task of an obstinate and arduous struggle for the majority of not only the working class, but of the whole of the oppressed portion of humanity. This Congress in particular elaborated in detail the rôle, the place, and the circumstances of the offensive of the proletariat, and the necessary pre-requisite of further victories.

The III. Congress laid down the organisational principle for the building up of the Communist Parties. The Comintern opposed to the constituency — the basis of the parliamentary standpoint of social democracy — the works and factories themselves, the parliamentary committee of the works nucleus.

The III. Congress was held at the time when the Soviet Union was passing from War Communism to the New Economic Policy. The Communist International referred to this question again at its IV. Congress. The III. Congress, which adopted Lenin's theses "On the tactics of the R. C. P.", not only approved the new economic policy, but confirmed two important theses of permanent value for the building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union. These two are the following:

1. "Only a powerful large scale industry, capable of reorganising agriculture at the same time, can be the material basis of Socialism." (point 9.)

2. "The dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean the cessation of class war, but its continuation in a new form and with new means." (point 10.)

18. The period between the III. and IV. Congresses was distinguished by the continued offensive of capital. In this period the new functions assumed by social democracy became apparent. During the war social reformism trod the path of social patriotism. In the tempestuous years following the war, social democracy took up arms in defence of the strongholds of capitalism against revolutionary insurrection. In the period of capitalist offensive social democracy becomes an important factor of the general attack made by capitalism on the standard-of-living of the workers, and develops into the main constituent of the capitalist apparatus for the "reconstruction" of the system of capitalist slavery. The "Left" social democrats, who knocked at the doors of the Comintern during the stormy upsurge, and organised the 2nd International, began to prepare for a general consolidation of the forces of reformism, in order to place them at the service of capitalist stabilisation.

The IV. Congress met on the fifth anniversary day of the October revolution, after the Fascist counter-revolution had celebrated its victory (Mussolini's entry into Rome on 21st October, 1922), and after the beginning of the so-called "democratic era" was to be observed in the other countries of Europe. By this time the new form of bourgeois repressive policy had been introduced — the combination of Fascism and coalition with social democracy in the fight against the aggressive revolutionary movement.

19. The first task of the IV. Congress was to sum up the results of the united tactics. The 21 Conditions passed by the II. Congress were the acid test for the centrist parties; the united front tactics, on the other hand, became the acid test for those reformist elements which had remained in the Communist Par-

ties. The united front tactics exposed two weaknesses of the Communist International. The young revolutionary elements in the Communist Parties maintained a sceptical attitude towards the united front tactics, regarding them as a deviation from the "pure" and consistent line of decisive rejection of all opportunism. At the same time, the opportunist elements in the ranks of the Comintern were inclined to interpret the united front to mean a bloc with the social democrats. These two weaknesses, of which the second is the more dangerous, became much acuter later on. But as early as the IV. Congress it was found necessary, whilst confirming the correctness of the tactics laid down by the III. Congress, to utter a decided warning against both the ultra-Left standpoint of those failing to grasp the necessity of winning over the majority of the working class, and against the openly Right danger finding expression in failure to understand the rôle and function of social democracy.

The most important achievement of the IV. Congress was its summing up of the results of the five years of existence of the first socialist State. Lenin's report (13th November, 1922): "Five Years of Russian Revolution and the Perspectives of World Revolution", explained the importance of the N. E. P. not only from the standpoint of the destiny of the first proletarian State, but from the standpoint of the general strategy of world communism. The fundamental theses of this report were taken as a basis for the Programme of the Communist International accepted by the VI. Congress. This programme states the necessity for maintaining the market forms of economic intercourse during the preliminary stages of the development of revolution. At the same time the programme admits the necessity for a war communistic economic policy at certain periods (war communism).

In the course of his report Lenin pointed out that the general outlines of that economic policy subsequently known as the "New Economic Policy", were already indicated at the beginning of 1918, that is, immediately after the October victory. Whilst the Congress was still working, Lenin explained (in his speech of 19th November, 1922) the real meaning of this "retreat".

"At the present moment", said Lenin, "we are making a retreat, but the purpose of this is to get a run enabling us to spring the further forward."

In these words there was already given the programme for the forward march. At the IV. Congress Lenin defined clearly the rôle and importance of industrialisation in the socialist offensive:

"Unless heavy industry is saved, unless it is reconstructed, we cannot build up any industry, and without it we are entirely lost as an independent country."

And further:

"Russia's salvation lies not only in the attainment of good harvests by the peasantry; this is still too little; nor does it lie only in the favourable situation of the light industry supplying articles of use to the peasantry; this too is too little; we need besides this heavy industry."

The IV. Congress was held at a time when the outlines of the period of partial stabilisation were just beginning to loom up dimly. The uncertainty of the situation was mirrored in the lack of clearness in some of the formulations, especially in the resolutions on the Workers' Government. The formula of the IV. Congress gave the opportunist elements occasion to interpret the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government as a transitional slogan capable of realisation within the bounds of bourgeois democracy. The V. Congress was subsequently obliged to clear up this question, and to combat energetically every attempt at an opportunist interpretation of the united front tactics and of the slogan of the Workers' and Peasants' Government.

III. The Second Period of the General Crisis of Capitalism.

21. The struggles of 1923 brought to light the fundamental defect of the most important sections of the Communist International.

In Germany a favourable revolutionary situation had been brought about by the Ruhr occupation, the general economic decline, and the general indignation at the government of the ruling classes and the social democrats. This revolutionary situation was not utilised by the leaders of the C. P. G., headed by Brandler, and the half-hearted and irresolute policy of these

leaders, especially their retreat without a struggle at the decisive moment, gave an easy victory to the bourgeoisie.

In Bulgaria the Communist Party declared itself neutral in the bloody struggle between the Stambulisky "peasants' government" and the openly White-Guard Zankov government, and thereby enabled Fascism to carry off the victory. Subsequently (September 1923) the Bulgarian C. P. attempted on its own initiative to deal a decisive blow against the Fascist government. It made a heroic fight, but the favourable moment had been missed, and the revolutionary movement suffered a severe defeat. The Communist Party of Poland, after leading a number of the struggles of the Polish proletariat, also failed at this juncture to find the right attitude towards the allies of the working class — the peasantry and the subjugated national minorities. The consequence was that the struggles of 1923, especially the Cracow insurrection, yielded no tangible results.

22. It was the work of the V. Congress to sum up the results of the whole of the struggles which had taken place between the IV. and V. Congresses, and to draw the most important lessons from the struggles and defeats.

This was the first Congress without Lenin. The whole Comintern felt and recognised the extent of the loss to humanity, the fact that the revolutionary proletariat had lost its leader and teacher. Lenin's absence became in itself an appeal to close the ranks more unitedly than ever, in order to tread without Lenin the path which Lenin had pointed out.

The chief slogan of the V. Congress was the slogan of the Bolshevisation of the Party. Lenin had closed his last speech at the IV. Congress by pointing out that the West European Parties

"must learn in a special sense, in order really to understand the organisation, the structure, the methods, and the content of revolutionary work."

The essence of these words is the formula of the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties. The V. Congress had to take into account the fact that:

"The Right deviations have become much more prominent in the carrying out of the united front tactics than was to be expected. (Resolution of V. Congress.)"

The Congress was also obliged to expose the opportunist interpretation of the united front tactics, as also the attempts to utilise the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government not for the purpose of revolutionary agitation among and mobilisation of the masses, but for the purpose of forming a bourgeois-democratic coalition. In this situation one of the most important tasks of the V. Congress was to draw up a programme for the Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties, and to devote special attention to combating social-democratic traditions in the sphere of organisation:

"Had the V. World Congress of the Comintern" — we read in the resolution passed in April, 1925, by the 5th Enlarged Executive — "not opposed with such determination the opportunist distortions of the united front tactics and the workers' government, we should have been faced by the immediate danger of the opportunist degeneration of some of the Parties of the Comintern."

23. The V. Congress (17th June to 18th July, 1924) was held at a time when the II. International, which had meanwhile swallowed up also the centrist organisations of the 2½ International, was chanting paens in every key in praise of the "democratic era" as embodied in the governments of MacDonald (Great Britain) and Herriot (France). The V. Congress was already in a position to define accurately the character and destination of these democratic governments, and pointed out that in the situation created by the general crisis of capitalism, the bourgeoisie was making alternate use of the services of social democracy and of Fascism in its fight against the world revolution. Subsequent events have confirmed the correctness of the analysis given by the V. Congress.

MacDonald's government fulfilled the fundamental tasks set by the English bourgeoisie, both with regard to international and to home politics. MacDonald was the chairman of that famous London Conference which confirmed the Dawes plan. At the same time MacDonald made use of every available emergency law provided by the bourgeois State, both for combating the labour movement in Great Britain and the national revolutionary movement in India. When the MacDonald government attempted to yield to the pressure of the proletarian masses in some individual questions (in the question of the Soviet

Union), the British bourgeoisie gave it the kick-out. In France the bourgeoisie did not even find it necessary to resort to new elections. It yoked the so-called "Left bloc" to its chariot, and with its aid carried on the imperialist war against Morocco and in Syria, and the offensive against the standard-of-living of the French proletariat. And beyond the borders of these countries, in which the policy of the bourgeoisie was pursued with the help of the socialist parties, open and unbridled Fascist reaction raged.

