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CONTENTS

- L. Geller: The Situation in China.
- Politics.**
Karolski: The Counter Revolutionary Role of Zionism.
- The Balkans.**
Al Dobrodzgame-Gera: The Trial of the 500 Bessarabian Peasants.
- The Labour Movement.**
H. Y.: The Left Wing at Work in England.
- Workers' Delegations in the Soviet Union.**
P. Friedländer: The Visit of the German Workers' Delegation to the Soviet Union.
- For the Unity of the Trade Union Movement.**
A. J. Smolan: The Congress of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation for Trade Union Unity.
- The White Terror.**
Josef Rabinovitch: The Hungarian Government Preparing Fresh Executions.
- Red Aid**
The Murder Government of Zankov Forbids Humanitarian Relief from abroad.
For the Exchange of Political Prisoners.
- In the International.**
Letter from the E.C.C.I. to all Organisations and Members of the C.P. of Germany.
Resolution of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany on the Decisions of the Executive in the German Question.
- Union of Soviet Republics.**
Miglioli: The Political Situation in Georgia.
- The Co-operative Movement.**
E. Varjas: The 30th Anniversary of the International Co-operative Alliance.
- In the Camp of our Enemies.**
N. Bucharin: The International Bourgeoisie and Karl Kautsky its Apostle VIII. (Conclusion).
- Our Martyrs:**
Comrade Heydemann.

The Situation in China.

By L. Geller (Moscow)

The mass strike in Shanghai has already lasted three months. That is an unexampled fact not only in the history of the young labour movement of the East, but also in the international trade union movement.

And now, when the strike has been partly liquidated — an agreement has been reached between the Chinese Seamen's Union and the Japanese Shipping Companies — it will not be unprofitable to examine the meaning and the importance of this strike, which is quite unique in its kind, and to review its results and further prospects.

The peculiarity of the Shanghai strike consists in the fact that two streams — the national movement and the labour movement — were merged together in it.

At first, as is known, not only the workers went on strike in Shanghai, but also the business people. Not only were the big warehouses and banks where workers and clerks are employed closed, but also the small shops. This general strike lasted for three weeks.

On the 23rd of June the strike of the business people came to an end, with the concurrence of the trade union council. Only

the workers in the English and Japanese undertakings remained on strike. This fact alone is sufficient proof of the national, anti-imperialist character of the struggle.

The national character of the movement becomes still more apparent in those 17 demands which were put forward at the commencement of the strike. Among these demands we find: giving back of concessions; abolition of extraterritoriality and the foreign courts, and a number of less essential demands aiming at removing the privileges of foreigners in China and restoring the independence and sovereignty of the country.

Among these demands, however, we find some of a purely proletarian character, as for instance, the recognition of the trade unions, increase of wages, improvement of working conditions etc. In this combination of far reaching national and of relatively modest proletarian demands, both sides of the strike, the national and the proletarian, found expression. It is clear that at the commencement the main content of the movement was its national anti-militarist side: the striking workers constituted an army which fought for the interests of the whole nation. It is not surprising therefore that it was supported by the entire nation.

By the "entire nation" — nevertheless, a certain reservation must be made! A portion of the big bourgeoisie which is united in the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, was very soon inclined to come to an understanding with the imperialists and to throttle the strike. This portion of the bourgeoisie had many common interests with the foreign capitalists and entertained a common fear of the successes of the labour movement. With the exception of this small but influential group, the petty and even the middle town bourgeoisie not only surrounded the working class with sympathy but also rendered it active and also material support. Herein lies the secret of the great driving force of the movement and the endurance of the strikers.

Nevertheless, there were many inner and outer difficulties. The imperialists never sleep. They have not only attempted to crush the strike by means of the most cruel repressions, but they have also endeavoured by every means to break it from within. It must not be forgotten that they have an information apparatus at their disposal which controls the entire Chinese press and also the so-called Public opinion of Europe and America. There are immediately dependent upon foreign capital the numerous "Compradores" (Commissioners), and a whole army of overseers and foremen who play a great role in the life of the Chinese workers.

Chan Tso-Lin took advantage of the opportunity and sent his troops to Shanghai, in order — according to the placards — "to protect the interests of the nation". But the Manchu troops soon showed their true features — the features of imperialist mercenaries and murderers of workers.

In addition to these enormous outer difficulties, there existed inner difficulties. The main cadres of the strikers consisted of the textile workers, the porters and the seamen. The great majority of the textile workers consists of women. It must also be remembered that the first germ of a textile workers' organisation only arose at the beginning of this year. The strike movement was participated in by quite unprepared forces of the proletariat, which were taking part in such a movement for the very first time. Among the porters there were many unrestrained elements who easily fell victims to the provocation of yellow agents.

There were also, of course, many vacillations in the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie. In a portion of the petty bourgeoisie belonging to the Kuomintang Party there prevailed a pro-Japanese tendency, which proposed a "reconciliation" with the Japanese in order to direct the whole struggle against the chief enemy, the English. Nevertheless, the workers' front remained firm and united.

The longer the strike lasted, the more it became evident that the chief national aims could not be gained by a strike — no matter how unitedly it might be conducted — but only by means of an armed struggle on the part of the whole Chinese people, by a victorious war.

Meanwhile the strike movement was confined to Shanghai and Hongkong. In the remaining parts of China the movement, in spite of all the sympathy it enjoyed and in spite of the general advance of the national movement, bore an undefined character. The actions of the workers and students remained isolated and were bloodily suppressed by the imperialists and their Chinese lackeys. That was the case in Han-Kow, Tientsin, Tsintao, Nanking etc.

Hongkong in the South and Shanghai in Central China were left to themselves. The strike movement seemed to have got into a *cul de sac*. A turn of some sort was necessary which would bring the aims which had been set up into accord with the isolated character of the strike. And now, in the second phase of the movement, there emerged the other, the proletarian aspect of the strike. The Shanghai trades council, while retaining the general national slogans as battle cries for the coming national struggles, called upon all the forces of the nation to defend these demands and laid the responsibility for the further national struggle upon the Peking and Canton governments, but put forward as the main demands not national, but proletarian demands: **Recognition of the trade unions, increase in wages, 60 hour week, one day rest in seven, reinstatement of all strikers etc.** This opened up the possibility for manoeuvring, for negotiations and compromise.

The first result is already to hand. The Seamen's Union has arrived at an agreement with the Japanese Shipping Companies under the following conditions:

1. All strikers are to be reinstated.
2. The workers are to receive full pay in respect of the time they were on strike.

3. The question of increase of wages is to be the subject of special negotiations. Nothing is said in this agreement regarding the trade unions. This question has, to some extent, become less acute, as in the meantime the Peking government has introduced a bill for the legalising of trade unions in China.

It is not a mere chance that it was the Japanese with whom the first agreement was arrived at. There were various reasons for this: in part the above-mentioned conciliatory mood towards the Japanese, and in part — and this is much more important — the economic and political situation in Japan itself. The chronic economic crisis in Japan has become still more acute in recent times; unemployment in this country has assumed greater dimensions than in England. According to official figures, the number of the unemployed amounts to 1,600,000, that is at least a third of the entire working population. The Chinese market is incomparably more important for Japan than it is for England; for Japan it is an immediate life and death question. Hence Japan, after considerable hesitation, after many efforts to proceed in conformity with England, that is, to adopt an unyielding attitude towards the Shanghai strike, has, under the pressure of economic necessity and at the same time taking advantage of the conciliatory tendencies in China itself, come to an agreement, although for the time being only with the seamen.

This agreement undoubtedly means a great, even if incomplete, victory on the part of the Chinese seamen. But it also improves the position of the strikers, before all by shortening the front.

The financing of the strike was becoming more and more difficult. Modest as the requirements of the Chinese workers may be, even the minimum support which each of the strikers received, amounted, in the case of the 200,000 strikers in Shanghai alone, to £ 25,000 a month. Owing to the great losses which the strike is causing in the economic life of the whole country, it was becoming more difficult to support the strikers. The resumption of work on the Japanese vessels has eased the situation somewhat. The struggle against English capital has become still sharper and more effective; the working class is now in a position to deal with one enemy at a time.

England has not vacillated like Japan. The policy of England has been from the beginning, and still remains, that of threats and employment of force. The whole question is, whether England will be compelled to come forward openly on her own behalf, or whether she will succeed, according to the good English tradition, in getting somebody else to fetch the chestnuts out of the fire. England succeeded for a time in winning Japan to her side, but, as the agreement of Japan with the Chinese seamen shows, this was not for long. It now seems as if England were entirely isolated, if one considers those criminals who have attacked the Shanghai trades union council not as her allies, but as her immediate confederates.

America is continuing the game of the Washington Conference. France, right from the commencement, has acted independently from England.

The decision of Japan to come to an agreement with the workers, even at the cost of serious concessions, is weakening the position of English capital towards the strike. Under these conditions England must have recourse mainly to the aid of Chang-Tso Lin, who rendered her such valuable services in Tientsin and Tsintao. But what is possible in the North, where the national and the labour movements are still weak, is not without danger in Shanghai, where the first attempt to settle accounts with the labour movement ended somewhat ingloriously for the Mandchus. There only remains a military intervention, or the physical removal of the leaders of the movement with the aid of hired assassins. But even these "Bulgarian" methods will hardly suffice in a struggle against a movement which is participated in by millions. A military intervention, which England would hardly venture on even against Canton alone, is quite out of the question with regard to Central China. In spite of all its threats the English press has to recognise that "it is easier to go into China than to come out". The imperialists still have a lively recollection of the lessons of the Siberian intervention. In view of the isolated position of England, and the present attitude of America and Japan, who are only waiting for a suitable opportunity in order to push England still further out of China, intervention represents such an enormous danger that England will hesitate a good deal before deciding on it. The possibility is, therefore, not excluded that English capital, in

spite of its obstinacy, will be compelled to come to an agreement with the Shanghai strikers.

What have been the results of the strike up to now? Up to now the strike can show the following results:

1. The Shanghai strike, for the first time in the history of China, draw millions of the population into the national movement, and in a few months has accomplished a political work which, under ordinary conditions, would perhaps have required years.

2. The working class, in spite of its limited numbers, in spite of its weak political and trade union organisation, has obtained the hegemony of the national movement. This fact is recognised by every one. This is the reason for that support which the Shanghai strike has received from all sections of the population. This is also the explanation of the fact (unexampled in its kind) that the government of Duan Tzi-Dshui has sent 150,000 dollars to the Shanghai strikers.

3. Under the pressure of the national movement an rapprochement has come about between the Peking and the Canton governments, who have now "recognised" each other for the first time, exchanged delegations and have jointly taken over a mandate of the nation for the fight against imperialism.

4. In connection with the events in Shanghai, the Chinese people has become clear as to the role of Chang-Tso Lin, as an instrument of imperialism, as an inner enemy, who must be annihilated in the interest of the emancipation and uniting of China.

5. The growth of the consciousness and organisation of the working class, before all in Shanghai itself, where a third of the entire industrial proletariat of China is concentrated. The membership of the Communist Party of China has doubled during the strike. The trade unions show an even greater growth.

These successes are of enormous importance and constitute a new stage in the national and in the labour movement, which will now be in a position to assume tasks the fulfillment of which appeared to be impossible three months ago.

POLITICS

The Counter Revolutionary Role of Zionism.

By Karolsky (Warsaw).

In spite of its reactionary and utopian character, Zionism, up to the time of the world war, did not constitute any particular political danger to the working class. It was only during and particularly after the war that Zionism came forward openly upon the world stage as the trusty weapon of reaction. Nevertheless, already before the war revolutionary Marxism opposed Zionism and exposed it as a specifically Jewish variety of the darkest reaction.

The world war opened up wider perspectives for the "creative positive" work of Zionism. The international band of robbers, in the process of "liberation" and the fight for the freedom of small nations, did not forget the children of Israel. Albion entered the lists as the knight errant of the "honest defenders" of the suppressed and persecuted. Even during the world war England, through the mouth of Lord Balfour, promised to set up a national home for the Jews in Palestine. But the real aims of England in pursuing this Jewish policy were disclosed a few years ago by Winston Churchill at an interview:

"Among the Jews of the present day there are three tendencies: Zionism, Conservatism and Bolshevism. England desires to make use of the first of these tendencies in order to be the better able to deal with the other two."

Relentlessly and regardless of all obstacles, England is realising this plan formulated by Churchill. Under the cloak of the "Home for the Jews" in Palestine and with the help of the Zionists, England in the last seven years has created a powerful strategical and politico-economic basis for her hegemony and for the enslavement of the awakening Near East. Right in the midst of the enslaved Arabian tribes, England has placed her watch dog who keeps careful watch over its mistress' property. And thus in the Near East Zionism represents a synonym of English imperialism, of the enslavement and suppression of the

national liberation movement of the Arabs. There the struggle is already raging along the whole line.

