

Report of the Dutch Commission.

Comrade PEPPER:

This is really a Dutch question in a very narrow sense. What is involved is a final confirmation of the expulsion of Wynkoop and Ravensteyn, who formed a Party group of their own and brought about a split in the Dutch Section of the Communist International.

These two comrades who were expelled this year by the Dutch Party Congress have fallen into the renegade class rather precipitately. Already in the first years following the foundation of the Comintern, Wynkoop had rather peculiar views concerning the leadership of the Comintern. He wanted an out and out West European leadership.

Later, in 1922, he suddenly discovered that the Communist Party, and the Social Democratic Party were really brother parties, both have their roots in Marxism and, according to him, there was really no reason why these two Parties could not form an alliance. He shared all the pacifist illusions of the British MacDonald Government — this is really a matter of course with him. When, in 1923 there was an immediate revolutionary situation in Germany, he declared that the German revolution was neither to the interest of the Soviet Union, nor to the interest of the workers themselves.

In their position on the colonial question, these two ex-comrades have remained good and faithful Social Democrats. Instead of waging a struggle against the imperialist Dutch Government, instead of fighting for the liberation of Indonesia, they gave good advice to the Government as to how it could avoid the colonial revolution. Instead of fighting against the exploitation of the natives they declared themselves in agreement with the Social Democratic proposal according to which the so-called Coolie Law, which permits the most unrestrained exploitation of the natives, was to have been extended for many years.

Wynkoop is really a quite rare sample of a typical Right sectarian, and for this reason he has many points of harmony with the ultra-Leftists. His trade union policy was always a peculiar mixture of an unbounded opportunism and an equally unbounded sectarianism. In the Party leadership he initiated a quite dictatorial regime. In this respect he can really to some extent be considered next to Ruth Fischer. Simultaneously,

however, he constantly fought against the discipline of the Comintern International.

Outwardly, both have broken with the Social Democracy many years ago, but inwardly they have never developed themselves into Communists. After having left the Comintern, they completely exposed their political character. Both of them began to talk glibly about the "Ukase" of the Comintern, about "heresy hunting" in the C.I. They both wrote that after the death of Lenin the Comintern was developing into a new church, with dogmas, rigid rules, confessions of faith, priests and a mass of more or less stupid believers.

Ravensteyn even attacked the Party and the Comintern through the bourgeois press. He went to work on a paper on which fascists collaborate, and he sought to justify this by saying that he wanted a larger public, viz. the bourgeoisie. These people even went so far as to draw a parallel between the Soviet Union and Mussolini. They declared, a strange compliment — that there were only two constructive governments in existence: the Soviet Government and the Mussolini government. When they want to be, one might say, they are pro-Soviet, almost like Korsch and his comrades.

After these ex-comrades left the Party, for a time they carried on a remarkably sanctimonious policy. They founded a committee which they called a "Committee for Appeal to the Third International". But this whole Committee was nothing else than an attempt to mislead the few hundred workers who still followed them. They wanted it to appear as though they still continued to have something in common with the C.I. We must now declare officially, in the name of the Enlarged Executive, that these people have nothing in common with the Comintern, and that the C.I. will have nothing to do with Wynkoop and Ravensteyn.

Wynkoop and Ravensteyn have never appealed to the Executive, and not once did they turn to the E.C.C.I. in protest against their expulsion. Despite the fact that they were invited several times, they did not take advantage of the present opportunity of the VII. Enlarged Executive, they have not appeared and they have not appealed. Instead of this they have formed a party of their own against our Party, they have established an organ of their own against ours, and in the elections they nominated their own candidates against ours.

The resolution that I propose here on behalf of the Dutch Commission proposes that the Enlarged Executive finally ratify the expulsion of Wynkoop and Ravensteyn, and that we declare that this so-called party usurps only the name of a Communist Party, only the rank of a Section of the Comintern. This resolution declares that we recognise only one single Communist Party, and that is our Section of the Comintern. At the same time we call upon the workers who still follow this couple to return to the C.P. of Holland.

I believe that the adoption of this resolution will also prove that the Enlarged Executive has not succumbed to the errors of which it is accused by the leaders of the Russian

Opposition. They maintain that Right mistakes have been granted a general amnesty in the C.I., while the ultra-Left is being persecuted. That is a calumny. The truth is that the Comintern quite concretely determines, in each country and in each situation, who are our foes, whether Right or whether Left. According to the material before us, we can establish that in Holland, we have the Right sectarians as our foes. We must ratify the expulsion of these people in order to give our weak young Communist Party of Holland, a real chance to live.

(The resolution of the Dutch question was thereupon adopted unanimously.)