24. The objective purport of the so-called democratic era was to bind the socialist parties more closely to the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, and to transform them into a cog in the mechanism of capitalist repression and imperialist robbery.

The consolidation of the reformist forces in the parties of the II. International, and their incorporation in the apparatus of the bourgeois State, proceeded much more rapidly than the consolidation of the reformist forces of the trade union movement. Trade union bureaucracy was obliged to take into account the resistance of the working masses to the offensive of capital. This was especially conspicuous in Great Britain, where the capitalist stabilisation, taking place under the conditions given by the general economic decline, assumed the form of a brutal attack upon the economic achievements of the British working class.

Under these conditions the slogan of the unity of the trade union movement acquired immense political significance. It became the slogan for the mobilisation of the organised workers against the offensive of capital, and against the reformists who supported the capitalist offensive to the utmost of their powers.

The V. Congress emphasised the importance of organising a real struggle against the economic offensive, and proclaimed the slogan of the unity of the trade unions nationally and internationally. Just as the tactics of the united front in the sphere of politics served to unmask and reveal the real rôle being played by social democracy, the struggle for the unity of the trade union movement made it possible to expose the true countenance of trade union bureaucracy and its rôle as strike-breaker in the economic struggles.

25. The V. Congress was held at a time when the outlines of the 2nd period — the period of partial stabilisation — were already clearly recognisable. This period is characterised by the development and intensification of the capitalist offensive, and by further struggles on the part of the working class, chiefly of a defensive nature. At the same time this period is distinguished by noteworthy successes in the work of building up Socialism in the Soviet Union. In other words: the successes of capitalist stabilisation on the one hand were confronted by the successes of socialist construction on the other, representing the most powerful force undermining the fortifications of capitalism. At the same time the further intensification of the capitalist offensive was expressed in the increasing acuteness of the class antagonisms in the capitalist countries, and by the growth and intensification of the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. All these antagonisms assumed particularly aggravated forms during the period following the V. Congress of the Communist International.

IV. Transition to the Third Period.

26. The four years elapsing between the V. and VI. World Congresses form the transition from the second to the third period, which is essentially a period in which the economy of capitalism, and almost simultaneously the economy of the Soviet Union, has surpassed the pre-war level. A characteristic feature of this period is the extreme aggravation of the whole of the contradictions of post-war capitalism. The Programme of the Comintern, on the basis of the scientific analysis of the whole post-war period, comes to the conclusion that:

"The experience gained during the whole period since the war proves that the stabilisation of capitalism attained by means of reprisals against the working class, and by the systematic reduction of the workers' standard-of-living, can only be a partial, temporary, and rotten stabilisation."

27. The events of 1926, forming a turning point in the history of the last decade, throw a sharp light on the character of the third period. In this year we witnessed mighty class struggles in England, and a gigantic upsurge of the revolutionary movement in China, this last closely bound up with the insurrection in Indonesia.

The General Strike in England is a landmark in the history of the British labour movement. On 1st May, 1926, the coal magnates locked out the miners in order to push through reduced wages and longer working hours. The workers of Great Britain openly demonstrated their will to fight. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress found itself obliged to declare the general strike. This showed the strength of the feeling of really proletarian solidarity dominating the whole British working class. From a struggle against the reduction of the miners' wages the general strike grew into a gigantic political struggle. Behind the backs of the whole working class and the fighting miners, the General Council joined with the leaders of the Labour Party to call off the strike, thereby betraying the workers of Great Britain, above all the miners.

The little Communist Party was strong enough to mobilise the workers, during the general strike, under the slogans of irreconcilable class war. But it was too weak to prevent the treachery of the reformists or to continue the struggle after the traitors had accomplished their shameful work.

The betrayal of the general strike signified the mutual rapprochement and consolidation of all the forces of British reformism. The trade unionists of the Right and Left, the Purcells and Thomases, made common cause with the MacDonaldis and Hendersons, who for their part acted as the agents of Baldwin.

Even after their betrayal, the miners persevered in the struggle. It was a truly heroic seven-months struggle, in which the little Communist Party played the leading rôle. But the isolated miners were starved out, and Baldwin's programme — lower wages and longer working hours — was carried out with respect to the miners.

28. Both the general strike and the miners struggle revealed the entire rottenness of capitalist stabilisation in Great Britain, and the traitorous rôle played by the social reformists, the leaders of the Labour Party and the trade union leaders alike. At the same time these struggles showed the weaknesses of the international labour movement. The Communist Parties were not in a position to hasten in time to the aid of the general strike, nor to bring effectual material and moral help to the fighting miners. An exception was formed by the workers of the Soviet Union, who supported the British miners unanimously up to the last day of their struggle.

29. In China the year 1926 was characterised by the extensive growth and rapid development of the national revolutionary movement. The Shanghai strike (30th May, 1925) laid the foundation of a changed relation of forces. In this strike the Chinese proletariat came forward for the first time as an independent factor, thereby raising the whole national revolutionary movement at one stroke to a higher level. One section of the bourgeoisie went over to the side of the imperialists. The agrarian movement among the peasantry spread like a storm over the whole country. The general upsurge of the national revolutionary movement was expressed in the Northern expedition of the Canton army, ending in the occupation of the whole of Central and South China as far as the Yangtse valley (summer 1926).

Even at this time the young Communist Party had already committed a number of great opportunist errors; it had failed to create the necessary organisational and ideological prerequisites enabling the workers and peasants to stand alone at the inevitable moment of betrayal on the part of the bourgeoisie. And this betrayal took place precisely at the moment when the forces of revolution were already at the highest tension, when the heroic proletariat of Shanghai seized power in the city by means of an armed rising, and Chang Kai-Shek went finally over into the counter-revolutionary camp. At this decisive moment the opportunist character of the leadership of the C. P. of China became clearly apparent. Instead of gathering together every force in support of a revolutionary solution of the agrarian question, instead of arousing the proletarian masses for the struggle and thereby firmly establishing the leading rôle of the proletariat, it adapted its whole tactics to those of the Left Kuomintang leaders.

The treachery of the Left wing of the Kuomintang was the transition from the Kuomintang period of the Chinese revolution to a new period. This new period found its clearest expression in the rising of the Canton proletariat (10th to 13th December, 1927). This Canton rising, a rearguard struggle of

the Chinese revolution, was a turning point in the history of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China, its transition from the Kuomintang phase to the Soviet phase.

V. The Third Period.

30. The victory over the Chinese revolution, and over the general strike in Great Britain, resulted in a stronger position for imperialism in its struggle against the world revolutionary movement. The liquidators and the faint-hearted have concluded from the temporary victories of imperialism, and from the failure of the great struggles of 1926/27, that the international revolutionary movement has weakened. But beaten armies learn well, and in reality the struggles of the British proletariat and of the working and peasant masses in China, like all the other numerous battles of the past decade, are links in one chain of revolution, and a school in which the vanguard of the working class prepares to lead a victorious struggle for the overthrow of imperialism.

31. The 8th Plenum of the Comintern, in May 1927, gave out as leading slogans the defence of the Soviet Union and of the Chinese revolution. During the period following the 8th Plenum the danger of a war against the Soviet Union became the most burning question of the international labour movement. The Baldwin government, after dealing the British labour movement a series of severe blows and organising the hangman's campaign against China, broke off relations with the Soviet Union and took up the organisation of a hostile coalition of forces against the first socialist State.

That Great Britain has not been successful in its plans for the complete isolation of the Soviet Union as a preparatory move towards an armed intervention is to be attributed, on the one hand, to the acute antagonisms between various imperialist States, especially between Great Britain and the United States, and, on the other hand, to the strength of the revolutionary movements in the colonies and of the labour movement in the capitalist countries. Besides this, the consistently peaceful policy pursued by the Soviet Union has played a very important part in the war against war. The danger of an intervention against the Soviet Union is, however, as imminent as ever. It is fostered by the hatred felt by all capitalist States against the fatherland of the world proletariat, and by the joint endeavours of these States to convert the land of socialist construction into a colony of imperialism. At the time of the 9th Plenum, February 1928, the danger of war against the first socialist State was more apparent than ever. Preparations for war against the Soviet Union were being carried on hand in hand with a fierce offensive against the working class and against the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

But at the same time actual work for the building up of Socialism was proceeding rapidly in the Soviet Union, and in every capitalist country the proletarian masses awakened to growing activity, and advanced from defensive to offensive struggles.