* * *

But it is not only in the Near East that Zionism is acting as the outpost of world reaction.

During the present year Zionism, at the command of London, has also been carrying on its "benevolent" activity in Central Europe. Zionism is being converted into one of the many tools with the help of which England is consolidating her hegemony upon the Continent. English policy in Europe is pursuing two main aims:

1. To undermine French hegemony upon the Continent (by depriving France of her vassals by means of financial pressure).

2. To set up a united political-economic front against the Union of Soviet Republics. (By drawing Germany and the Little Entente into the orbit of English policy).

Such an important plan cannot be realised all at once. But the whole powerful diplomatic apparatus of England is working in this direction. In the first six months of 1925 the influence of England greatly increased in the Balkan countries and in the Baltic States. It is now the turn of Poland. The difficulties confronted here are the antagonisms between Poland and Germany (the question of the corridor, of the frontiers etc.). And here, again, London is taking the initiative in bringing about a "reconciliation" (the abolition of the corridor and the creation of a passage to the sea at the cost of Lithuania, which, as a recompense, could receive Vilna).

In order to consolidate and extend her position in Poland England is again seeking to make use of the Zionists. She is pressing for a Polish-Jewish reconciliation". Today we are faced with the fact of the complete agreement of the Jewish plutocracy and bourgeoisie — in the shape of their political advance guard, of Zionism, with Poland, the classic land of anti-Jewish pogroms.

Zionism is for the second time showing to the world its true features: as the obedient tool of English imperialism in the forging of the counter-revolutionary chain for the broad masses of the people.

The Polish-Jewish compromise had the following concrete results:

1. The breaking through of the common front of all the national minorities (Ukrainians, white Russians, Latvians and Germans) in the fight against Polish imperialism, and unconditional defence of the existing state of affairs.

2. Political strengthening of the English position in Poland.

3. As a result, the prevention of the intended rapprochement to Russia on the part of Poland.

4. Formation of a bloc with the Polish reaction, strengthening (both inside and outside of parliament) of the reactionary policy of the Polish nobles.

5. Strengthening of the international political and financial position of Poland by active participation in obtaining loans for the Polish government.

The delegates to the International Zionist Congress in Vienna arranged a triumphal reception for the representative of the Polish government. This at a time when the persecution of the poor Jews in Poland is in full swing, at a time when the Jewish workers are being thrown out of the State factories in masses, at a time when the legal inequality of the Jews has not been lessened in a single department of social life. In return for a few crumbs from the lordly table (concessions to traders and employers), the Zionists have, under pressure from London, absolutely changed their attitude towards the Polish reaction.

The Zionist press in America welcomed Count Skrzynski in the most charming manner and facilitated his efforts to obtain a loan. One of these journals wrote:

"...Count Skrzynski has buried the hatchet between the Jews and the Polish government and is striving for a friendly co-operation between the Jews and the Poles."

Following the example of Massaryk, who recently in his book "The World Revolution" set forth in detail how greatly his coquetting with the Jewish plutocracy has helped him to obtain his political successes, Count Skrzynski wrote an affectionate

letter to the Zionist leader N. Sokolov, in which he, "in the name of the Polish government, assured him of the highest sympathy for Zionism". The Polish government is jubilant because it has for many years "supported" Zionism, and it would eagerly welcome the Zionist "solution" of the Jewish question, namely, the driving of the masses of the poor Jews to Palestine.

That is not all. The Zionists, in triumphing over the Jewish-Polish reconciliation, which has been brought about by their slavish attitude towards England and Poland, are kindling the flames of anti-semitism among the Ukrainian and White Russian peoples. Thanks to the treachery of the Zionists, the nationalists among these peoples are now conducting a campaign not only against the Zionists but against the Jews in general.

The poor Jews have to bear the consequences of the shameful acts of the Zionists. The Zionists, in issuing despicable declarations to the effect that they will defend the present frontiers of Poland, are acting just like cynical business people. Their leader, Dr. Ton, declared:

"We Jews (that is the business people. K.) are interested in the country having extensive frontiers, in order to widen the field of activity for commerce and economic development."

True disciples of Chamberlain!

Zionism is slavishly carrying out the work of world reaction. But it is not identical with the Jewish working class and with the Jewish poor. In spite of such figures as Dr. Ton, Sokolov etc. there are rising from the masses of the Jewish people heroic champions as Friedmann in Bulgaria, Botwin in Poland and thousand of others who are fighting under the red flag of the Comintern.

THE BALKANS

The Trial of the 500 Bessarabian Peasants.

By Al Dobrodgeame-Gera.

The Trial of the 500 Tatarbunar peasants, which ought to have been opened in June of this year, has now been commenced.

The repeated postponement of the trial was not a mere accident, or was it due to any juridical reasons. The preliminary investigation has long been ended, while the Indictment has long been drawn up. As a matter of fact, behind this postponement of the trial there lies hidden a definite political purpose. The experiences which the Roumanian Boyars have had in preceding trials, especially in recent times, have caused considerable anxiety to Roumanian justice and the government. In the so-called "Gjalul Spirei" trial*, in which 273 persons were accused, and especially in the recent monstre trial (the trial of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Roumania), the government suffered decided political defeats. In the face of the efforts of the authorities who endeavoured to carry out the trial as artfully and with as little publicity as possible, the working masses in the country itself, and also beyond the frontiers of Roumania, took a keen interest in it. The working class of Roumania and its leader, the Communist Party, have learned how to make use of trials of this sort in order to expose the dirty intrigues and methods of torture of the government.

The fear of a new defeat compelled the Bratianu government, in the trial of the 500 peasants, to have resort to the severest measures. The government endeavoured to gain time to make its "preparations", that is, in accordance with its usual vile methods of torture, to extort false statements from the prisoners.

A further reason for the postponing of the trial is the state of affairs in Bessarabia. A tremendous ferment is taking place among the working masses in the country, which is quite understandable in view of the increased repressions and systematic wholesale imprisonments and the unrestrained brutality of the gendarmes, who even kill people in broad daylight. In addition to this, one must bear in mind the starvation prevailing in Bessarabia, which is less the result of the bad harvest than the result of the robber-policy of the Roumanian government.

*) Gjalul Spirei is the district in Bucharest where the trial took place.

Not without influence upon the provocative conduct of the trial is the Roumanian Exhibition which is now being held in Kishinev. In addition to all the most important commercial firms in all parts of Roumania and various countries of Western Europe, this exhibition is being participated in by many representatives of foreign states and their journalists and correspondents. Under such circumstances the holding of the trial in public would have served to deprive the whole exhibition of all its brilliance and show, which was intended to set forth the Boyars as the "bearers of civilisation in Bessarabia", as they call themselves. The government desires at all cost to conceal the regime of violence and terror under which the unhappy mass of people are suffering from the eyes of the distinguished guests.

Driven by the Roumanian protests and the hunger strikes in the prisons, which have roused the greatest excitement outside the prison walls, the government saw itself finally compelled to commence the trial.

In opening the trial the government did not in any way abandon its intention to prevent by every possible means the news of the Tatar-Bunar events becoming public. In order to avoid an open spectacle of 500 prisoners being marched under escort through the streets of Kishinev, the trial is being held in secret behind the walls of the notorious Kishinev "Central" (prison). The defenders, and the most prominent people in Roumanian society, including the secretary of the Roumanian section of the League of Human Rights — Kosta-Foru —, the chairman of the Roumanian Lawyers' Society, Dobrescu, and others were not only kept in ignorance of the opening of the trial, but were officially informed that it would not commence until the 3rd of September.

By this means the government desires to have the trial carried out in secret and to rob the prisoners of the most elementary right of defence. In such cases the military court, "as has already often happened, by recording the absence of any civil defender, nominates a military defender of its own.

It is to be hoped that the workers and peasants of Roumania, with the brotherly assistance of the workers of all countries, will succeed in thwarting the shameful intentions of the governing clique which is endeavouring by means of the basest trickery to stifle the voices of its victims.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Left Wing at Work in England.

The Second National Conference of the National Minority Movement.

By H. Y. (London).

683 Delegates assembled in London for the Second National Conference of the National Minority Movement.

The veteran Tom Mann, occupied the Chair and his opening statement covered the most important issues confronting the British workers at the present time.

The opening slogan of the Conference was "Be prepared". Be prepared for the coming struggle that is certain to take place next May when the miners agreement and the Government's subsidy terminates. The forms of this preparation, the reorganisation of the local Trades Councils, the uniting of the forces of Employed and Unemployed, the organisation of Factory Committees, and a number of measures for co-ordinating the work of the Co-operatives and the Trade Unions were dealt with in two days deliberation on August 29th and 30th. Tom Mann paid tribute to the work of the "Sunday Worker", the Left Wing paper, and advocated its support by the Minority Movement in order to combat the monopoly of the Capitalist Press.

A new question for the Minority Movement was the question of the use of the Military and Naval forces in Industrial disputes, which was distinctly threatened by Lloyd George, in his speech on the debate in the House on the question of the settlement of the Miners' dispute. Mann advocated the carrying on of a systematic propaganda among the forces by the whole Trade

Union movement in order to secure Unity of the soldiers, sailors and workers against the capitalists.

Another important new question was the question of the growing **Fascist Movement**, which is keenly appreciated by the members of the movement as a result of the acquittal of the four fascists who were guilty, on their own admission, of kidnapping the movement's General Secretary, **Harry Pollitt**. This question was again brought home to the Conference by **S. Saklatvala**, who read a threat of assassination sent him by a fascist the previous day.

The defence of the working class against these attacks was advocated, by means of the formation of **Defence Corps** which was subsequently agreed to with great acclamation in the form of a special emergency resolution.

The question of the **Colonial Workers** was also raised, which the Conference later shewed was one of the most important questions before the Conference.

Solidarity with the exploited Colonial peoples and support of their struggle for freedom was the declaration of the chairman.

Finally the question of **International Trade Union Unity** was raised.

The reports from the various sections shewed an excellent record of progress for the movement, and in all cases the Miners, Metal workers, Builders, and Transport sections had participated in all the disputes of the past year and secured increasing influence in their respective Unions and Union Federations.

A whole series of important statements had been issued dealing with the various political questions as they arose; these included such questions as the **Dawes Report**, the result of the General Election and the **Workers' Charter**, as the programme of the Minority Movement, **International Trade Union Unity**, an Open Letter to the General Council of the T. U. C. on the **Capitalist Offensive** and a **Manifesto to the Special Trade Union Congress** which was called to deal with the question of Unemployment on July 24th. Special statements on the **Chinese Situation**, a call for the reorganisation of the Trades Councils and an appeal to the Armed Forces on the anniversary of the World War, and their use in Industrial disputes.

The Conference was welcomed to Battersea by its parliamentary member **Com. Saklatvala** of the Communist Party, who declared his enthusiastic support of the Movement, and the necessity of a United Front of the Unions against the capitalist attack. He delivered a slashing attack on the leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party who declared the M. M. a disruptive and a splitters' movement, pointing out that those who denounce the movement as splitters, were themselves responsible for the splits and defeats in the working class movement. Part of his speech was a moving appeal for the Colonial workers and a denunciation of the Empire builders, pointing out all the consequences of Empire in Unemployment and low wages to the British workers. He concluded by an exposure of the slogans of disarmament and an appeal to the Forces to link up their struggle against tyrannical military and naval discipline with that of the workers for better conditions.

A special emergency resolution was unanimously carried on the question of the **Chinese events**, supporting the demand of the Chinese workers, and demanding the withdrawal of all British troops and police, and exposing the action of the Canton Merchants' Association in calling for suppression of the people's Government as a trick of the British Foreign Office.

The resolution was moved by the veteran leader of the Furniture Workers, **Alex Gossip**, who declared that he "shuddered to think what would have happened in China had the Labour government been in office, judging by its actions in India and Egypt".

The resolution on the question of the **young workers** was then dealt with by **H. Bailey**, a young representative of the London Shop workers, who declared that an urgent task of the Trade Union movement was the organisation of the young workers, of whom there are three millions throughout the country, only 10% of whom are organised. He also mentioned that his union had placed on the Agenda for the Trade Union Congress a resolution

to the same effect as the one being placed before the delegates to the Minority Movement Conference.

He held the view that it was necessary that the Trade Unions should place before the young workers a practical programme of demands which would rally them to the struggle, and suggested for that purpose the demands placed before the Trade Union Congress by the Y. C. L. in its Open Letter to that Congress. The resolution was enthusiastically carried, various delegates declaring that this question was one of the most burning confronting the Trade Unions today.

The resolution on the **Economic Struggle and the Capitalist Offensive** explained the connection between the growing British Empire and Britain's declining trade, together with the increasing unemployment and the attacks on the British workers' wages and standard of living, pointing out that "the only hope for the workers is the destruction of Capitalism".