During this period the new rôle being played by social democracy assumed an especially striking character. We observe that in every country, without exception, social democracy is becoming in a steadily increasing degree a part of the capitalist apparatus of repression. In Germany, in France, in Great Britain — these three leading capitalist countries of Europe — we observe a process, carried on under various slogans, in which the heads of the trade unions and socialist parties coalesce with financial capital. Everywhere the socialist parties are becoming more and more definitely the third bourgeois party. The reformist trade union leaders are doing their best to transform the trade unions into organs of capitalist rationalisation, and resort thereby to the splitting and Fascisation of the trade union movement. At the same time the whole II. International, in each of its parties, takes an open and active part in the preparation of new imperialist wars in general and of war against the first socialist State in particular.

32. The 9th Plenum gave a distinct answer to the questions raised by the forms taken by the class struggle during the third period. The most important question dealt with by the 9th Plenum was the trade union question. During the era of capitalist rationalisation, and at a time when war preparations are being carried on, the trade union organisations are of paramount importance. In every country the bourgeoisie is endeavouring, on the one hand, to disarm the trade unions and render them harmless (trade union law in Great Britain, military law in France), and, on the other hand, to incorporate them

in the general apparatus of war preparations and capitalist rationalisation. The social reformists have zealously supported the bourgeoisie in the execution of these plans, whose end and aim is the complete subjugation and corruption of the trade unions.

The cruder the forms taken by capitalist rationalisation (ruthless exploitation of human labour, longer working hours, wage cuts), the greater the persistence with which social democracy seeks to convert the trade unions into strike-breaking organs, ready to oppose the working masses rising spontaneously to combat capitalist rationalisation.

The strike-breaker rôle played by the social reformists has set the Comintern the task of taking into its own hands the revolutionary leadership of the economic struggles. The 9th Plenum imposes on the communists the duty of:

"Enlightening the masses as to the perspectives of the struggle, of mobilising the broadest possible strata of the workers, promoting to the utmost their revolutionary unity, and raising the whole struggle to a higher level."

The 9th Plenum laid special emphasis on the importance of the struggle against the strike-breaker rôle played by the social reformists:

"The communists, and all revolutionary workers, must base their tactics on a determined and relentless fight against the so-called 'industrial peace', which is nothing more nor less than one of the newest forms of subjection of the working class to the bourgeoisie."

The 9th Plenum devoted special attention to the tactical tasks of the British and French Communist Parties. The "class against class" tactics laid down by this Plenum were based, on the one hand, on the latest evolution of the socialist parties in the direction of Fascism, and, on the other, on the progress of Bolshevisation in the Communist Parties. In 1920 the II. Congress of the C. I., on Lenin's proposal, advised the young Communist Party of Great Britain to join the Labour Party. In the eight years which have since elapsed the Labour Party has developed from a federative organisation, permitting free criticism from the organisations affiliated to it, into an openly bourgeois party, practically engaged in carrying out the programme of capitalist rationalisation. The Labour Party, which joined the trade union bureaucracy in betraying the general strike and the miners' struggle, expels communists and revolutionary workers from both the Labour Party and the trade unions, to the end that it may serve unhampered the aims of capitalist stabilisation, at the expense of the workers. And on the other hand, the little Communist Party has become a decided political factor in the British Labour movement. Under these conditions the sole correct tactics for the C. P. of Great Britain is to take up an independent struggle against the Labour Party as a third bourgeois party.

In France the C. P. has sufficiently grown and increased in strength to gather around it, and to lead, the working masses in their struggle against the bourgeois camp, one of whose constituents is the French Socialist Party. The greatest service rendered by the 9th Plenum was the end which it put to the vacillations in the Communist Parties of France and Great Britain, and the clear line of tactics which it laid down in the question of the rôle to be played by the communists in the economic struggle.

33. The VI. Congress (18th July to 1st September, 1928) based the whole of its work on the following idea:

"The third period, in which the contradiction between the growth of the forces of production and the contraction of the markets has become more acute than ever, leads inevitably to a fresh phase of wars among the imperialist States, of wars against the Soviet Union, national liberation wars against imperialism, imperialist interventions, gigantic class struggles."

The whole of the work of the VI. Congress was dominated by the preparation of the Communist International for these struggles. It was not by accident that the VI. Congress, besides drawing up general theses on the tactics and strategy of the C. I. at the same time passed special resolutions dealing both with the question of the struggle against war and the danger of war, and the question of the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies.

The main thought underlying Lenin's theses on the national and colonial question, accepted by the II. C. I. Congress, was

the differentiation between the oppressed and the oppressing peoples. The wide experience gained by the Comintern in the eight years since the II. Congress provided the VI. Congress with a basis upon which it laid down the general strategy and tactics for the struggles for liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, and defined the methods creating the closest contact between the national revolutionary movement and the class struggle of the proletariat in the imperialist countries.

34. The VI. Congress, in judging the situation in the Comintern itself, took as a starting point that:

"At the present time — in consequence of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, and in immediate connection with the influence of social democracy — we must seek in the Communist Parties the main trend of deviations from the correct line in the deviations towards the Right."

At the same time the Congress emphasised that the Right deviations, given firmly established social democratic parties, are especially dangerous, and that the fight against them should be placed in the foreground. The combating of the Right deviations assumes at the same time "a systematic struggle against the conciliatory standpoint of the Right currents in the Communist Party".

The correctness of the decisions of the VI. Congress was fully confirmed in the course of the months following. In a number of countries we observe a tendency, more or less clearly defined, to over-estimate the strength and stability of capitalist stabilisation, to overlook the shady sides of capitalist rationalisation (rapacious exploitation of human labour, wage cuts, longer working hours, etc.), and to under-estimate the importance of the rôle played by the building up of Socialism in Soviet Russia, as also of the threatening contradictions which form the presumption for a more highly developed stage of its general crisis.

In Germany we see an open campaign against the decisions of the VI. Congress, organised by Brandler and Thalheimer, heroes of the defeat of 1923. In other countries these tendencies have assumed less acute forms. At the same time we observe a number of irresolute groups, striving to force upon the Sections of the C. I., and upon the Comintern as a whole, a conciliatory attitude towards these opportunist deviations. The VI. Congress declared war not only on the openly Right deviations, but on the conciliatory standpoint towards them.

35. "The Comintern, as international Bolshevik organisation, has carried on a relentless fight; not only against Right opportunism, but against the Ultra-Left deviations, which are frequently only the reverse side of opportunism." (Resolution, V. C. I. Congress.)

The whole of the ten years' history of the Comintern confirms the correctness of this formulation made by the V. Congress. In the course of these ten years we have frequently witnessed how the "Left" and the "Right" have foregathered for a common struggle against the Comintern, and have thereby landed finally in the social reformist bog.

The fate of Trotzkyism in its struggle against the Comintern is especially characteristic. In 1923, immediately after the German defeat at the time when the capitalist stabilisation began to make itself apparent, Trotzky unfurled the flag of open fight against Leninism. At the V. Congress (1924) Trotzky evaded the struggle, but nevertheless the V. Congress condemned Trotzkyism already at that time as a petty bourgeois deviation. In the period between the V. Congress and the VI. Plenum, at the time of the first successes of capitalist stabilisation, Trotzkyism began to develop into an international anti-communist tendency.

The V. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. characterised Trotzkyism as a semi-Menshevist current in the C. P. S. U., and as an openly opportunist tendency in the C. I. This opportunist tendency clung obstinately to the cloak of Left phrases, but this did not prevent international Trotzkyism from degeneration into an openly counter-revolutionary tendency, combating both the first Socialist State and the whole Communist International. The VI. Congress drew the balance of the struggle against the Trotzkyist opposition in declaring:

"The Trotzkyist group has sunk to the standpoint of Menshevism, and has transformed itself objectively into an organ combating the Soviet power."

36. The VI. C. I. Congress will be recorded in the history of international revolutionary struggle as a Congress which gave the world proletariat the programme of struggle for the

world dictatorship of the proletariat, for world communism. This programme is founded on the teachings of Marx and Lenin, and embodies the whole of the vast experience of revolutionary struggle gained by the whole working class, from the Chartists to the heroes of Canton. The VI. Congress declared that the international proletarian army is welded together not only by those common tactics of which Lenin already laid the foundation stone, and not only by the common organisation born in the fire of revolution and war and steeled in gigantic struggles, but by a common programme, to be regarded as the "science of victory" in the revolutionary class struggle, clearly formulated and concisely expressed.

The Programme of the Communist International is to be:

... "the guiding star of millions of exploited and oppressed toilers in the struggle against the oppressors, in the struggle of the proletarian masses, in the struggle of the white, black and yellow toilers in the tropics, in the farthest corners of the earth, in the plantations, in the factories, in the mines and on the railways, in the woods and in the deserts, in the large towns and in the country, everywhere where the class struggle is being carried on. (Manifesto of the 6th Congress of the C. I.)

The fact that the Comintern has been able to adopt a uniform programme of revolutionary struggle, applicable to the whole world, is a striking proof of the intellectual power of the Third International workers' association, founded by Lenin.