A particularly important point was that on the **Aims and Objects of the Minority Movement**, which clearly showed that the movement is not confined to mere "industrial" issues, but devotes its attention to all questions of national and international policy, declaring its opposition to the Versailles Treaty, and the Dawes Report and dealing with Nationalisation, Housing, the Anglo-Russian Trading Agreement etc., while its organisation programme includes the centralisation of power in the hands of the General Council of the T. U. C., the development of the Trades Councils and all the organisational changes which the movement has long propagated, and which were dealt with by the Conference in special resolutions.

These points followed on the question of the programme, namely, the Trades Councils, Factory Committees and the centralisation of all Trade Union power in the hands of the General Council.

A special resolution on the **Women's Question** was adopted and a woman has been added to the Executive of the Movement as their representative.

A feature of the Conference was the speech of **Dr. Batt**, who supported the resolution on the Colonial Problem, which advocated the sending of Trade Union organisers to the British Colonies to organise native workers for the demands of the British Trade Unions in the name of the Workers Welfare League of India and the All India Trades Union Congress.

The unity of the British workers with the colonial peoples was further accentuated by the attendance of a deputation from the Indian Seamen, one of whom addressed the Conference on the need for international unity. In addition to this representatives of the striking seamen were present and speeches of welcome and support were delivered by leaders of the movement.

Also a special resolution was adopted on the question of the **Trade Unions and the Co-operatives**, for combatting high prices, support of the workers by the Co-operatives in industrial disputes and calling for organisation of all Trade Unionists in the Co-operatives and all Co-operators in the Unions.

Emergency resolutions were introduced on the **Agricultural workers**, calling for the setting up of a Minority group in the farm workers' Trade Unions, and the issuing of a programme, which was subsequently carried out at the Conference, and for the setting up of **workers' defence corps** against the attacks of the Fascisti.

The huge representation, 750,000 workers being represented by a Conference larger than the Trades Union Congress, the resolutions passed, and the discussions shewed clearly that the mass Left Wing is rapidly crystallising under a determined clear and capable leadership. The attention devoted to the Colonial problem, the note of reality struck in discussing all problems was a sure indication that the Minority Movement is rapidly becoming the mass movement of the British Trade Unions.

The attention devoted to the Movement by the whole capitalist press (every paper printing a leading article on this subject), was but the expression of the fact that a new period of revolutionary Trade Unionism is opening in the annals of the British working class.

WORKERS' DELEGATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Visit of the German Workers' Delegation to the Soviet Union.

By P. Friedländer (Vienna).

The German workers' delegation, which set out for Soviet Russia in the middle of July last, has now returned to Germany after having spent six weeks in studying conditions in the workers' and Peasants' Republic. After the visit of the English trade union delegation, which served to open up the way for the dissemination of the truth regarding the Soviet Union, this visit of the German workers constitutes a decided further step forwards to the coming together of the non-communist workers of Europe and the working class of the Soviet Union.

The German workers' delegation, consisted of 56 members — among them there was not a single woman, a fact which caused a good deal of shaking of the head among the working class of the Soviet Union —, the great majority of whom were social democrats, who, as they themselves expressly stated, maintained "a very critical attitude towards the Soviet rule". This is easy to understand. The social democratic leaders for years past have not only succeeded, along with the imperialist bourgeoisie, in boycotting the Soviet Union, but at the same time, by means of a continual and cunning campaign, have filled the working class with extreme mistrust towards it. On the other hand, the Communists have not been successful in carrying out an appropriate counter campaign.

The visit of the German workers' delegation, which has carried out a thorough and sober investigation in all parts of the Soviet Union as to the economic and political conditions, as to the position of the workers etc., has yielded a result the far-reaching effects of which should not be underestimated.

The occasion for the journey of the German workers' delegation was an invitation from the workers of the Putilov works who, as an answer to the reports emanating from the menshevik lie factory, the Berlin "Vorwärts", regarding these works, wrote to the German workers that they could come and see with their own eyes how things actually are. Before the departure of the German workers' delegation to Russia, a broad propaganda campaign from below had to be instituted and a great deal of resistance from the side of the social democratic leaders had to be overcome. The trade union bureaucracy and the social democratic leaders threatened the delegates with expulsions, while the employers threatened them with dismissals. In a whole number of cases these threats were actually carried out.

Immediately after its arrival in Leningrad the German workers' delegation set to work. The members were divided into various groups and commissions, and investigated a dozen big factories engaged in various branches of industry, before all, of course, the Putilov works. Some of the delegates understood Russian, some others Esperanto. This rendered it possible for them to get into immediate contact with the Russian workers and to put questions and to receive answers without the intermediation of third persons. The result of the delegations studies in Leningrad was a declaration of the whole delegation entitled: "The Truth regarding the Putilov Works" (and also regarding the other factories), in which the lies of the "Vorwärts" and of all other inciters against the Soviet Union were exposed in a thorough and concrete manner, not only with regard to the condition of the workers, but as to the rights of the factory councils, the activity of the trade unions, the workers' press, the social institutions etc. The enormous progress made by the Soviet Union compared with other countries was set forth in a sober and reasonable statement.

The result of the German workers' delegation in Moscow was the same. What made the greatest impression upon the workers' delegation was the fact that in both cities the Communists did not attempt to conceal anything from them and exercised the greatest self-criticism. In Moscow, as in Leningrad, the delegates visited numerous factories, hospitals, and children's homes. Among other things the delegation was greatly impressed by the children's colony, Puschkin, situated 30 kilometres from Moscow, where 7000 children, for the greater part orphans from the imperialist war, are being reared

and educated. Simultaneously with the German workers' delegation there was present in Moscow, as was also the case in Leningrad, a great Swedish workers' delegation. The two workers' delegations, both in Leningrad and Moscow, held joint conferences and meetings with the factory councils and trade unions. At all these conferences, just as at the mass meetings of the factories and the great demonstrations, the social democratic delegates Ovenhagen, Freiburger, Baer, and others declared how tremendously they had been impressed by all that they had seen, and promised to spread the truth regarding the Soviet Union and to stand up for the Soviet Union to the last. "At the tomb of Lenin we pledge ourselves to complete his work!"

From Moscow the delegation divided itself into different groups, each visiting districts of the Soviet Union far apart from one another. One group went to the Ukraine, another to the Caucasus, a further group to the Urals, while another group went to the Crimea, another to the Donetz Basin etc. The sanatoriums and the convalescent and rest homes in the Crimea and in the Caucasus, where thousands of workers and peasants rest and recuperate; the position of the miners in the Donetz Basin, where constant progress is being made; the reconstruction work in the Ural, where the civil war did special damage; all this made a powerful impression upon the German workers' delegation.

Everywhere, particularly in Charkov, the German workers' delegates were received with enthusiasm, which rendered more clear to them, than anything else how the working masses of the Soviet Union stand by their State.

One group from the German workers' delegation which visited Azerbaijan and the naphta wells afterwards proceeded to Georgia. The visit to Georgia is perhaps the most important stage of the journey of the German workers' delegation. The delegates were convinced by the evidence of their own eyes that all that the capitalist and socialist press has been saying regarding Georgia is lies. The sympathies of the masses are entirely on the side of the Soviet Republic. At Tiflis there took place a magnificent mass demonstration, participated in by the German delegation. The social democratic member of the delegation Beck declared:

"Such a demonstration and such enthusiasm cannot be artificially staged. We must strike in the face anybody who spreads further lies regarding Georgia."

The political prisoners, with whom the delegates were given the opportunity of speaking, enjoy privileges which one would never dream of in Europe. The social democratic delegates Beck, Mehle, Bear and others made precise declarations regarding their observations in this connection, and repeated these after their return home. This was clearly expressed in the farewell message of the delegation to the Georgian workers and peasants, in which it was stated that the Soviet government alone is the government of the workers and peasants.

The various groups met again in Moscow, where they had an important interview with comrade Zinoviev in which before all, the question of the approachment of the social democratic workers to the workers of the Soviet Union and the Communists was discussed. Zinoviev dispersed many of the doubts of the social democratic delegates. The result of the interview was clearly expressed in the speeches and declarations of the social democratic delegates after their return to Germany.

Both in Moscow and in Leningrad the workers' delegates, before their departure, made comprehensive statements. The chairman of the delegation, Freiburger, said:

"We have spent six weeks in Russia, travelling 16,000 kilometres, visiting many towns and hundreds of factories and workshops, and can say that our experiences will bring joy to the German as well as to the proletarians of all countries. We are convinced that the fairy tales of the bourgeois press regarding the "dictatorship over the proletariat" are simply lies, and that in the Soviet Union the possibility of capitalist exploitation has been destroyed up to 90%. We say to the German proletarians that they must follow your example."

The second chairman, Beck, declared:

"We saw your socialist construction and saw that the world bourgeoisie is forging an iron ring round the Soviet Union in order to strangle it. We say to the German workers: Be on the alert, do not permit the socialist construction of Soviet Russia to be destroyed."

The German workers' delegation had hardly returned to Germany when they commenced, to the accompaniment of the howls of rage of the reformist leaders, to give clear reports as to what they had thoroughly investigated in Russia. The social democratic delegates Freiburger (chairman of the Munich factory councils) Ovenhagen, Bennevitz, Mehle, Baer and others stated definitely and clearly: The soviet rule is the rule of the overwhelming majority of the workers and peasants; the Soviets live; there is no dictatorship over the proletariat, but only a dictatorship by the proletariat; the Communist Party of Russia is not a clique of leaders, but a Party of the industrial working masses; the Soviet Union is not inclined to militarist imperialism, but on the contrary, is the only State which is devoting itself to economic reconstruction, while at the same time it has an eye to its own defence and to the protection of the workers in other countries. In the Soviet Union enormous economic progress has been made, whilst in all other countries economic life is declining; the wages, the social conditions of the workers — everything is making steady improvement; in Georgia the Communist regime is not a regime imposed upon the country, but one desired by the population; the communists exercise ruthless self-criticism and do not seek to hide their faults, as this is the best way in order to remove them; the struggle of the red trade unionists for the unity of the trade unions is an honest struggle, unity must come etc.

The visit of the German workers' delegation is already beginning to bear fruit. To the terror of the reformists it is having a contagious effect. Already at the time it was in the Soviet Union other delegations were arriving, among others a Chinese delegation, a German-French-Belgian teachers' delegation, while an Austrian young workers' delegation has just arrived.

In his farewell speech Comrade Zinoviev pointed out the enormous importance of the workers' delegations and quoted from a letter of Lenin to the English newspaper "The Daily News" which in Autumn 1920 scornfully asked, whether delegations would be welcome in the Soviet Union and to which Lenin made the following cutting reply:

"Let us conclude a treaty: You in the name of the anti-bolshevik bourgeoisie of all countries, I in the name of the Russian Soviet Republic. In accordance with this Treaty, one can send to us, to Russia, delegations of workers and small peasants from all countries and every delegation shall spend about two months in Russia. If the reports of such delegations are of any benefit for anti-bolshevist propaganda, then the international bourgeoisie must bear all expenses for sending them. In view of the fact, however, that this bourgeoisie in all countries of the world is exceedingly weak and poor, while we in Russia are rich and strong, I am prepared to obtain from the Soviet Union the concession, that it shall bear three quarters of the expenses, and that only a quarter of the expenses shall be borne by the millionaires of all countries."

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Congress of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation for Trade Union Unity.

By A. J. Smolan (Oslo).

The most important question which the Congress of the Norwegian Trade Union Federation, which was held at the end of August, had to deal with, was the efforts for international unity. For a long time there has been a strong desire among the Norwegian working masses for international unity; and this was still further increased by the setting up of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. The reformist trade union leaders, who for the past five years have swung now to the right and now to the left according to the prevailing mood, were swept along by the urgent pressure of the members, they have again taken up their position "upon the basis of the existing facts" and — it is true, against their will — expressed their approval of international unity.

For five years these leaders, by means of ambiguous and radical phrases, have succeeded in thwarting and sabotaging the

efforts and decisions of the masses so that, since 1920 the Norwegian trade unions have not been affiliated to any trade union International. In 1920 the decision was arrived at to disaffiliate from Amsterdam — even the greatest reformists like Ole O. Lian supported this step — with the outspoken intention of entering the Red International of Labour Unions. It is true, this radical step was not seriously intended by the majority of the leaders, but, like all social democrats, they were too cowardly to give expression to their real opinions so long as the revolutionary mood, which had been called forth by the Russian revolution, still prevailed among the workers. At that time there was only one political party among the Norwegian workers, the great Labour Party, and this belonged to the Third International — a fact which enabled such outspoken social democrats as Lian and anti-parliamentary syndicalists as Martin Tranmael, the present leader of the Labour Party, to pose before the masses as communists, in order not to lose all influence among the masses.

In the meantime the working class had suffered an economic defeat. The Right wing had made use of the 21 conditions as a pretext for splitting the Labour Party; the reactionary tendency grew in strength and, relying upon the popularity of Lian and Tranmael, the centre of the Party succeeded in bringing about the breach with the Third International and in again splitting the Labour Party, whereupon the left wing which had been driven out, founded the Communist Party of Norway.

In the fight against the revolutionary wing, the "communists" Lian and Tranmael had all the trumps in their hands; with a few exceptions they controlled all the trade unions and their press, as well as the Trade Union Federation. In addition to this the great majority of the trade unions were collectively affiliated to the Labour Party, so that their members were ideologically influenced by the latter.

One can only fully appreciate the great success of the Left tendency, that is of the communists, at this Congress when one bears these circumstances in mind. At all the meetings at which elections of delegates took place, the outstanding question was that of international affiliation. The mood in these meetings caused many of the greatest reformists to pronounce themselves as "unconditionally" for the Anglo-Russian Committee, and if, as a result of this timely change of front, many a reactionary reformist was elected, he had nevertheless to take into account the mood of the masses.

Of the delegates about 110 belonged to the "communist" Labour Party, 70 to the Communist Party of Norway and 50 to the Social Democratic Party. The majority of the delegates consisted of workers from the factories, and these often rebelled against the tutelage of their leaders, who suffered decisive defeats precisely in the most important questions of principle.

The majority of the National Committee adopted an ambiguous attitude in regard to the question of international trade union unity, but, under the storm of strong communist criticism and of the prevailing mood, the bureaucrats changed their attitude in a few hours, so that the Congress unanimously decided to enter into organisatory connections with the Anglo-Russian Committee. This result, of course does not mean that all those reformists who voted for this proposal did so out of sincere conviction, but it means that not a single one of them had the courage to express his real opinion in this question, and that is the best proof that they acted under the pressure of the masses. Should an international trade union congress be convened the National Council is pledged to take part in it and to work there in favour of the inclusion of the trade unions of all countries in one united International.

Still more decisive is the defeat of the reformists in the question of the Geneva Labour Office. The reformists were outspokenly in favour of sending representatives to the International Labour Office, and were defeated. By 147 votes against 76 the Congress, on principle, refused to be represented at the Conferences of the Geneva Labour Office.

The Congress issued an appeal to the individual trade unions to give up their collective membership of the Labour Party, and this will also contribute towards bringing to an end the hegemony of this Party in the Norwegian Labour movement.

The Communists, as the conscious revolutionary advance guard of the Norwegian proletariat, are fully aware that with the acceptance of these decisions they have only attained a part

of that for which they are fighting; that severe struggles still confront them before the majority of the members of the trade unions will have become conscious revolutionary class fighters. But the great success which the Communists have achieved here with a party which is not yet two years old, shows with all clearness that their tactics hitherto have been correct, and that they can only win the mass organisations of the proletariat for the revolutionary class struggle by continued unwearied and tenacious struggle within the trade unions.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Hungarian Government Preparing Fresh Executions.

By Josef Rabinovitch.

... "Nobody can be prosecuted on account of military crimes, mutiny, high treason or similar offences committed during the war. Those who have already been sentenced under these charges are granted a complete amnesty".

Peace Treaty of Trianon, paragraph No. 229, signed by representatives of the Hungarian government on 20th May 1920.

The Hungarian proletariat did not participate in the world war with any enthusiasm. In many cases the workers even refused to work on munitions or other war material in the factories. The factories were militarised and placed under strong military guard. The Hungarian imperialists had their enemy at home! in the factories and in the army. This discontent against the war broke loose with elementary force at the time of the Brest-Litovsk Peace negotiations. The October Revolution of the Russian proletariat had an extraordinarily profound effect upon the Hungarian working class. The appeal of the Soviet government for peace, the speeches of Trotzky at Brest Litovsk, added fuel to the flames. They called forth a mass movement, to combat which — even with the help of the social democratic party — was beyond the power of the government.

Wages movements, spontaneous cessations of work followed one after another. The fires of revolt broke out, now here and now there. The workers in the workshops of the State Railway in the capital had collisions with the military authorities, in which the soldiers were forced to use their rifles against the workers. The character of the revolt was openly political. A revolutionary tempest swept over the country. The working class demanded workers' councils, the soldiers refused to go to the front, the women demanded peace and bread.

* * *

As an episode in this situation there took place that event which today, seven years after the conclusion of the war, is serving the Hungarian government as a reason for preparing fresh executions.

On whitmonday in the year 1918 the men in the Infantry regiment No. 6, stationed in Pecs, refused to proceed to the front. They refused to enter the troops trains, arrested the officers and took possession of the barracks. In order to win the working class over to their side, they issued an appeal to the miners in the neighbouring mines, calling upon them for their solidarity. The miners, who were working under military control and were exposed to the most cruel suppression, responded to the appeal and hastened to the aid of the soldiers. Thousands and thousands of working men and women from the neighbouring mines marched to the town of Pecs. Nevertheless, they were unable to get into the town. A battalion of artillery and machine guns was directed against them. A fierce collision took place. The revolt was suppressed and those who participated in it were tortured in a bestial manner. The military power took revenge. An Exceptional Court, under the presidency of General Lukachics, a notorious blood-hound hated by the entire Hungarian army, the same General who, in the first hours of the bourgeois revolution in October, was rescued by the leaders of the social democrats, in order "not to stain the beautiful revolution with blood" — this Exceptional Court at once set to work and condemned the leaders of the revolt to death. 16 soldiers and 2 miners were at once executed. The case of 68 further miners was left to the permanent military court. As however, no evidence could be

brought against these accused, as these workers could not be charged with anything except having participated in the mass strike, no court proceedings could take place. They were flung into military prison, where they remained from May until the end of October, when they were liberated by the working class in the first hour of the revolution.

The affair could thus be regarded as at an end. But events turned out quite otherwise. The counter-revolution again came into power, and with it a furious white terror by which the bourgeoisie gave to the proletariat — but alas too late — an object lesson as to how power must be exerted in revolutionary times. The bandits of Admiral Horthy arranged endless Bartholomew nights; thousands and thousands of workers were bestially murdered, hanged, quartered or buried alive: who could save himself, did so.

As those people who had been released from the prisons by the revolution were again arrested and brought back into prison, those miners who had been accused of taking part in the revolt fled into the neighbouring State of Yugoslavia.

A short pause ensued, the Peace Treaty was signed. The Hungarian government made as if Hungary was on the road to consolidation. Individual citizens, or groups of citizens, who had had absolutely no reason for flight, returned to the country. The authorities of the town of Pecs wanted to have their emigrant miners back. They sent proclamations to the addresses of these miners, stating that they could safely return home and nothing would happen to them, as paragraph No. 229 of the Peace Treaty assured them a complete amnesty. A number of these miners allowed themselves to be persuaded, returned home and fell into the trap. They were arrested and again thrown into prison. The government is not inclined to regard the incident which occurred in 1918 as closed. On the contrary, it regards the episode as a prologue to the drama which is to be played now, seven years after. The preliminary investigation has been commenced and now, 22 arrested mine workers — among them being 3 women, one of whom is 54 years old while another is 24, and therefore at the time of the revolt was only 17 years old — are to be brought before the military court on the charge of mutiny and high treason during the war. The insurgents are regarded as militarised workers who come under category B. of the Landsturm.

The fresh arrests took place in October 1923 but were quite passed over by the Entente powers. After repeated and urgent demands on the part of Hungarian workers who are in emigration, Herriot, at that time French Prime Minister, condescended to send a protest to the Hungarian government against the non-observance of the Peace Treaty.

Herr Bethlen replied and assured his colleague that "nothing will happen to the arrested miners". In saying this he, of course, was deliberately lying, for at the very same time he gave orders to the military prosecutor to prepare the indictment. The indictment was soon made public.

The military prosecutor is commendably modest. He is only demanding the death sentence for six of the accused (two to be hung, 4 to be shot), and for the remaining 16 mine workers five to ten years imprisonment with severe hard labour (solitary confinement, every month a day without food and a plank bed etc.). The court proceedings are to take place in the near future.

* * *

It is in this way that the Hungarian imperialists wish to revenge themselves on the revolutionary mine workers. They will doubtless do everything in order that this proposal of the military prosecutor shall be carried out by the military court. The Hungarian government is certain that in carrying out this judicial murder it will not meet with any particular obstacles. It has caused to be arrested all those — numbering about 200 — who, during the course of the war, were condemned by the exceptional court of General Lukachics to 10 and 15 years fortress arrest on account of desertion, mutiny or similar military "crimes", but who were released by the revolution. As this systematic violation of the Peace Treaty has called forth no protest from the Entente powers, it is certain that the execution of the mine workers will not meet with any protest from that quarter.

Who then shall protest?

The Entente is informed that the condemned miners are communists. As France and England are themselves desirous of exterminating the communists, this will certainly not call forth any protest on their part.

The Hungarian social democratic party, which has sold itself body and soul to the government and is now carrying on a quite undisguised patriotic policy, will, on patriotic grounds, not demand the observance of the Peace Treaty which was dictated by the "enemy" and which is not insisted upon by the Entente powers. In addition to this it has its own special reasons for not taking real revolutionary elements under its protection, as the latter during the last ten years caused it a good deal of inconvenience.

The Hungarian proletariat, suppressed and exploited as it has never been before, enslaved and deprived of its minimum human rights, is unable to do anything, as the exceptional law for the "defence of the realm" has shown its effectiveness on every occasion.

But the foreign proletariat, the miners of England, France, America and other States?

The Hungarian government has reckoned without these. It may ignore this factor, it can however be very disappointed in this respect. The voice of the international proletariat, the protest of the international mine workers can make itself heard and, like a tornado, sweep away this entire company, the whole regime of deceivers, scoundrels and murderers.

RED AID

The Murder Government of Zankov Forbids Humanitarian Relief from Abroad.

To the International working class!

To all Humanitarian Circles and Organisations!

The Relief Commission sent from Czechoslovakia to Bulgaria has already been expelled.

The representatives of the workers, peasants and of the humanitarian circles of Czechoslovakia were, with unexampled insolence, expelled from the country when they demanded the consent of the Bulgarian authorities for humanitarian relief action for the innocent children and wives of the victims of the white terror.

This hangmen's government which threatens the parents and relatives of its political opponents with capital punishment for rendering any form of relief to the "conspirators", which forbids the support of thousands and thousands of victims and their immediate relatives and prevents the remittance of monies which have been collected abroad, is even venturing to prohibit humanitarian relief from abroad.

The Bulgarian Embassies in Vienna and Berne have refused visas to a purely humanitarian relief commission from Austria and a workers' relief commission from Switzerland.

But the murderous Zankov government thereby itself exposes its shameful plans for physically annihilating thousands of workers, peasants and intellectuals, as well as their relatives, their innocent wives and children. It thereby on the other hand shows its fear of the presence of foreign relief commissions in Bulgaria, who would certainly not remain silent in the face of all the cruel deeds which cry aloud to heaven.

We appeal with all our energy to the international working class, as well as to all humanitarian and cultural circles, to protest most energetically against the shameful conduct of the Zankov hangmen, and immediately to despatch relief committees to Bulgaria, where untold thousands of women and children, the relatives of the victims of the white terror are enduring indescribable misery and even today remain without any relief.

3rd of September 1925.

The Balkan Bureau of the International Red Aid.

For the Exchange of Political Prisoners.

We publish below the text of the statement issued by the German Workers' delegation to Soviet Russia regarding the question of exchange of political prisoners. Ed.

To the Soviet Government and to the II. International.

The German delegation during its visit to Soviet Russia inspected a whole number of prisons. In this connection the delegation devoted its chief attention to the political prisoners, especially in Georgia. It declares that the prisoners are treated in a thoroughly humane manner. The delegation is fully aware that political crimes committed in a state in which the working class has the power in its hand, must be judged from quite another point of view than similar crimes when committed in a capitalist State. Anyone who takes part in or supports actions aimed against Soviet Russia, thereby supports the greatest enemies of Soviet Russia — the capitalists. It does not matter whether this is done consciously or unconsciously — the result in both cases is the same.

But the German workers' delegation is convinced that in the question of political prisoners, some steps must be taken. For some months past there has been a movement in Germany in favour of political prisoners. This movement must at all cost lead to favourable results.

The delegation has unanimously decided to approach the German trade unions and the Parties connected with them with the proposal to obtain from the German government the release of all political prisoners. We therefore approach to the Soviet government with the enquiry: Is it prepared — on the basis of the appeal sent from the International Red Aid to the II. International, which unfortunately has remained unanswered up to the present — on its part to give its consent to the exchange of political prisoners, should the II. International accept the conditions proposed by the International Red Aid?

The main questions which are dealt with in this proposal can be formulated as follows:

1. The care of political prisoners must be carried out in all countries on the basis of a mutual agreement. The International Red Aid pledges itself to obtain the full approval of the Soviet government to an exchange of political prisoners. At the same time the II. International must pledge itself to endeavour to influence all governments in which it has its representatives in such a manner that the exchange will be mutual.