37. The Comintern, in the ten years of its existence, has known seasons of ebb and flow. Three advancing processes run through its whole history:

1. **The Communist Parties increase in strength, and learn the science of victory in the midst of the immediate struggle.** Following Lenin's teachings, they include in their ranks the best representatives of the working class, those who have emerged steeled from the fiery ordeal of struggle against imperialism. Among the 59 parties represented at the last Congress, dozens were illegal and exposed to the cruellest persecution and the danger of actual physical annihilation; but one and all they hold aloft the banner of the Comintern, and train the working masses for the coming battles. Following the teachings of Marx and Lenin, the Communist Parties, in the midst of the fiercest struggle, purge their ranks of all opportunist dross, of all social democratic remnants, whether in the sphere of organisation, ideology, or tactics.

2. **The network of the communist organisations is extending, and has spread to every continent.** Among the delegates at the last Congress there were over 100 from countries outside of Europe, most of these coming from colonial and semi-colonial countries. The communists have led, and continue to lead, the struggles in China and France, in Germany and Indonesia, in Columbia and in South Africa, in the United States of North America and in the Balkans, in the country of the proletarian dictatorship and in the countries of Fascism.

3. **All the communist sections are gathering closer and closer together in one uniform and united Leninist world Party.** In the countries of the most savage Fascist despotism as well as in the countries of bourgeois "democracy", in the colonial and in the imperialist countries, everywhere the Sections of the Communist International are the faithful standard-bearers of socialist world revolution. The whole communist army is a steeled phalanx of dauntless champions of the international working class. In the land of the proletarian dictatorship, they are the leaders of the work of building up Socialism and are fighting a hard fight against world imperialism and against the bourgeois capitalist elements. In the capitalist countries they are leading the struggles of the workers against capitalist oppression; they are mobilising and preparing the working masses for the final and decisive victorious battle. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries they are the leaders of the class struggle of the proletariat, and march at the same time at the head of the national revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Everywhere they act and fight as members of the united, Leninist world Party of Communism.

38. The Communist International, strengthened by the experiences won during the past ten years, goes forward with certain steps into the coming struggles. These struggles are maturing and rapidly approaching. Imperialism is arming for counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union. The workers and the oppressed masses of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples are arming under the guidance of the Comintern for

the active defence of the first socialist State, the fatherland of all workers. At the same time the imperialists are making their preparations for a fresh series of imperialist wars. The proletariat and the working masses are arming under the slogans of the Communist International, calling for the conversion of imperialist war into civil-war. In all capitalist countries the activity of the proletarian masses is growing, passing forward from defence to attack. The Communist Parties are striving energetically to march at the head of these struggles, and to guide them into the path of victory. In the country of the proletarian dictatorship, the working class is realising the programme of industrialisation with the aid of the poor peasantry, in alliance with the main mass of the working peasants, and in the combat against its class enemies. In the colonial and semi-colonial countries a new and mighty upsurge of the national revolutionary movement is impending. The Communist International is labouring indefatigably to unite all these separate lines of struggle into one united and victorious struggle against the oppression of imperialism, for the world dictatorship of the proletariat, and for communism.

Agitprop of the E. C. C. I.

The Y. C. I. in the First Decade of the Comintern.

By R. Chitarow.

Our Young Communist International was among the first sections to join the Comintern. In the spring of 1919 the Comintern was founded as an alliance between the victorious Bolshevik Party and a few revolutionary groups of the West. At that time it was not yet a stable organisation and in no sense world organisation. It was then rather a cry from the heart of the victorious Russian proletariat to the world proletariat, a rallying cry to the forces to unite in a uniform, closed ranked, iron army of world revolution. The proletarian youth were among the first to hear this call and to follow it. The young socialist organisations, which even at the very beginning of the world war had united themselves in an international organisation and heroically fought against the imperialist war, followed spontaneously and almost without exception the tendency of the revolutionary masses of the West European proletariat towards union with the revolutionary Soviet State and its leader, the Bolshevik Party. When these youth organisations, for the first time after the war, gathered in November 1919 for an international congress, there was no longer any question with whom revolutionary youth would go. It was resolved unanimously to accept the programme of the Communist International and to form a section of the Communist International. This congress therefore became the foundation congress of the Young Communist International.

When the revolutionary young socialist organisations resolved to enter the Comintern, it was clear to them that the relation between themselves, on the one hand, and the Communist parties and the Comintern, on the other hand, would be an essentially different one from that which had existed before the war between the youth organisations and the Social-Democratic parties. There was no more distrust of one another nor fighting, but the closest fighting unity, brotherhood in arms in the truest sense of the word. Thus the relation between the Comintern and the Y. C. I. commenced. But as time went on this first form of association developed into closer co-operation until they reached the present stage, of which we can say: We now have the right relationship between the leading organisations of the fighting proletariat, namely, the C. I. and its junior organisation, the Y. C. I.

During the first epoch, from the I. to the II. Congress of the Y. C. I. (from 1919 to 1921), the Y. C. I. had, indeed, become a section of the Comintern and was working in general in accordance with its platform and its resolutions, but they were two independent organisations enjoying equal rights, which had concluded a fighting alliance. The programme of the Y. C. I., which was accepted by the Congress, expressed this relationship; a relationship between two kindred politically united organisations but nothing more. The causes of this situation were obvious. The Y. C. I. came into the Comintern from outside as an independent force and as such assisted it in the spreading of Communist ideas in the various countries and in the founding and organising of Communist Parties. In many countries, if not in the majority of them, the youth league was

the pioneer section of the Communist movement, the shock troop of the C. I. This leading position of the youth leagues made the Y. C. I. even in the first years of its existence, a political independent force.

The II. Congress of the Y. C. I., which took place immediately after the III. Congress of the Comintern, made a fundamental change in this relationship. At that time there were already formed in most of the European countries Communist parties which had in general maintained their political aspect of their existence. It now became clear that two Communist parties differing only in the matter of the age of their members could not exist side by side in the same country. It was necessary to give the leadership and the chief political work to one of these organisations. Naturally, this had to be the Communist Party. The Young Communist League was compelled to hand over the leadership and submit politically to the Communist Party. — In this sense the II. World Congress of the Y. C. I. resolved to make the Young Communist Leagues politically subsidiary to the Communist parties and to leave to the Young Communist Leagues the proper work for youths, namely, the mass work among the broadest strata of young workers. The resolutions of the II. Congress were only accepted after long discussions at the congress. A considerable portion of the delegates, including many of the leading comrades of the youth executive, were not yet able to grasp the necessity for the change. The main fight concerning these resolutions, however, commenced in the various countries after the congress. Much effort and long discussions were necessary before the majority of the members and functionaries of the Youth Leagues could be convinced of the necessity for a radical change in the relationship to the Communist Party.

At the time of the III. Congress of the Y. C. I. (1922) the policy laid down by the II. Congress was victorious all along the line and from this time onward the relations between the Communist parties and the Young Communist Leagues developed along the new and previously quite unknown path of a close union between the older and younger generation under the absolute and acknowledged leadership of the Communist parties and the Comintern.

The Young Communist Leagues fought all those years under the leadership of the Communist parties for the line of the Comintern. They have not only proved their attachment to the cause of the C. I. throughout but have shown their ability to maintain their position in the Communist movement. In development, during these years has embellished the relationship between the Communist parties and the Young Communist Leagues lies in the hands of the Party; because, for us Communists, this relationship in the following manner: The Y. C. I. is politically subordinated, but organisationally independent. We can now develop this formula still further: For us it is clear that political subordination to the Party means that the general management of the whole of the activity of the Young Leagues lies in the hands of the Party; because, for us Communists, organisational activity cannot conceivably be separated from political activity. This does not mean that the Young Communist Leagues renounced their organisational independence; they remain organisationally autonomous, as the existence of a separate organisation, in which Youth can work and develop independently, is of paramount educational and psychological significance. But this organisation must and can develop only under the leadership of the Party. This leadership is realised by the resolutions of the Party and of the Comintern, which apply to the Communist movement in general by the representatives, which the Party sends to all bodies of the Youth League and finally by the party members who work in the Youth League and thereby uphold the leading role of the Party and the proletarian hegemony within the Youth movement.

Such is now, on the third stage, the relationship between the Communist parties and the Young Communist Leagues, which relationship is best expressed in the Soviet Union, in the relationship between the Bolshevik Party and the Leninist Youth League. This relation is likewise formulated in the programme of the Y. C. I., which has been accepted by the V. World Congress. The Young Communist League, working under the leadership of the Communist Party, has to educate the masses of the young workers in the spirit of Communism and to draw them into the daily struggles, in this manner forming a reserve for the Communist Party, constantly supplied

with fresh forces, and serves as an instrument for influencing the broad masses of young workers; it is thus the rising generation of the Communist Party and at the same time its most important fighting force. The Party shares the responsibility for the activity of the Youth League and must now devote its attention to the quality of the leadership of the youth movement. It must give more serious study to the problems of the youth movement and become fully acquainted with them, it must choose the best comrades for the work of fostering the youth organisations. It must infuse and reinforce the Party spirit in the Youth League.