2. In the event of the above proposal being accepted, both parties pledge themselves to exchange information as to the position of political prisoners and to give each other the greatest possible assistance in this respect.

The First German Workers' Delegation

Freiberger, Hans Beck, G. Mehle, Arthur Lehnert, Thomas Staudt, Eduard Marr, Willy Bennewitz.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Letter from the E. C. C. I. to all Organisations and Members of the Communist Party of Germany.

Dear comrades,

As early as the last session of the Enlarged Executive — March/April 1925 — and shortly afterwards, we discussed in detail, in conjunction with the representatives of the German Communist Party, those questions in which, in our opinion, the greatest defects of Party work are evidenced. The most important question — the question of the German Party — was at that time, and still continues to be, the problem of increasing the recruiting powers of our Party, the problem of winning the masses, especially the masses of social democratic workers. Our general political line has been determined from this standpoint, and from this standpoint we have considered the other questions. Among these we find the following tasks; work in the trade unions; convincing the social democratic workers (questions of propaganda, "change of tone", etc); the "normalising" of Party life (inner Party democracy, employment of the former

opposition, freedom of discussion, election of Party functionaries, introduction of fresh leading forces, etc.), was regarded by us at the same time as a prerequisite for the establishment of correct relations towards the masses outside the Party; the liquidation of the hidden fight against the International (liquidation of the custom of so-called independent emissaries in other parties, sincere carrying out of the real Bolshevik line).

Before the Party Conference, the representatives of the Executive once more negotiated with the representatives of the German Party, although not entirely officially; this was at the wish of the German representatives.

At these negotiations the three most important groups of questions were discussed.

Firstly: The Executive pointed out the existence of certain Right deviations in the leading group Ruth Fischer-Maslow; the adoption of a too parliamentary attitude, etc.

Secondly: It was decided that a really new course should be followed in the trade union question; that a strong and capable trade union department be demonstratively elected at the Party Conference, or instructions to this effect given to the new Party Central.

Thirdly: The representatives of the Executive insisted that fresh leading forces are to be elected to the Central, especially comrades familiar with trade union work, and including some comrades of the opposition. Not for the purpose of dragging the Party over to the "Right", as has been deliberately wrongly asserted, but in order to create means of access to the vacillating members of the Party.

The Executive received three subsequent inquiries as to the elements of which the Party Central was to be composed, and three times it confirmed its advice.

At the Party Conference itself these decisions were, for the most part, not carried out. Comrade Ruth Fischer's group not only sabotaged the decisions, but at the same time caused the delegation sent by the Executive to be treated in such a manner that it was obliged to issue a declaration to this effect. At the conclusion of the Party Conference an offer of an alliance on the part of the Scholem-Rosenberg group against the Executive was tacitly accepted, a proceeding void of all principle, seeing that politically the Party Conference was being carried on in the spirit of fight against the Ultra Left. A conflict with the representatives of the Youth International was brought about in an analogous manner; the International Youth Conference, in which the representatives of 13 countries participated, has officially stated its standpoint with regard to this, and addressed an appeal to this effect to the Executive.

This brought about a severe crisis. The first delegation coming to us with instructions for the disavowal of the E. C. C. I. delegation was obliged to admit, after a heated discussion, that the Executive was right. The whole delegation made a declaration to the effect that it held the criticism made by the E. C. C. I. to be correct, that it considered the standpoint represented by the E. C. C. I. delegation to have been right, and that it was in agreement with the political line taken by the Youth representatives and by the International Youth Conference.

Meanwhile it was decided — at the wish of the German delegation — to have the larger body of representatives sent for. Ruth Fischer employed every possible means in order to delay their arrival.

The second delegation was divided into two groups. At first comrade Ruth Fischer opposed the criticism of the E. C. C. I., but after a long discussion in the Commission of the E. C. C. I., participated in by the representatives of all the leading Parties, she too made a declaration acknowledging the correctness of the criticism made by the E. C. C. I.

This, briefly stated, is the state of affairs. We wish however to add some further explanations, for the purpose of making the standpoint of the Communist International clear to the German comrades.

1. The General Situation.

The world political situation may be regarded as extremely critical. Despite the relative stabilisation in Central Europe, the fundamental inconsistencies of modern capitalism are causing a state of extreme tension. The rapid growth of the Soviet Union, the decline experienced by England, the successes of the Inter-

national Red united front (Anglo-Russian trade union bloc and the struggle for unity; the German and other workers' delegations to Soviet Russia; the workers' and peasants' congresses in France; the revolutionising of the whole English labour movement, etc.), and the enormous increase in the acuteness of the colonial and semi-colonial struggles for freedom (Morocco, Syria, and especially in China) on the one hand; and on the other hand the concentration of imperialist forces against the Soviet Union (the military-diplomatic "ring" around Moscow; agitation in the bourgeois press; English policy and the security pact; preparations for war and blockade; the attitude adopted by Kautsky and the social democratic press, etc.) — these are all symptoms of the general aggravation of the situation.

Among this complex of symptoms one of particular importance is Germany's fresh orientation towards the West. This orientation is creating another general trend of feeling among the people, and is even mirrored to a certain extent among the least class-conscious sections of the proletariat.

Two different processes are to be observed among the German people. In the first place the fresh wave of sympathy for the Soviet Union; the social democratic workers are beginning to develop towards communism. Not directly towards the Communist Party, but by roundabout paths and in novel ways, which the Party must learn to estimate. A typical example is furnished by the workers' delegations.

On the other hand, we have to record the growth, in certain — if small sections of the working class of the so-called "anti-Moscow" tendencies, an expression of the fresh orientation of the bourgeoisie. This process is also going on in the German C. P. to a certain extent. The so-called Ultra Left tendency is frequently merely a cloak for social democratic, reformist, "Levitic" tendencies, which threaten to change into direct betrayal of the international working class. These two processes are of an international character, and are thus of particular importance.

There is no doubt that a number of circumstances greatly increasing the difficulties existed at the time when the Left took over the leadership of the Party. The October defeat, six months of illegality, the MacDonald government, Left elections in France and the Dawes report with its resultant reformist illusions among broad strata of the working class. But in spite of all this, the losses sustained by the Party, unavoidable to a certain degree, would not have been so great if the leaders of the Party had not committed the above grave errors.

In spite of this we must state here that the above-mentioned group of leaders in the Party Central have not by any means showed themselves capable of reacting properly to the new processes taking place in the working class. Although the general situation is by no means unfavourable, the number of members in the Party, at best, only maintains its level; there is a serious falling off in the trade unions; there were serious losses at the political elections; the recruiting powers of the Party are insufficiently developed, despite the apparent unity, which is by no means a Bolshevik unity. This is the point which has now been reached. The Party leaders have not proved capable of winning over the social democratic and non-party workers.

The Ruth Fischer-Maslow group has not proved capable of an energetic fight against the "Ultra Left", in reality anti-communist tendencies, and has even supported these tendencies by playing a highly ambiguous rôle in international questions

2. Trade Union Work, the Comintern, and the Leading Groups in the Party Central.

These defects in leadership have been most strikingly evidenced in the trade union question. As early as the Frankfurt Party Congress (1924), at which the victory of the German Left over Brandlerism was decided, considerable differences arose between the Executive and the new German Party leaders in the trade union question. The leading group Maslow-Ruth Fischer, it is true, opposed the crassest advances made by the Ultra Left abandonment of work in the reformist unions, but their half-hearted decisions (for instance, with reference to the independent unions) showed their failure to grasp the fundamental essence and the full extent of the problem of our trade union work. This lack of understanding of the importance of trade union work has practically had the effect of causing the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group for months to carry out the decisions of the Comintern imperfectly. A confidential telegram sent by the Executive after the

Frankfort Party Congress was sent in a circular to all the district secretaries for the purpose of inciting these to protest against the Executive; the anti-trade union propaganda in the ranks of the Party was inadequately combatted up to the V. World Congress.

At the V. World Congress the slogan of international trade union unity was placed on the agenda for the first time. This Congress regarded this new slogan as the fundamental element of our whole Bolshevist strategy, the first aim of which is the winning of the majority of the working class. In this connection the V. World Congress analysed the MacDonald government as what it really was: the reflection — though false and reformist — of a profound historical process of development in the English working class.

The German delegation, under the leadership of Ruth Fischer, at first opposed the propositions of the Executive at the V. World Congress. A veiled insinuation was made that the struggle for international trade union unity was merely a "move in the game of Russian foreign politics", an attempt at a rapprochement to the social democratic MacDonald government.

It was not until after lengthy negotiations that the delegation allowed itself to be convinced of the untenableness of its policy. The accusation that the struggle for trade union unity was merely a diplomatic move in Russian foreign politics can only be attributed to a fundamentally anti-Bolshevist and social democratic mentality on the part of the leading group. The like accusation was made by MacDonald himself, and by all the English and international social traitors, in order to discredit the struggle for trade union unity.

The struggle for unity among the trade unions is a constituent of Bolshevist strategy towards the majority of the international working class. Those who have not grasped this have not been able, and are still unable, to form a correct estimate of the total world political constellation of the present day, and are even less able to carry out the tactics of the Comintern in their own country with full energy.

The lack of comprehension revealed by the leading group in the international trade union campaign is on a line with the serious errors and omissions of this group in their trade union work in Germany itself.

The decisions of the V. World Congress in the trade union question have been "carried out" too much by means of mechanical pressure and threats of organisatory measures.

On the other hand the actual work of enlightenment, the ideological education of the members of the Party to an understanding of our trade union policy, and the working out of a positive line of policy with the A. D. G. B. (General German Trade Union Federation) have been exceedingly deficient.

This has meant an increase in the severe losses suffered by our Party of late years in every sphere of trade union work. Whilst the opposition counted 88 delegates at the last congress held by the General German Trade Union Federation (1922), at this year's congress it was represented by only 2 delegates. We have lost a number of payment centres and local cartels. Not only in numbers, but in ideology, and above all in organisation, we have greatly lost influence among the free German trade unions with their more than 80% non-party membership. Although there are a number of objective factors (the changed political situation, the mass expulsions, the reactionary statutes and election stipulations of the trade unions) which have also contributed to bring about these losses, still the errors and omissions of the leading group of Party leaders have played the main rôle.

The main errors of our trade union work consist of the incapacity to grasp and secure, politically and organisatorically, the trends and currents favourable to us among the broad masses of the working class. For some months there have been signs of the gradual reawakening of political activity among large sections of the German working class (the building workers' strike and various other wage struggles in the different branches of industry, the wood workers' struggle, great demonstrations in various cities, successful Red Days, etc.). The Party leaders have not shown themselves capable of reacting to these new phenomena, above all they have not been able to take advantage of them for our trade union work.

We have already mentioned that comrade Ruth Fischer's group dissolved the former trade union department of the Central without according the matter due consideration. The express undertaking of the representative of the Central to propose the

renewed formation of a strong trade union department at the 10th Party Congress, was not adhered to. There can only be two explanations of this omission: either the leading group forgot to carry out the decision of the Comintern, or it did not want to carry it out. Should the first be the case, then the leaders forgot one of the most important political and organisatory tasks of the Party; should the second be the case, then they sabotaged the will of the Communist International. In either case they have undertaken a serious responsibility towards the Party and the International.

One of the reasons why the leading comrades of this group neglect the trade union question is their lack of faith in the political power and activity of the masses, both of the members of their own Party and of the working class in general. This pessimism, which is anything but Bolshevism, on the part of various leading comrades has, for instance, been expressed as follows:

"If we disregard the head functionaries, and take the trouble to descend into the ranks of the members, we shall find that our proletarians in the shops and factories are very uncertain in their defence of the Communist Party. They do not feel themselves as the victors of the future, but as people following a tradition for the sake of decency." (Speech delivered by comrade Ruth Fischer at the Central Committee meeting on 9/10 May 1925. See protocol in the pamphlet: "The monarchist danger and the tactics of the German C.P." p. 55).

We are firmly convinced that these declarations represent an undervaluation of the Communist Party of Germany, a Party which, despite all its defects, is one of the soundest and best proletarian sections of the Comintern.

An even crasser statement is that contained in Ruth Fischer's speech (in the German Commission of the Presidium) to the effect that "the masses flee from everyday life, and play at soldiers":

"I believe the cause of the difficulties arise from two main sources, these however being again connected with one another. Firstly, a concealed trend of feeling, deep down among the masses of the members, towards liquidation, which says: We have won no victory, why should we trouble ourselves to build up a Communist Party. We can just as well carry on class warfare among the social democrats. As an example and proof of this we may cite the really impassioned enthusiasm with which our Party members take part in demonstrations and in the Red Front Fighters' Union. Why? Because they can hereby imagine that they are conquering power, they can play at making revolution without performing any organisatory work. It is my conviction that our comrades take refuge in the demonstrations to save themselves the daily work in the trade unions and factories."

These ideas have nothing whatever in common with either a correct estimate of the actual situation, nor with Bolshevism. They are an attempt on the part of the leading group to substitute a false criticism of the totality of the party members for self-criticism. This undervaluation of the Party members and of the working masses is a further key to the errors of the comrades in question, in trade union and other work.

The actual task incumbent on the Party is precisely the opposite of this; it should increase the confidence of the Party in its own power and in all the sound forces existing in the working class; it should awaken the fighting spirit of the Party, and arouse its consciousness of its growing strength.

3. Relations to the Communist International.

The great political currents stirring the working class are not without influence on the Party representing the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat. The impulse felt by ever-broadening strata of the working class towards affiliation with the victorious working class of the Soviet Union is mirrored within our own ranks by their permeation with Leninism, and with the experience gained by the Bolsheviks. And on the other hand, the vacillations and treacheries of certain labour groups, influenced by the bourgeois anti-Moscow agitation, have their final effect in the "anti-Moscow" tendencies, that is, the tendencies directed against the Soviet Union, against the Russian C. P. and against the Comintern within our Party.

This danger is all the greater in the German C. P. because all its nuances and currents, without exception, are at the present day still, to a large extent, subordinate to the influence of social democratic "West European" traditions.

Every deviation from communist policy which has hitherto occurred in Germany has begun with an attack upon Soviet Russia, the Russian C. P., the Comintern. Seven years of experience in the German revolution have taught us that all deviations of this description, no matter whether disguised as "Right" or "Left", have either developed directly into social democracy, or have practically entered into an alliance with it. This applies to the German Communist Labour Party, to Levi, to Friesland, to various followers of Brandler, to the Schuhmacher group, etc.

The changes in the political situation, the final transition of the German bourgeoisie to a Western orientation, the climax reached by social democratic agitation against Soviet Russia, render the danger of anti-Bolshevist deviations in the German C. P. at the present juncture greater and acuter than ever.

The Ultra Left group Scholem, Rosenberg, Katz, who reproach the Comintern and its most important parties of "opportunism", have nothing in common with Leninism, but on the contrary their relations to the Comintern and their attitude towards the problems of the German revolution are expressly anti-Bolshevist in character.

Dangerous and essentially social democratic deviations of this nature are to be found, however, not only in the officially Ultra-Left group, but among the leading persons in the Maslow-Ruth-Fischer group. Comrade Maslow's writings cannot be regarded as a contribution to the serious, conscientious, theoretical education of the Party in the spirit of Leninism. His latest literary works in particular are a concealed and extremely dangerous attack upon the principles of Leninism, and against the whole policy of the Comintern at the present period.

In his book: "The two revolutions of 1917" (vol. 1, part. 4, p. 45), comrade Maslow writes as follows on the 3. World Congress of the C. I.:

"I am firmly convinced that such grave errors were committed at the Third World Congress that this congress did far more harm than good to the European (!!) parties. **Certainly this applies to the German C. P....**

At the Third World Congress a general attack was made on the Left, and which was carried to a ridiculous point: comrade Trotzky discovered highly acute "Left dangers" even in Frossard's party... in the French C. P. It is to be regretted that comrade Lenin made the same mistake. It is the sole error known to me (!) in Lenin's dealings with the Party. **Thus to fail to recognise the character of a party like the German C. P., with its powerful social democratic traditions, especially under rightly recognised objective conditions which afforded no opportunity for Left excesses...**

The Third Congress declared Levi to be actually in the right...

The Congress drove the German Party (like the French) to the Right, **brought about a serious and lengthy liquidatory crisis...**

The Executive declares before the whole Communist International that this monstrous attack upon Lenin and Leninism cannot be tolerated under any circumstances.

The reproach that the Comintern not only recognised Levi's criticism of various Ultra-Left errors in the Party, but declared the group of renegades around Levi to be "actually in the right", "drove" the "European parties" into opportunism at the Third Congress, and "brought about" the liquidation current in the German Party, is a repetition of the assertions made in 1921 by Fühle, Pfennfert, and those adherents of the Communist Labour Party of Germany who have since landed in the camp of counter-revolution. Comrade Maslow attempts to oppose to Lenin's alleged "opportunism" a "pure", "left", and specifically "West European" Communism. This is precisely the standpoint taken by Paul Levi, Frossard, Höglund, and all the enemies of Leninism.

Behind the mask of combatting Trotzkyism and the renegade Levi, Maslow prepares his attack on Lenin, who "failed to recognise the character of the German C. P.". Beneath the cloak of combatting "West European" deviations from Communism, that is, anti-Bolshevist deviations, Maslow propagated a "West European Communism" of the worst kind.

It is not by accident that today, in 1925, comrade Maslow makes precisely the Third World Congress the object of his attack.

The Third Congress embodies precisely that concrete link in the chain of the development of Leninism and of the Comintern which is of the greatest immediate practical significance in the present situation for all Communist Parties, but above all for the German. The Third World Congress took place at a turning point of international proletarian revolution, at the moment of transition from the period of tempestuous revolutionary upheaval in the years immediately following the war, 1919 and 1920, to the period of slower revolutionary development in 1921 to 1925 — and beyond this. The fresh estimate of the international situation enabled the Third Congress, under the leadership of Lenin, to draw fresh conclusions for the tactics of all Communist Parties.

Whilst the I. and II. World Congresses determined only the general outlines of the strategy and tactics of the Comintern, the Third Congress worked out the concrete policy to be pursued by the Communist Parties during the present transitional period between two revolutions. It placed the slogan: "Go to the masses" in the centre of our policy that is, it directed our course towards the winning over of the great majority of the working class. With this it created the beginning of the **Bolshevist united front tactics**, the axis around which our present policy revolves.

Those who — like comrade Maslow — deny this important turning point in our tactics, those who seek to discredit it as a "swing to the Right", those who deride it as a concession to Trotzkyism or to the apostate Levi, are attacking the fundamental principles of the Comintern.

The practical consequences of comrade Maslow's false theory are inevitable. If we delete out the basis of the united front tactics, the results in practice must be zero. If we assert that "Lenin failed to recognise the character of the German Communist Party", then we cannot lead this Party in the spirit of Leninism. Comrade Maslow's ideology is antagonistic to Leninism, not only in tactics, but in principle. It is one of the roots of the resistance still opposing the tactics of the Comintern in the German C. P. today. It is one of the roots of the years of misunderstanding encountered in trade union work, this main centre of our policy, among the leading group of the German Central. And finally, it is one of the roots of the continuous coquetting on the part of the alleged "combatants" of the Ultra Left group, headed by comrades Maslow and Ruth Fischer, with precisely this group itself.

Since the Third World Congress, the attitude of the Maslow group to the Comintern has been unsound and un-Bolshevist. At the Jena Party Conference this group opposed the standpoint held by Lenin and the Executive. Not only did it criticise — and quite rightly — the opportunist distortion of the united front tactics on the part of the Brandler group, but it brought forward all manner of objections and reservations against the actual united front tactics of the Comintern, and against the slogan of the "Workers' and Peasants' Government". Up to recently these anti-Bolshevist tendencies possessed decisive influence in this group. The fact that the Maslow Ruth Fischer group, despite all warnings from the Comintern, combined with the Scholem-Rosenberg-Katz group to form a firm unit until five months ago did not fail to bring its punishment. At the Frankfurt Party Congress various "anti-Moscow" advances were made (in the trade union question, in the question of the selection of members to compose the Central, etc.). In spite of the objection raised by the Executive, comrade Ruth Fischer sent several emissaries to various sections during the course of the past year, entrusted with the "mission" of altering the tactics of the Executive by fractional means. The result of these emissaries' journeys has been the discrediting and alienation of the German Party in the brother parties of the Comintern.

These tendencies were expressed with special clearness at the last Party Congress. All the proposals made by the Executive in the trade union and Central questions were rejected, despite the given undertaking to accept them. At the Party Conference not a word was said — except in comrade Thälmann's speech — about the promised demonstrative change to be made in our trade union tactics.

Every delegate to the Party Congress received from the Central a copy of a special number of the Berlin "Funke", the main contents of which were a — "diplomatic" — attack by Maslow on the Comintern. In this article, entitled: "Some

observations on our 10th Party Congress", Maslow wrote as follows:

"The subsequent Left of the German CP., before the IV. World Congress, raised the demand of 'Back to the II. World Congress' in this sense, and quite rightly. Comrade Zetkin, in her above-mentioned book of memoirs, relates that Lenin laughed at this 'foolishness'. I do not doubt it, for I can easily imagine how this slogan was presented and interpreted to him..."

It is not for nothing that the IV. Congress, despite Lenin's derision, expressly confirmed the 21 conditions, and it is not for nothing that the V. World Congress was compelled... to return deliberately and emphatically to the principles of the Second..."

Here again Maslow attempts, by means of demagogic confrontation of the II., IV. and V. World Congresses on the one hand, and the III. on the other, to destroy ideologically the political development of the Comintern, and to discredit the principles of communist policy at the present period. Maslow also makes the untrue assertion that: "The Levites, unfortunately, have received the actual support of the Russian comrades."

This agitation against the "Russian comrades" is followed in Maslow's article by the equally dangerous legend that "the Levites rightly regarded themselves as victors at the Congress in Moscow (!)".

"The Third Congress", proceeds Maslow, "had above all the effect of preventing the German CP. from finding clearness for itself. Thus the Third Congress... exercised a similar effect upon the German CP. as the Heidelberg Party Conference two years previously; despite correct decisions... a harmful effect."

"If the principles of the II. Congress had been propounded without the bogey of 'Left' dangers being raised... then in all probability the crises in the German and French Communist Parties would have been considerably shortened."

But the Executive too, and the Russian comrades (!) were not at all agreed..."

Maslow writes further that not his group, but the Executive, "has for a long time prevented the German Party from entering into satisfactory relations with the Executive".

He relates with complete approval the following incident:

"When the Executive endeavoured, after Jena, to correct its (completely unjustifiable) attack by inviting a Berlin delegation to visit Moscow, it was too late; the delegation unanimously declined this invitation to a feast already over, and Friesland, already Right, wrote the letter of refusal at the request of the organisation."

This last paragraph is an unexampled attempt at lowering the Communist International in the eyes of the German workers.

The anti-Bolshevist dalliance in Maslow's group is in itself the best proof that Lenin was not merely "setting up the bogey of Left dangers" at the III. World Congress, but that these dangers still exist today, four years after the III. World Congress, and are hampering the development of the German Party, hindering its participation in sound political work, and poisoning its ideology. The most expressed representative of these Left, or rather Levitical dangers, is Maslow himself with his conception of the III. World Congress.

The whole German Party, above all the best comrades of the German left in all the Party organisations and districts, are faced with the duty of exerting their utmost efforts to break with the non-Bolshevist system of relations between the Party and the Comintern promoted by the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group.

Another thing which must be broken with — definitely broken with, is the system of "bookkeeping by double entry" employed by the above mentioned comrades for a full year in their relations to the Comintern. Instead of sincerely carrying out the correct lines laid down by the Comintern, this group has made continual attempts at side-tracking, substantiating their action to their own Party members by references to an alleged "pressure to the Right" on the part of the Executive; at the same time they have offered systematic resistance to the Executive, by referring to an alleged "Ultra Left tendency" among the members of the German Party.

The experience gained during the fighting period just past, since the Frankfurt Party Conference, have proved to every German communist that the Comintern has proved to have been unconditionally right in every disputed question with the Maslow-

Ruth Fischer group. It has been right in the united front tactics and in the trade union question. It was as right in the question of the Presidential Election as it has been in its warnings — disregarded for years — as to the Ultra Left dangers in the German Party.

We are firmly convinced that the Communist workers of Germany will speedily recognise that in the present struggle for the inner Party course to be pursued by the German CP. for its relations to the Comintern, for its relations to the masses of the workers, for its relations to Leninist theory, the Comintern is absolutely in the right, whilst the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group is unconditionally in the wrong in all these questions.

4. The Inner Line of the Party.

The leading group of the Party Central has not showed itself capable of adopting the right measures for gaining access to the masses. Another reason for this failure has been the wrong line of inner Party policy pursued by this group.