At present the Young Communist Leagues in the capitalist countries are the most devoted supporters of the Parties, the best comrades in the fight against capitalism and for the organisation of the revolutionary forces. In the Soviet Union the Young Leninist League is of great help to the Communist Party in the great socialistic constructive work. It is one of the chief pillars of the proletarian dictatorship.

We will not permit ourselves to be dazzled by these successes. We know very well — and this the V. World Congress has clearly expressed — that we have not yet solved our chief problem, namely, the creation of mass Young Communist Leagues in all countries. But we are of the opinion that our past justifies the assumption that we shall be able to perform this task. Now, when as a result of a fighting union of ten years' standing the proper relationship between the Parties and the youth is established, the Parties must also realise the great responsibility they bear for the youth movement and must concentrate now more than ever upon its support and leadership. If this is done, we may be quite sure that the Y. C. I. and its sections will carry still higher and even more successfully the standard of the Communist International into the masses of the working youth.

THE YOUTH MOVEMENT

The Young Workers (Communist) League of America and the Struggle against the Right Danger

By John Harvey (Pittsburgh).

The political resolution of the V. Congress of the Y. C. I. called upon the entire membership of the American League to abandon the group conflict and break with the existing Party factions, establishing complete unity on the line of the C. I. and Y. C. I. and on the basis of a "decided common fight against the Right deviations in general and against the Right errors of the Party Executive in particular". Since the V. Congress an Open Letter has been sent by the Y. C. I. to the American League pointing out its political and organisational weakness and repeating the above directives.

How has the League and its leadership carried out these directives. Objective conditions in the United States offer particularly fertile soil for deviations of a Right character. Many of these wrong tendencies spring from the failure on the part of our young and ideologically weak American Party to understand the extent to which the very growth of U. S. imperialism has drawn it into the vortex of declining world capitalism. This, of course, leads to an over-estimation of the strength of American imperialism and failure to see the unsoundness not only of present day American "prosperity" but of capitalist stabilisation throughout the world. This leads to an exaggeration of the role of American imperialism in prolonging the present temporary stabilisation in Europe.

The League shared in serious Right mistakes committed by the Party prior to the VI. Congress viz. under-estimation of the war danger; tendencies not to play a sufficiently independent role in relation to the strike movements; in serious mistakes committed in our relations with the Socialists; in tendencies to under-estimate the full importance of Negro work, etc.

Many of these mistakes persisted in by the League are the consequence of its absolute failure to carry out the directives of the Open Letter and of the resolutions of the Y. C. I. and C. I. Congresses. Thus instead of breaking with the fossilised

Party groupings, the respective groups in the League have followed blindly in their path. Thus when the Majority of the Party C. E. C. failed to correctly estimate the Trotskyist development in America in relation to the Right danger, calling Trotskyism the sharpest expression of the Right danger and concentrating on Trotskyism to the extent of weakening the struggle against Right tendencies; the Majority of the N. E. C. of the League made an equally wrong estimate of this development.

Similarly the failure of the League to adopt the "sharply critical attitude towards the mistakes of the Party Executive" called for in the Open Letter, has made it share in many other serious mistakes. When in analysing the results of the elections in the United States the C. E. C. Majority under-estimated the radicalisation of the workers and the Minority of the C. E. C. over-estimated this radicalisation; the respective groups in the League faithfully followed in the footsteps of the mistaken Party estimates. And finally, when at the recent Plenum of the Party lengthy resolutions were adopted on the general situation by the C. E. C. majority and Minority containing fundamental mistakes, theories of a "second industrial revolution" and the over-estimation of the role of the United States in the stabilisation of Europe in the Majority resolution; the over-estimation of the strength of American imperialism in both resolutions, the League had no criticism to offer but its leadership merely divided itself in the task of helping the respective Party groups in formulating their respective resolutions.

The League is now confronted by the following tasks.

1. The League must energetically carry out the directives of the Y. C. I.; this means accepting all decisions of the C. I. and Y. C. I. without reservations and breaking with the Party factions that it many adopt a sharply critical attitude towards all mistakes of the Party and better struggle for the liquidation of the fossilized fractional groupings. That there is only one course open for the League — either the complete acceptance of or opposition to the decisions of the Y. C. I. — has been shown clearly by the intolerable attitude of the League towards the recent Open Letter of the Y. C. I. to America. The Party leadership not only appealed against this Letter but held it from the League membership for more than a month and sent to all District Committees of the League a statement which sharply condemned the Letter. Although the recent Plenum of the National Committee of the League passed a motion which in words "accepted the Letter without reservations", the League leadership has been a passive partner in the slanderous attack on the Letter by the Party. This attitude on the part of the League leadership appears all the more serious when we realise that this statement of the Party contained such unparalleled statements as: **The Y. C. I. has a different line than the C. I.**

2. The Party finds itself face to face with serious questions of a principle character which demand immediate solution. These questions will be thoroughly discussed at the convention of the Party which began on March 1st. The League must seriously study the resolutions of the C. I. and Y. C. I. and all recent developments in the United States. An objective approach by the League to these important questions will greatly help in the clarification of the League and Party membership and in strengthening the necessary struggle against all Right and "Left" deviations, at the same time dealing a strong blow at the continued existence of factionalism in the League and Party, which only hinders the solution of the many serious problems with which the Movement is faced.

3. The Convention of the Party which has just been concluded is the first one held since the Party became the recognised leader of important struggles of the workers in different sections of the country. At the same time the Party finds itself far from adapted for the important tasks that spring from the growing favourable situation for building the Party and leading even bigger struggles of the workers. This is because the Party is still seriously isolated from the basic section of the American workers and handicapped by a very bad inherited national and social composition. The League can best help the Party in overcoming these difficulties by greatly improving its own national and social composition. At the same time because its national composition is more homogeneous than that of the Party and because the young workers play a special role in leading the struggle of the foreign born workers in the basic industries, the League can play an important part in over-

coming the isolation of the Party. The best guarantee of fulfilling this task is the drawing of those elements recruited out of the recent struggles of the workers deeply into the entire life and leadership of the League and Party, and carrying on a relentless struggle against all those inherited elements in the Party who refuse to adapt themselves to the new tasks confronting the movement.

In conclusion we must repeat that the Young Workers (Communist) League of America has failed to measure up to its responsibilities as a section of the Young Communist International in the struggle against the Right danger. There is only one path for the League if it wishes to overcome its shortcomings in this respect. This path is that of first examining its own weaknesses and Right tendencies and secondly by adopting that sharper critical attitude towards all Right mistakes of the Party with which it was charged by the V. Congress of the Y. C. I. and its subsequent Open Letter. The other path leads only to further mistakes and confusion and a further divergence from the line of the C. I. and Y. C. I. for the American League and Party.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Appeal of the E. C. C. I. for International Women's Day.

Moscow, 7th March 1929.

To the Working Women and to the Masses of the Toiling Women All Over the World!

Working and peasant women! On the International Communist Women's Day on the 8th March the Communist International addresses itself to you with an appeal to rally round its banner for an irreconcilable and revolutionary struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat, for world Communism.

International Women's Day this year takes place at a time when capitalism and the rich landowners are undertaking a brutal and permanent offensive against the oppressed and exploited masses, at a time when unemployment is growing and the cost of living is rising and masses of the toilers in capitalist and colonial countries are threatened with hunger. The reduction of wages, the increase in the intensity of labour and the lengthening of the working day, the increase of night-work and the utilisation of women and young people in dangerous trades, the lack of proper labour protection, all these things result in an increased exploitation of the labour power of the working men and women.

The working women in Lodz in Poland, the women in the Ruhr district in Germany, the women of the workers in Kladno in Czechoslovakia, the working women in the textile industry in Northern France, the clothing workers in Great Britain and America, the Indian working women and the silk workers in China, all these working women have joined recently in the common struggle of the proletariat in a united front against capitalism. In a number of countries the working women stood and still stand in the front ranks of the struggle and their revolutionary energy encourages the working masses, and also the working women who have been deceived by the social democracy and by the reformist trade union leaders, to fight against capitalism. The strike committees in the Ruhr which organised for the first time the organised and unorganised workers in a common struggle, showed the capitalists and the trade union bureaucrats that the working women are prepared to take an active part in the struggle against capitalist exploitation.

The working women of the capitalist countries are answering the offensive of capitalism with a counter-offensive. The working women will only be able to win their freedom with a ruthless struggle. **Down with the social traitors who wish to turn the trade unions into instruments of capitalist exploitation!** The trade unions must become the bulwarks of the workers in the revolutionary fight. Under the slogan of the struggle against the social traitors we want to join the trade unions and turn them into real organs of the class-struggle and for the defence of the interests of the working class. **Consolidate**

the red trade unions! Consolidate the Red International Labour Unions! Exploited and oppressed women in the colonies, here participants in the struggle of the proletariat and the peasantry in China, participants in the strike movement, continue your struggle against the yoke of imperialism and against capitalist exploitation!