As already mentioned, the question concerning inner Party life were discussed in detail with the representatives of the German Central at the Session of the Enlarged Executive. These representatives of the Executive pointed out that the ultra-centralism, the mechanical pressure, the predominantly administrative measures, the lack of propaganda and of any methods for spreading conviction, the dread of fresh forces, etc., were bound to be absolutely disastrous in effect. At this consultation it was decided to strengthen the inner Party democracy. We were of the opinion that after the victory over the Right has been won, and the Left has the upper hand in the Party, the organisatory guarantees for an all round correct general policy are given, and the problem of Party education comes into the foreground. On the other hand, we believed that the circle of the new cadre of leaders was to be widened: The possibility of making a wider selection of Party functionaries should be guaranteed, and this cannot be done without discussions, eligibility for election, and a conscious policy towards attracting and testing new workers. In this connection we further demanded that fresh forces should be employed, among these the best members of the former opposition, who have remained true to the Comintern and to the Party. This work has however not been done. On the other hand, this question formed for us a part of the question of the relations towards the non-party and social democratic workers. For when purely administrative methods are employed in the Party, the same policy is applied on a larger scale to the workers outside of the Party, and the result is the cutting off of the possibility of winning over fresh workers. We believe that unless the Party undertakes these inner party reforms, it will not be capable of carrying out a correct policy among the masses. For this reason the Executive demanded these reforms to be made in the direction of "normalising Party life". During the session of the Enlarged Executive the German delegation, headed by comrade Ruth Fischer, accepted these proposals.

These problems were discussed once more with the German delegation before the Party Conference. The Executive proposed that the Central should be enlarged by a number of Party workers closely connected with the masses. Among other points, the Russian comrades pointed out that since Lenin's death the Russian CP. has greatly increased the number of members in its Central, thus strengthening the Central, establishing its authority more firmly, and at the same time improving its communications with the mass of the Party which — in combination with the inner Party democratisation — created better connections with the masses of workers outside of the Party (Lenin recruitment).

The German Party Conference however was prepared and carried out in such a manner that, in spite of all promises, the direct contrary was attained. Although there exist strong wing groups in the Party (Ultra Left and Right), this fact was not reflected in the least at the Party Conference itself. There was no political discussions, as every delegation had discussed in detail beforehand what was to be said; even at the Party Conference itself — the highest instance of the Party —, freedom of discussion was annulled. How scanty were the preparations made for the Party Conference may be seen from the printed motions sent in by the districts. Only seven motions were proposed: one referring to Esperanto (!), four to subscriptions, one to worker correspondents, and one to courses of communal instruction.

Analogous phenomena are to be recorded in the sphere of ideology. Never in the labour press has one witnessed such ad-

vertising as that accorded to comrade Maslow's pamphlet. As a matter of fact this pamphlet consists solely of **correct** quotations and thoroughly **incorrect** observations furnished by comrade Maslow. It was according to this pattern that it was attempted to develop the mental life of the Party.

This would not matter so much if the personal authority of the leaders stood very high. But this authority must possess some prerequisites, and not merely be mechanically acquired. Unfortunately, these prerequisites are lacking, and this is a danger for the whole Party.

In the Party there is a lack of control **from below**, that is, from the members of the Party. At the same time the leading group has been carrying on a perpetual struggle against control **from above**, that is, from the Executive of the Comintern. In this manner such a state of affairs was created as led to a loss of sense of responsibility, which led to various and quite intolerable things.

Such a structure of the Party renders impossible the development of its recruiting. Such a system as this destroys the Party itself. This system must be done away with, in order that an even worse crisis may be avoided, a crisis which might be really catastrophic in effect.

5. The Danger of Lack of Principle.

Practical Bolshevism consists, among other things, in acting upon theoretically acknowledged, honestly thought out political lines. But in the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group the inner conviction, the inner estimate of the situation, is in obvious conflict with the line accepted. The underlying basis of this group is extremely pessimistic; it lacks revolutionary perspective; it is filled with the conception that the masses are completely passive, fleeing from everyday life, **playing** at soldiers, etc. The task of winning over the masses is impossible of accomplishment. And on the other hand the Comintern "demands" that the masses be won. Here already there is consistency within this leading group. Its pessimism leads to its coquetting with the Ultra Left. The demands of the Comintern are met with an acknowledgment, on paper, of these demands, and with an endeavour to realise them in life, but without faith in them. Hence the vacillating attitude and political flabbiness of this group, a flabbiness combined with a diplomacy of the worst description in its relations to the Comintern.

A typical example of this is the Tenth Party Conference.

We have already referred to the "intellectual" preparations made for the Conference: comrade Maslow wrote the articles, the sole purport of which was to discredit the importance of the III. World Congress, to deprive the whole tactics of the International of their basis, and at the same time to lay the foundation for the Ultra Left groups.

Formally, however, the fight was **against the Ultra Left** at the Conference. But as soon as it came to a conflict with the International, the **political line was immediately forgotten** and the bloc with the Ultra Left formed. And in Moscow comrade Ruth Fischer declared that the Party Conference had tended to the Ultra Left, and that she could do nothing against it, although anxious to do so! On the one hand, support is lent to Ultra Left tendencies, and on the other hand it is declared: We found ourselves in a state of emergency.

These "tactics" already possessed their traditions. In Moscow comrade Ruth Fischer declared over and over again that the "masses" hinder her in carrying out the policy recommended by the Executive, whilst in Berlin she has stated the C.I. forces an incorrect policy upon her.

This habit also found expression in comrade Schneller's speech in Moscow — comrade Schneller has since admitted this error — in which he declared (in order to defend persons) that the Left was bankrupt. We consider this assertions to be wrong. It is not the Left which is bankrupt, but some of the leaders of this Left, and the Left itself will hold its own along other lines, winning over ever-increasing numbers of the Party members, and developing energetic and positive work.

In the fundamental contention against the Communist International a great part is played by the argument that we are constantly wanting to "drive the German Party to the Right".

We once more here expressly point out that in all important problems subsequent experience has **completely** justified the standpoint of the Comintern. This is now clearly understood by **everyone**. Only a politically completely limited mind could fail

to grasp that without these tactics we should have had today, in place of the Party, merely a small group of communists, and of very bad communists at that.

The legend of the constant "driving" of the Party towards the "Right" by the Comintern must be completely and finally destroyed. We emphasise that at the present moment the Executive is not criticising the leading group from the "Right", but **from the Left**. Any argument brought forward in support of the assertion that the Comintern is striving to drag the Party "to the Right" would be regarded by us as a deliberate lie. It is precisely in order to extricate the Left, and with it the whole Party, from of the bog that we insist upon the proposed reforms.

6. The Tasks of the Party.

The criticism of the errors of the group which has been leading the Party up till now will only be of real and permanent benefit if it leads to a better and more determined fulfillment of the **positive tasks** of the Party towards winning over the masses.

At the present juncture the most important task of the Party is to react **speedily** and energetically upon the impending political regrouping within the German working class. The most significant symptom occurring of late months is the rising resistance among broad masses of the workers against the "Western orientation", that is, against the going over of the bourgeoisie to the side of the Entente imperialists, against the leadership of the 2. International, and the orientation of these working masses towards Soviet Russia, and — if by round-about ways — to proletarian revolution. Without overestimating the significance and speed of this process of development, the Party must accord these new symptoms a place in the centre of its attention, follow their development with the utmost care, and take them into account at every step in practical politics.

Everything depends upon the increased recruiting powers of the Party. In dealing with the masses of social democratic workers now tending to the Left, the Party must find new formulas, another tone, fresh material for agitation. It must be thoroughly informed upon all events in the camp of the social democrats, and must make a special study of the local conditions in the various districts, sub-districts, and local groups, in order to influence them by our agitation. The masses of social democratic workers now turning away from their counter-revolutionary leaders, and beginning slowly and hesitatingly, but incontestably, to turn towards proletarian revolution, must be made to feel that the Communist Party is really a party of the workers, a party which fights tenaciously for the workers' interests, for their partial demands, for their daily needs, a party which does not regard the workers merely as an object for agitation, but as class brothers, and which is sincerely endeavouring to form the proletarian united front in the class struggle.

All other political steps undertaken by the Party must be made from the standpoint of this **main task**. Above all our parliamentary work must be carried on with this standpoint in view. On every occasion and with reference to every political question, we must seek to find the platform from which the Party can speak to the masses of the workers in the trade unions and among the social democrats, to the end that they may be won over for class war. This is the light in which we must place all the questions of the Security Pact, of the League of Nations, of the trade agreements, credits, tariffs, taxation, housing policy, etc.

At the same time the combatting of the monarchist danger, the struggle against class legislation, the fight for a complete amnesty, etc., must be combined with the daily economic wage and labour struggles of the proletariat.

In order really to find access to the best section of the German social democratic workers, the fight must be taken up against those excesses which originate from the time when the struggle was carried out with the weapons in hand. The greatest damage is caused to the working class when, for instance, mutual fighting is indulged in between communists and social democrats (at meetings, among the youth etc.) which are taking place even today and for which the social democrats are responsible, although the communists also are not free from blame. Such fights are welcomed by the counter-revolutionary leaders of the German social democracy and these leaders, of course, consciously incite such a struggle. The communists must take up the initiative in order finally, to put an end to such things,

which of course presupposes the good will of the social democratic workers.

One must understand how to distinguish not only in words but in deeds, between the counter revolutionary social democratic leaders and the broad mass of the social democratic workers. Our press and in particular our factory newspapers (wall newspapers, etc.) must know how to conduct the agitation against the criminal policy of the social democratic leaders, so that every social democratic worker in the factory or workshop in question feels that he, the worker at the bench, the simple representative elected to the factory council is regarded differently from the high "Barmat" leader, who in parliament sells the worker again and again.

The real change of policy in this respect which will be perceived by all workers, will be accomplished, when the Party concentrates all its forces upon increasing our trade union work. The social democratic Party of Germany must be beaten by our trade union work. The red united front must be formed by our trade union work.

The Party, and its trade union fractions must carry on a wide scale agitation in all unions, local branches regarding the visit of the first German workers delegation to Soviet Russia. This visit must awaken a powerful response in the whole of the German labour movement.

The urgent desire for unity felt by the workers must be crystallised as speedily as possible by the development of a Left wing in the trade unions, after the pattern of the English labour movement. This is the next step forward to be taken by the German Party in the German and international unity movement. The great movement for the unity of the trade unions will win over the broadest masses, and will bring a fresh influx of members into the free trade unions, if the Communist Party becomes the driving force for trade union unity. The communists must learn to do their best, most energetic, and concrete work in the trade unions; they must prove to the non-party and social democratic trade union members, by means of object lessons, that they are able, in their character as Bolsheviks, to be active trade union members at the same time. This means a number of fresh tasks for our fractions in the trade unions: Real penetration into trade union life, intense study of economic and political relations (the formations of trusts, rise and fall of economic prosperity, situation in various branches of industry, peculiarities of certain spheres of economics, etc.), the working out of a clear and competent tariff and social policy, the leading of labour struggles, especially the strategy of the strike, the adoption of a definite standpoint with regard to all organisation questions arising in the trade unions, the struggle for the industrial unions, the accordence of special consideration to the rôle and tasks of the shop stewards, the emphasising of the interests of juvenile workers within the trade unions, the safeguarding of the interests of the female workers, etc.

The organisation of a competent trade union department in the Central of the German CP. must afford the proof that the leaders of the party are seriously inclined to make this work the fundamental task of the Party.

The carrying out of our work in the trade unions implies a determined reorganisation of the Party in accordance with the organisation decisions made by the last Party Conference. The new statutes and lines of organisation laid down by the Party Conference in Berlin must be realised with the utmost rapidity. The new organisatory course of the Party is closely bound up with the new political course. **The line of action common to both consists of the transference of the preponderance of all political organisatory work performed by the Party into the workshops and factories, to the end that the masses of the workers here employed may be won over.** The following three spheres of work are to be made the chief tasks of the new organisatory course:

1. The reform of the inner Party course in the direction of the normalising and democratisation of Party life, of lively connection between the leaders and the members of the Party, by means of all the organisations of the Party.

2. A real and absolutely consistent reorganisation on the basis of the factory nuclei.

3. The organisatory comprehension and firm establishment of communist influence in all non-party labour organisations, above all in the trade unions, but at the same time in the mass organisation which are being formed among the proletariat.

The realisation of an active connection between the leaders and the members of the Party demands the abolition of super-centralisation, and the employment of fresh forces not only in the Central, but in all the leading organs of the Party, especially among the district leaders; it further demands the guarantee of collective work in the entire membership, and the closest cooperation with the Comintern.

Cooperation with the Comintern is the more necessary that it enables the Party to be enriched by the experiences gained by the whole International.

Besides the reform of the inner Party course, and the reorganisation on the basis of the factory cells, another factor of greatest importance is the rapid development of a system of really Bolshevik Party fractions, capable of practical work on their own initiative, in every workers' organisation, without exception, in which there are communists. This task is by no means confined to the trade unions, but applies equally to all other non-party mass organisations, whether these have already existed for a long time, or whether they are just being formed. The Red front fighters' League affords the best example of the new formation of proletarian mass organisations on the basis of the fighting experiences of the German proletariat. The rapid adaptation of the Party to such organisations (sport associations, tenants' league, free thinkers' league, Red women's league, etc.), and making use of the same for strengthening trade union work, are necessary.