The 8th March occurs at a time when the antagonisms and contradictions of the rotten capitalist stabilisation are intensifying, when the danger of war is increasing. Gigantic class-struggles are developing in the capitalist countries. In the colonies a new wave of the national-revolutionary movement is developing. The rivalry between the imperialist countries is steadily increasing, above all between Great Britain and the United States. The struggle between the colonies and the imperialists is intensifying. The capitalist world is preparing a military crusade against the Soviet Union. This is the reason for the feverish armaments and for the hypocritical and lying phrases of the social democratic swindlers about the love of peace of the capitalists. The more quickly the capitalists arm the more quickly and more energetically must the masses of the toilers, working men and working women conduct the struggle against the coming imperialist war and prepare themselves for transforming this war into a civil war.

The greatest danger of the moment is the danger of a war by the imperialist States against the first workers and peasant State, against the Soviet Union. Embittered by the growing revolutionary influence of the Soviet Union, the imperialists greedy for extra-profits, are preparing to attack the Soviet Union and overthrow it by force of arms.

The new wars which are now being prepared will be much more destructive than all the wars of the past. The bourgeoisie, with the help of the social democracy, is rushing through its mobilisation laws which even extend to the working women and threaten them with courts martial. **Down with the military laws! Expose the treachery of the social democracy! Fight against militarism, defend the Soviet Union, the Fatherland of all the toilers!** Carry on the struggle in the factories! Let the imperialists hear the voices of the working women and the peasant women as a threat to turn the imperialist war against the Soviet Union into a civil war for the overthrow of capitalism and to turn the rifles of their husbands and sons against the oppressors.

Working and peasant women! Working and peasant women of the colonial countries! The Communist International appeals to you to rally round the Communist Parties of your countries against the bourgeoisie, against the yoke of imperialism and for the land of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet Union! On International Women's Day the Communist International appeals to all working and peasant women in all countries to demonstrate their steadfast will to fight in the ranks of the working class for the cause of the proletarian world revolution, for the World Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

Working and peasant women of the Soviet Union! On the 8th March the Communist International appeals to you to concentrate all your forces upon the work of building up Socialist Working women of the Soviet Union, mobilise all your forces for the struggle against the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship, for a decisive struggle against the rich peasants and the Nepmen, against the bureaucrats and the saboteurs. **Consolidate the defence of the Soviet Union!**

Long live the Soviet Union, the bulwark of the proletarian world revolution!

Forward to the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat in all the countries of the world!

Long live the World November! Long live world Communism! Forward under the banner of the Young Communist International!

Long live the Communist International and its struggle for the emancipation of all the oppressed and exploited!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Position of the Peasant Women in Roumania.

By E. Arbore Rale.

At the present time Roumania has a population of 17, 159, 032, in round numbers 8 millions in the old kingdom and over 9 millions in the new provinces falling to Roumania after the great war (Bessarabia, Transylvania, Banat, and Bukovina).

82.96 per cent. of the population are peasants, chiefly small-holders; a total of 3,154,211 families or 83 per cent. of all owners possess an average land area of 1.5 hectares, insufficient to yield them a livelihood, and forcing these strata of the peasantry to work as agricultural labourers or to rent land from the large landowners. The middle peasantry, the numerically strongest group in the old kingdom, form 12.03 per cent. hectares per family; the large farmers, possessing a total area of 2,359,075 or an average of 5 to 10 hectares per family, form 4.73 per cent. of the landowners.

Roumania, a country which before the war, exported grain, chiefly maize (the main food and product of peasant farmers), is today still a preponderantly agrarian country, in spite of the industries developing in some of the new provinces.

The peasant woman, who, especially since the war, and since the more extensive cultivation of technical plants, potatoes, sugar beets, etc., plays the same part as the man as labour power, is placed in an increasingly difficult position by the chronic agrarian crisis of the last few years. The agrarian reforms introduced by the Roumanian bourgeoisie after the war, under the pressure of the revolutionary movement of 1917, and especially under the influence of the October revolution and the threatened insurrection of the peasantry, have by no means improved the position of the peasants, but have merely increased the number of semi-proletarian holders of diminutive farms. The peasant woman lives the same life as before, full of deprivations. In spite of the development of capitalism, a species of serfdom to the great landowners, and payment in kind, reminiscent of mediaeval feudalism, is gaining ground. The proletarianisation of the peasantry has assumed a mass character of late years in the provinces of Bessarabia, Transylvania, and Bukovina, and leads to increased emigration and constant unrest among the peasantry.

It must be emphasised that the proletarianisation of the peasantry, both in old Roumania and in the former Austrian territories and in the Bessarabia of the tsar's time, began long before the imperialist war. The impoverishment of the peasantry in old Roumania, and their dependence on the semi-feudal landowning nobility, led as early as 1907, to a general rising of the peasantry; this was, however, suppressed with bloody brutality by the National Liberal Party, the party of the financial and commercial bourgeoisie (11,000 peasant men and women were shot at this time by order of the Government).

Before the war the proceeds of agriculture in old Roumania averaged 120 lei annually per family, or about twopence per head daily. Complete economic dependence on the large landowner and the complete deprivation of political rights made the life of the Roumanian peasant woman a hell. Poverty and disease, the inevitable consequence of the insufficient food in winter and the compulsory labour for the landowners in summer, for a starvation wage of fivepence to tenpence a day, in order to pay off the debts contracted in winter, were immediately accompanied by great mortality, especially among the children. In 1913/14 225,000 or 17 per cent. of 1,336,642 peasant families in old Roumania possessed no land whatever. They formed the contingent of agricultural labourers and farm hands. About 500,000 possessed 2 hectares each at most, and therefore lived chiefly by wage earning. In other words, 52 per cent. of the peasantry were partially or wholly proletarianised.

During the imperialist war and the German occupation, agriculture was left entirely to the peasant women, for the male population was mobilised to the last man. In 1914/15 the peasant women and youths were forced by the police to till the fields of the large landowners for a wage of about one penny to five pence a day, and this although the law of 1866 had abolished compulsory labour as early as the eighties of the previous century. In spite of economic oppression during

the war, the independent activity forced upon the peasant woman during the war aroused her to conscious life.

She remained, however, almost wholly without rights, even after the imperialist war. The owner of the proceeds of the joint labour of man and wife was still the husband. The peasant woman had no right to dispose of the fruits of her labour. The wages of women agricultural labourers were 30 to 40 per cent. lower than those of the men. The law of 1912 on social insurance did not apply to agricultural labour in old Roumania. Only in Transylvania was it extended in 1919 to the agricultural labourers. There was and is no legal protection for mothers and children.

The class shiftings and proletarianisation process among the peasant population of Roumania force the peasant women to an increasing extent to migrate to the towns, where they earn their living in the factories or in domestic service. This rush to the towns is especially conspicuous in Bessarabia, Transylvania, and Bukovina, which have been reduced to colonies of the old kingdom by the predatory policy of the Roumanian bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois so-called women's rights movement of the post-war period has found no point of contact with the masses of the peasant women.

Even today the women of Roumania have no political rights whatever. The petty bourgeois national Peasants Party, which came into power a few months ago, had promised when it was in opposition to secure at least municipal rights for women — but it has made no move to redeem this promise. Nothing has even been altered in the new constitutional law issued by the big bourgeois Liberal Party when in office, although this law places restrictions on the electoral rights of the male peasantry in the elections to the agricultural chambers.

The working peasant women of Roumania have taken active part in the peasants' movements of the last few years. During the national peasants' risings in Bessarabia in 1919 the peasant women fought bravely against the Roumanian landowning nobility and the occupation troops. They were pursued, arrested, maltreated, and shot just as if they had been insurgent. In Transylvania, where the cultural level of the peasant population was considerably higher before the war than in old Roumania and the peasants had always taken part in the national movements of the Hungarians against Austria and of the Roumanians against Hungary, the activities of the peasant women have been especially conspicuous in the movement of the peasantry against the ruling oligarchy of old Roumania. The peasant women took part in masses in the congress of the 150,000 peasants at Alba Julia, which overthrew the government of the Liberal Party and brought the national Peasants' Party into power.

The petty bourgeois national Peasants Party, which sought its supporters not only among the big and middle peasants, but in part also among the small peasants, did not forget in its hypocritical promises — made before it came into power — to pay some attention to the peasant women, but carried on no organised work among the masses of the female rural population. The proletarian Communist movement, against which the bourgeoisie rages with the fire and sword of White Terror, has failed to reach the masses of peasant women to a sufficient extent of late years.

Today, after the betrayal at the hands of the Peasants Party, the working peasantry of Roumania finds itself confronted more sternly than ever, both in the new and the old provinces, with the question of active revolutionary struggle along with the proletarianised and semi-proletarianised peasant strata. This struggle must not be conducted, as was often the case of late, in the form of isolated spontaneous partial actions, but must be organised systematically under the leadership of the workers' and peasants' bloc and the Communist Party. The working woman, the peasant woman, and the woman agricultural worker, will attain their economic, political, and social emancipation only by the path of revolution, in closest alliance with the struggle of the working men and women.

The C. P. of Germany and the International.

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

Full Text of Speech Delivered by Comrade Ulbricht at the Meeting of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. on December 19th, 1928.

The platform of the German Conciliators, and the resolution moved by comrade Evert at the last meeting of the C. C. against the C. C. resolution on the Ruhr question, indicates that the comrades are taking up the position of developing their own independent standpoint on every question, and of carrying on the struggle for this standpoint in the Party in group fashion. The difference between the followers of the Right faction and the conciliators consists merely in that the followers of the Right faction are putting the question of the transitional slogans in the centre of their struggle, i. e. they are waging a fight of principle against the line of the C. I., against the line of the VI. World Congress, while the conciliators have not yet reached these conclusions, but are developing deviating opinions only on the most important tactical questions.

After comrade Ulbricht has made an analysis of the situation and estimation of reformism, he continues: I now come to the main question, namely the strategy and tactic in the Ruhr struggle.

It was declared by Comrade Serra, as well as by Comrade Droz, that the Party has neglected the trade union activity; but they did not adduce the slightest proof for this assertion. At most they have shown that they have quite a mechanical conception of trade union activity, of winning the trade union membership. They believe the trade union activity to be covered by taking part in trade union meetings, and for this reason they fail to see that the winning of new trade union members can only be brought about by activity in the factories, and in the course of the struggle in the Ruhr, chiefly by creating the proletarian class front in the shape of organising strike committees led from within the factories.

Comrade Ewert moved his own resolution in the C. C. on this question of the tactics of the Party in the Ruhr struggle. The characteristic trait of this document consists in that it devotes 2½ columns to a description of the tremendous power of trustified capital in Germany whilst in the whole resolution there is hardly a word about the importance of forming militant leaderships, about the great experiences made by the Party, about the successes of the Party in the struggle; yet it goes on to criticise the policy of the Party which is charged with not having been connected with the concrete experiences in this struggle.

The Party associated the demand for a rise of 15 pfennigs with the slogan of the fight against arbitration as a slogan which enabled to mobilise the masses against the authorities of the capitalist State. This is the concrete slogan which allows for the political intensification of the struggle, thereby facilitating the introduction and popularisation of the slogan of fighting for a workers' and peasants' government. Some comrades raised in the foreground of their arguments the statement that the Party had not concerned itself about the organised workers. In the official declaration about the role of the revolutionary strike leadership — which, I hope, has already been studied by those comrades who have polemised against it — it is expressly stated that the chief question, the primary task is the formation of united militant leaderships in the individual factories, and it is concretely said what are the tasks of these militant leaderships; only in the last chapter there is mention made of special militant leaderships of the unorganised, and the following is said:

"In factories with large numbers of unorganised worker, where the formation of factory leaderships is successfully hindered by the trade union leaders, the unorganised workers should elect their own leaderships."

This is precisely the line which was followed. For at the end of the struggle there were, out of 33 strike committees, only 3 committees of the unorganised. The tactics of the Party, to

develop the force of the unorganised for the formation of a united class front, were absolutely vindicated, and the fact that hundreds of thousands of workers showed their solidarity with the slogan of fighting leaderships has demonstrated the progress of the Party in this movement.

The comrades say: yes, but the Party was nevertheless unable to go on any further with the fight after the betrayal of the reformists. Quite right! Yet the Party was able three times to hinder the surrender by the reformists. The mass mobilisation was so strong that the reformists were unable at that juncture to carry out the surrender. However, the power of the Party was not so largely consolidated, so that after 5 weeks fighting was not yet sufficiently extended, and the front of the fighters the struggle might have been continued upon an extended front. Thousands of workers did not agree with the policy of the reformists. They protested against this policy, but many of them were not prepared to take up the struggle independently in defiance of the triple alliance of the bourgeoisie, reformism, and the apparatus of the State.

What the comrades virtually want is that the Party, after having fairly succeeded in organising the front of the workers should also be able to enforce all the demands of the workers. Yet the comrades would be entitled to accuse the Party if they could show that the Party had made no attempt to develop the fighting strength of the workers to the utmost. But this the comrades are unable to do, and they have not even attempted it.

As to the slogans of the Ruhr struggle, the opinions widely differ. The Rights have raised slogans which virtually amount to supporting the social-democratic policy. In a statement made by Bassumer in the C. C. of the C. P. G. the following was literally said:

"As a first step, a demand ought to be made to the government for the continued payment of wages to the locked out at the expense of the employers. If we succeed in mobilising the masses for this demand, it will be the best preparation for the extension of the fighting front and for the attraction of important categories of labour, such as the miners and the railwaymen. This will furnish the prerequisite conditions to the transformation of wage fights into the political struggle for power. Only as such a struggle for power can the fight be victorious."

An attempt is made to speculate upon the most passive and most backward moods of the workers. The Rights believe that if the metal workers would continue to receive wages during the fight, the other categories of workers would necessarily follow suit. This would facilitate the "transformation of the fight into a political struggle". In reality, such a policy means the direct supporting of the reformists. In fact, the Rights asked for the payment of the old wages, thus giving up the demand for the 15 pfennig rise. At the same time they give up the fight against the starvation award of the arbitration court, as well as the fight against any new arbitration award which may substantially correspond to the old award. Whilst the Rights make the question of relief for the strikers the central question and the starting point of their alleged political campaign, they pursue the same tactics as the reformists. As is known, the reformists have made this a central point, because they feel this to be relatively safer ground for manoeuvring as it would somewhat promote a favourable atmosphere for "negotiations", i. e. for suppressing the fight, thus helping to diminish the discredit of the coalition government for the time being.

During the last days the Rights formulated their views ever more clearly. Having at first decided the demands of the workers "Against the starvation award" and "against the arbitration system" they now declare quite openly that after the lockout the

it should not be waged for the 15 pfennig rise, but for the recognition of the Wissel arbitration award, i. e. for a rise from 10 pfennigs. By this one-sided formula the Rights have shown their entire solidarity with the policy of the reformists, and this poses also their swindle concerning the "continued payment of wages" as the pre-requisite condition to the transformation of the struggle into a political fight for power. He who supports the arbitration award, gives up also the fight against the arbitration system and puts himself in opposition to mobilising the masses in the political struggle under the slogan of fighting "against starvation award and against the arbitration system", and to ending the struggle against the capitalist state and the coalition government.

Of course, as a matter of principle, we are not opposed to the payment of strike money by the employers, but in this fight such a demand would be misleading. The pre-requisite condition for the raising of such a demand would have been a further strengthening and consolidation of the proletarian class front under the leadership of the Communist Party, thus offering the prospects of closer realisation of the original slogans. But this could have been possible only after due preparation and the practical extension of the struggle.

It is interesting to observe that now, after the termination of the struggle, the conciliators are speaking in support of the demand of the Rights for "continued payment of wages". They are now reproaching the C. C. for having rejected this demand at that time. In their counter-resolution moved by them in the C. C. on December 14, they do not say one word about the wrong formula and the wrong reasons contained in this demand of the Rights.

During the struggle the conciliators could not quite make their minds; only now, after the end of the struggle, they have discovered that the demand for "continued wages" was not at all a bad slogan. But the Rights have also concretely stated in that manner the wages should be continued, namely by the sequestration of current accounts in the banks. How this sequestration of the current accounts was to be carried out, not one word is said; probably, this was to be done on the strength of some paragraph of the German Constitution. The political use of this demand for the sequestration of current accounts to change the wages was stated with the greatest clearness by Jacob Eggert at a meeting of metal workers in Stuttgart, here he said:

"Why did not the trade unions launch the slogan of the payment of wages at the expense of the employers? This slogan would have mobilised the masses and would have led to the second slogan of opening the factories, running them by the workers, and the control of production by the workers. Such a burning slogan would have put the whole German proletariat upon its feet."

Thus, Walcher had nothing else to do but to worry about the reopening of the factories as a means to the struggle for the "control over production". Yet Walcher does not say one word that the workers' "control over production" can be achieved only by the armed proletariat and with the aid of the workers' soviets. Walcher believes that by concealing these facts from the workers, they can be won over sooner to this slogan. In this manner the comrades followed the same course as the heads of the reformist trade unions in Germany. The leaders of the Right faction, in connection with their demand for the sequestration of bank accounts, raised the demand for the disclosing of commercial secrets. The same demand, in the very same words was made by one of the leaders of the E. C. of the A. D. G. B. (General Federation of German Trade Unions) after the Ruhr struggle, when he enlarged upon the necessity of the struggle for the expropriation of the capitalists. Eggert wrote in "Vorwärts" on November 8, 1928 as follows:

"The iron industry must be made common property. This has been demonstrated by the struggle in the Rhineland and in Westphalia. We demand also permanent official control over all monopolistic enterprises and combines."

And he goes on to say:

"In virtue of Article 165 of the Constitution, which calls upon workers and employees to co-operate with the employers in the regulation of wages and working conditions, as well as in the whole of the economic development of the forces of production, it becomes an absolute necessity to disclose all industrial processes worth knowing. Industry

must be placed under public control through comprehensive official statistics. If we had adequate statistics on production, a great deal would be gained by the public... The aspiration towards real democratisation of industry pre-supposes also a thoroughgoing and continuous illumination of the processes of production, and above all, more publicity as regards the limited liability companies. We demand the opening of books, because secret book-keeping does not conform to the demands of the time, to the legal conceptions of the masses of the people, to the spirit of the new state, and to the aspiration towards the democratisation of industry."

Brandler and the Right faction write in just the same way. What difference is there between them? There is a difference which consists in that the social democrats say outright that their demands can be carried out only in connection with the coalition politics, whereas the left wing social democrats — who still belong to our Party today, — do not yet openly identify themselves with such coalition politics. This also finds its expression in the material introduced by Brandler in the programme of action drawn up by the Right faction in the German Party. In this material on the programme of action, on page 4, a quotation is made from a speech by Brandler in which he said:

"In the first place, it is like this: the question of the struggle for higher wages, for working conditions, all these struggles against unemployment, must be directed towards the transitional goal of control over production, not to the system of control over production which is carried out by the government when it promulgates a law that the proletariat should see to it that the workers shall do their utmost. The control over production signifies the training of the workers in the proletarian struggles."

Thus, it is stated here quite clearly that the control over production is a transitional goal to be achieved without arming the proletariat. Further down in the same document we read:

"At a certain stage in the struggle the fight ought to be taken up for control over production, in order to build up and consolidate the class organs, the factory councils, etc. which may be subsequently developed into Soviets in the stage of the decisive struggle."

Thus, the struggle for the control over production must lead at a certain stage to the creation of class organs, etc. which "may" subsequently develop into Soviets. Thus, in the opinion of the Rights, the creation of workers' soviets is only the product of the struggle for control over production. It actually means that until that time the class struggle should be waged under the "central economic slogan" of "control over production". In this connection the Rights refer to the decisions of the III. World Congress in which it is said:

"All the concrete slogans answering the economic needs of the working class should be introduced along the channel of the struggle for control over production."

That is quite true. Yet the Rights "forget" that according to Lenin's doctrine the class struggle should not be exclusively economic, but a political struggle. Within the limits of the political struggle for power, under the slogans of "proletarian dictatorship" and "All power to the Soviets", the struggle for control over production becomes, in an acutely revolutionary situation, the comprehensive slogan of all the economic demands of the workers. Accordingly, Lenin always urged the slogan of "worker control of production" as a partial slogan in an acute struggle for power. Lenin says:

"If we say 'workers' control', and we always put this slogan next to that of 'proletarian dictatorship', so that the two slogans are quite close together, we make clear thereby what particular State we mean. The State is the organ of the rule of a class..."

"If we are dealing with the proletarian State, i. e. with the Proletarian dictatorship, the workers' control may develop into a national, all-embracing, and the most exact and scientific regulation of production and distribution."

And in the Decree of the Soviet Government about workers' control, promulgated in 1917, it is said:

"The workers' control is exercised by all the workers of a given enterprise through their elected organs, such as factory and workshop committees, delegate councils, etc.

"For every big town, for every gubernia or industrial region, a local Soviet of Workers' Control shall be formed, constituted as the organ of the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies from representatives of the different groups of workers in the factories and workshops, and of other committees and organisations of the workers."

We believe, it is stated here with sufficient clearness that the organs of workers' control are sub-organs of the Soviets. Only as such they are able to carry out the struggle for control over production and for the expropriation of the capitalists.

In connection with the opportunistic modification of the slogan of "workers' control over production", the Rights are also transforming the struggle for the revolutionary workers' and peasants' government into something else but the proletarian dictatorship — into the struggle for a workers' and peasants' government which is nothing but a synonym for Coalition Government.

In the document it is said that the workers' and peasants government will rely upon the control committees or the factory committees. This is the same as was said by the Rights in 1923. A "workers' and peasants' Government" which relies upon the trade unions, a coalition of social-democrats and communists, this is the policy of 1923. Practically it implies the substitution of a workers' and peasants' government in the sense of the Lett S. P. G. for the proletarian dictatorship. Thus, an open attitude is taken towards the decisions of the V. and VI World Congresses according to which the political workers' soviets and the armed proletariat are the bearers of the workers' and peasants' government. This policy consists in duping the workers into the struggle for partial demands by veiling the revolutionary tasks and aims. We see quite clearly the association between the slogan of "continued payment of wages", "workers' control over production" in the reformist sense, and the conception of the workers' and peasants' government as a synonym for coalition government. It is quite clear that the comrades who represent such views are not only unable to combat the social-democracy, but they directly support the social-democratic policy.

In conclusion, a few remarks on various inner-Party questions.

Comrade Serra made a whole lot of assertions which are very far from corresponding to the truth. He has never had any discussion with the Right comrades in the German Party was curbed by the C. C. The opposite is the truth. In the summer of last year the Rights were asked to formulate their conception in writing; they delayed the matter for weeks until finally they did formulate in writing their conception about control over production. This is all that was published in the "International".

Comrade Serra stated further that Brandler and Thalheimer should not have co-operated in the German Party. Indeed, on the grounds of the decisions of the Executive Brandler should not have collaborated, but the whole of his "collaboration" began with the publication of a platform against the decisions of the Essen Conference of the Party. This is rather strange collaboration. The publication of this platform was meant to arouse all the opponents of the policy of the Essen Conference to take up a factional struggle against the line of the C. C. Comrade Serra may become convinced of these facts from the "C. I." and the "International". Why? Because Comrade Serra wants to demonstrate, even if it cannot be substantiated with documents — that the Party did not carry on an ideological fight against the Rights. Comrade Serra is very loyal to these Rights. He says:

"They (the Rights) were not satisfied with attacks upon the partly erroneous interpretation and application of the decisions of the VI. World Congress by the present leadership of the Party."

Thus, he wants to say: really speaking, you are good fellows if you take up the struggle against the policy of the Party, and thereby also against the line of the C. I.; but you should be satisfied with this and, if possible, carry on the struggle in such a manner that you should not find yourselves outside of the Party ranks. He is in favour of "improving" the fighting methods, and

by this he merely shows how slight are the differences of ideas of the Rights and the conciliators both on the question of the inner-Party course and on the questions relating to the general line of the Party.

The comrades reproached the C. C. that it has suppressed self-criticism. The direct opposite is the case. Particularly at the VI. World Congress, everything was done by the C. C. to stimulate the widest self-criticism of the Party in connection with the Congress reports. For instance, in the instructions which were issued by the District Committee of Berlin and carried out, it is said that in each nucleus the decisions of the VI. World Congress should be the subject of three consecutive meetings. It was said there:

"In the light of the happy findings at the VI World Congress we must be exacting what mistakes, shortcomings and points exist in the Party, in the individual Party organisations, and in connection with the latest movement struggles (plebiscite, economic struggles, trade union negotiations). The Party committees should make thorough preparations for this work."

A whole number of documents, and the actual practice of conducting the reporting campaign, indicate that in connection with the reports on the VI. World Congress the widest self-criticism was encouraged within the Party, in order to increase the activity of the membership and to overcome the opportunities for dangers in our Party.

The comrades in the conciliationist group, and also Comrade Clara Zetkin, have spoken with a good deal of enthusiasm about the subject of concentration. They declare that their views on concentration conform to the decisions of the Essen Conference of the Party. In the decisions of the Essen Conference it is said:

"Concentration does not mean the amalgamation of possible currents, but rather the restoration of unity on the grounds of the clear and unequivocal political line of the Communist International, with all those who are loyal to the decisions of the Party and of the Communist International and are waging a fight against all deviations and factional activity."

The Essen Party Conference says: Concentration does not mean the amalgamation of possible currents which were there prior to the VI. World Congress in the Party. But Comrade Meyer has said, concerning concentration. This means an understanding between the majority and certain groups, i. e. the stabilisation of the Party of groups in the Party. This is what Ernst Meyer means by concentration. He has also quite clearly formulated this when he said that we need such concentration as existed prior to the IX. Plenum of the E. C. C. I. I reject with thanks such a concentration under which the conciliators come out in the C. C. in the Politbureau as a group; I reject a concentration in the Party which the comrades in a cool manner, with the help of a certain personal shuffling in the apparatus, intend to create favourable conditions for changing the political course of the Party. Concentration in the sense of the Essen conference and of the decisions of the VI. World Congress does not mean that we should now expel from the leading bodies those comrades who belong to the conciliatory group. But it does mean that we should no longer, as at the IX. Plenum, allow these comrades to carry out leading functions in the Party, so that they might make use of their position against the Party. And the workers in the Ruhr district and in Hamburg acted properly when they ousted the conciliatory factors. The workers did right in Chemnitz when they removed the conciliatory editor and the C. C. was right when it removed the chief editor of "Rote Fahne". This does not mean that the organisational measures the chief task of the inner-Party course. The ideological struggle against the deviations in the Party is always the main task. But in this phase of development it was necessary to carry out organisational safety measures in order to be really able to carry out the decisions of the VI. World Congress.