Among the errors and defects of the leadership of the German CP., not the least is their completely wrong policy with reference to the young Communist League of Germany. The numerical weakness and the difficulties experienced by the Youth League in Germany are to be explained to a considerable extent by the fact that the Party has done next to nothing to aid the Youth League to attain a very much higher standard. The main cause of the weakness of the German Youth League lies however in the fact that up to recently it has trod the same wrong path which the Party has been led by its leaders, and has shared all the errors of the Party. It is thus the more significant that at the 10. Party Conference only the Youth openly and to the end defended the proposals of the Comintern. This is a certain symptom that the Youth has already begun to choose the right path for itself, without the aid of the Party, and even in spite of the resistance made by the Party leaders. Therefore the attitude of the representatives of the Party leaders towards the Youth was quite inadmissible as it found expression in the obstruction at the Party Conference, and the subsequent "pressure" put upon the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Germany. The Party must understand the fact that the adoption of such an attitude with regard to the Young Communist League is capable of destroying the whole of the communist work which has been done among the youthful workers; this work is however one of the most important prerequisites for the real Bolshevisation of the Party.

The organisations of the rural and city petty bourgeoisie require the special attention of the Party. At the same time the necessary steps must be taken in Germany towards the practical realisation of a Leninist peasant policy in Germany. The Party must mobilise the increasing discontent of the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry in the questions relating to revaluation, trade agreements, credits, taxation, and tariffs, for the purpose of a common struggle against the big bourgeoisie (communist fraction work in the revaluation and tenants' associations, the organisation of the vintners, small holders, tenant-farmers, etc.).

The parliamentary work done by the Party in the whole country, in the provinces, and in the municipalities, must be conducted in the main from the point of view of promoting our work in the mass organisations. For this an indispensable prerequisite is the closest cooperation between the parliamentary fractions and the communist fractions in the trade unions, etc.

The Party must not forget for a moment that serious Right and Ultra Left dangers still continue to exist in its ranks. Mechanical measures however do not afford any safeguard against these dangers, but solely a broad, thorough system of enlightening and educative work carried out by the Party, penetrating down to the last member, and comprising every organisation and cell. The ideological overcoming of all errors in the spheres of practice and theory is best accomplished by means of the permeation of the Party with the principles of Leninism and of the Comintern, by means of the application of these principles to the

actual conditions obtaining in Germany, and by means of the practical Party tasks arising out of this application.

This work of inner Party propaganda must be consciously commenced by a broad campaign of enlightenment among the whole of the members, explaining the necessity and the political import of the present discussion.

7. Why must the change be made in the Party precisely now, and why must the change be rapid?

Many Party comrades will ask why the change in the leadership of the German CP. has become so "suddenly" necessary; in reality however it is not a matter of differences which "suddenly" arose between the Executive and the Ruth Fischer group. It is rather a question of differences which have existed during the whole course of the last eighteen months, and which have become more and more acute until the present state of affairs, entirely intolerable for the Party and for the International has been reached. The Executive has warned the leading group more than once against the continuation of their deviations. As early as the Session of the Enlarged Executive the Russian Delegation informed the German delegation under the lead of Ruth Fischer, after days of serious consultation, that the continuation of the wrong inner Party course hitherto pursued would render a severe conflict inevitable. The representatives of the Executive in Germany pointed out again and again the deviations and errors of the above mentioned group. But all advice and earnest comradeslike warnings remained without effect. Up to the last the Executive has sought to avoid the breaking out of an open conflict and the resulting necessary organisatory measures. It was solely for this reason that the Executive confined itself to negotiations with the leading group in the Party Central, and refrained, in the hope of regaining sound conditions by these means, from submitting the accumulating antagonism to the organisations and members of the Party. We have attempted to convince the group Maslow-Ruth Fischer of its errors by means of educational methods and comradeslike co-operation. Despite our misgivings we avoided an open conflict, in order that we might throw no difficulties in the way of the German Left, with whose political line the Executive has solidarised more than once, at a moment when it was undertaking a severe struggle against the Right and Ultra Left deviations in the German CP.

This necessary step has been rendered easier for us by the circumstance that within the Left of the German Party the centre of a powerful opposition has been formed against the system of the comrades Maslow-Ruth Fischer. The Berlin Party Conference, and the events immediately following its close, proved finally to the Executive that all hopes of settling the differences in the course of normal co-operation are shattered. The attacks made by comrades Maslow and Ruth Fischer force upon us the urgent necessity of laying the question of the German Party openly before all the members.

May our enemies break out into a howl of triumph, and point their fingers at the sore points of the German Party. May the bourgeoisie and the social traitors of whole Germany fling scorn and derision upon the Party. Lenin taught us to expose ruthlessly all the errors of our Party, the sole Party of the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat, with Bolshevik openness, without considering the enemy. There is no Party in the world able, like the Communist Party, to recognise and to expose its defects openly and to its logical conclusion. This is the sole pledge for the rapid and complete overcoming of these errors.

The Executive is profoundly convinced that no communist worker in Germany will permit himself to be confused or misled even for a moment by the shrieks of triumph which may certainly be anticipated from the bourgeois and social democratic press.

And may all the adherents of the Right and Ultra Left in our own ranks too consider the right moment to have come to venture forward again. May the Brandlerists declare that "the Left are bankrupt". The Communist Party of Germany will none the less advance in serried ranks without lending an ear to the cries of the Right or Ultra Left opponents.

We repeat once more: it is not the German Left which is bankrupt, but some of their leaders.

The German Left, with all its faults in the past and in the present, has never been merely a group of individuals. It has a great historical rôle to fulfil. It drew the lessons of Oc-

tober 1923, it defeated Brandlerism, it united the torn Party at the moment of its severest crisis.

The German Left must uphold and continue the best traditions of the vanguard of the German industrial proletariat, and of the best and most powerful Party organisations, as those of Berlin, Hamburg, the Ruhr area, and the Rhine country. At the same time it must show itself capable of eliminating everything that is wrong, immature, and un-Bolshevist from its past and present. Then it will not only be the Left, but the real, Bolshevik, leading heart of the German CP.

Lenin taught us that when we openly and ruthlessly criticise our own errors before the whole working class, then these errors have already been half overcome. During the course of the twenty five years of its history the Russian CP. has more than once exposed and overcome its weaknesses — free from all petty bourgeois sentimentality and all egoism. The German CP. will follow this example.

The main defects are not to be found in the thoroughly sound proletarian membership of the Party, but among the leaders of the leaders, who have proved incompetent. The Party is confronted by great new tasks. The situation is not developing against us, but for us. For some months the class struggle in Germany is no more on the downward but on the upward line.

It is only if the whole Party recognises all the signs of the times, and if it relies upon itself, upon its own powers, upon the Communist International, and upon the unconquerable force of the German working class, then it can overcome the crisis and lead the German proletariat to victory. In this case victory is certain.

Executive of the CI:

Zinoviev, Bucharin, Manuilski, Piatnitzki, Losovsky (Soviet Union), Jacob (France), Brown (Great Britain), Kuusinen (Finland), Scheflo (Norway), Kilbom (Sweden), Kolarov (Bulgaria), Dimitrov (Bulgaria), Boschkovitch (Jugoslavia), Katayama (Japan), Roy (India), Mitskevitch Kapsukas (Lithuania).

Delegation of the German CP:

Thälmann, Ruth Fischer, Dengel, Schwan, Schneller, Scher, Kühne, Strötzel, Heinz Neumann and the Central Committee of the CP. of Germany. (Section of the Communist International.)

Resolution of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany on the Decision of the Executive in the German Question.

1. The C. C. of the G. C. P. approves the report on the negotiations between the delegation of the G. C. P. and the Executive of the Comintern; it agrees without reservation with the decisions of the Executive.

2. The C. C. is in agreement with the open letter addressed by the Executive to the members of the German Party, and recognises the correctness of the criticism exercised by the Executive with regard to the Maslow-Ruth Fischer group which hitherto lead the G. C. P.

3. The C. C. agrees with the organisatory decisions of the Executive, and resolves to carry them out immediately.

4. In order to persuade the broadest masses of the Party members in all the districts and organisations of the correctness and necessity of the decisions arrived at, the Central is to organise a far-reaching enlightening activity throughout the whole Party.

5. The Central Committee, as united body, has to carry out the decisions of the Executive, and to defend them against all resistance.

6. The inner work of the Central Committee is to be organised in accordance with the new course, along the line of increased collective work, that is, of the most intense mutual co-operation among all the members and candidates of the C. C.

7. It is only possible to avoid a Party crisis if the C. C. brings the whole Party unitedly together in accordance with the new decisions and leads it unitedly forward on the path of practical positive tasks.

8. Every attack against the general lines laid down by the Comintern, and against the decisions newly made in the German question in particular, must be ruthlessly combatted, from whatever side it may come, whether from the Right or from the Ultra Left.

Passed by all votes against one and one abstention.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

The Political Situation in Georgia.

A declaration by Miglioli, delegate of the Peasants' International.

One of our collaborators asked the Italian peasant leaders Miglioli and Massarenti, who have joined the Peasants' International (Krestintern) and lately visited Georgia, to give their impressions of Georgia. Ed.

Before leaving Georgia, I consider it necessary to make a declaration with regard to this country, the more so that at the present time the press is of extreme importance for the defence of the historical truth about Georgia.

In Italy and other countries it is extremely difficult today to learn the truth about the Soviet Union. The articles and information published — including those of the social democratic press — are based on data obtained from false sources. The bourgeoisie attaches its speculations to the smallest episode, which often assume enormous proportions.

What I have to say about Georgia is of immediate interest. The bourgeois press has often published rumours of late with regard to an insurrection in Georgia, and I have made it my task to examine into these reports. This had to be done, for the reports are being exploited by the European bourgeoisie to show, firstly, that the masses of the peasantry are dissatisfied with the Soviet regime; secondly, that the Soviet government is in an unstable position and thirdly, that the Georgian government finds itself obliged to stifle the freedom of the people by means of the severest measures of suppression. These last inventions pursue at the same time the special aim of providing a breach through which the bourgeoisie may carry their offensive against the proletariat.

I shall reply to all these three questions, dealing for this purpose chiefly with my journey through West Georgia, which has been the cause of so much ink slinging.

After having visited the new textile factory in Kutais and the experimenting station for serum culture (agricultural experimenting station), which made a great impression upon us, I entered into immediate communication with the peasants.

I visited the district alleged to have been the seat of the last insurrection in August, but received the impression that the mental standpoint of the peasantry does not in any manner correspond to the rumours spread abroad about their discontent.

The insurrection movement has been prepared artificially, with the intention of attracting the peasants by means of speculation on the national question. The Soviet government was represented to be the exploiter of Georgia. I had the opportunity of seeing, in Paris, the writings of one of the leaders of the Mensheviks, in which it was maintained — and this was only recently — that in Georgia everything is in a state of ruin, and that this country is sinking deeper and deeper into misery.

This is a lie.

I have seen the enormous amount of work which has been accomplished by the Soviet government for the purpose of irrigating West Georgia with the aid of canals. I have visited the homes of the peasantry in various districts, and in one peasant's house I made the attempt to estimate the household of a poor peasant in accordance with his income and expenses. The peasant in question did of course not like to state the whole of his sources of income — for fiscal reasons — but it could be gathered that this peasant, working alone, had earned an income of 4000 Italian lire in the course of the year, that is, a higher amount than that earned by a qualified craftsman in Italy.

Signs of prosperity are not only visible in the homes of these peasants, but in their clothing. They are much better dressed

than the peasants in many other districts of Georgia and the Soviet Union.

I had also the opportunity of speaking with three railway workers, former Mensheviks. What they told me was far from confirming the rumours spread by the bourgeois press. They told me of the influence exercised from outside, of the money and orders coming from abroad, of the promise of intervention in the case of an insurrection. They now felt that they have been misled, and spoke with satisfaction of the successes attained by the government, and of the endeavours being made by the government everywhere to improve conditions in the country.

The episode of the August insurrection in West Georgia has liquidated Menshevik work there for ever; they showed themselves to be deceivers in pretending that an insurrection was possible at all. An old farmer, with whom I held a conversation of deep interest, assured me that: "We shall arm ourselves to the teeth; we shall all take up weapons if there is any further sign of danger of an insurrection".

I declare openly, and with satisfaction, that the Soviet government is pursuing a policy of far-reaching liberty, and that it is firmly and deeply rooted in the hearts of the people of Georgia. I need only recall the great tolerance exercised towards the various religions, nationalities, customs, and traditions of the country. I know what is taking place in other countries in this respect, for instance in Poland, where the national character of the minorities, their language, and their rights, are set aside in the interests of the ruling national bourgeoisie. I still remember the history of the war among the peoples who are still living under the regime of suppression.

All these events in Georgian life can only be comprehended if we recollect the profound influence of the revolution, which has united all elements in the struggle against capitalism, and for the attainment of one sole object, the victory of the proletariat.

In Georgia, a country in which differences of custom and tradition formerly made it the constant scene of guerilla war and quarrels among the various nationalities, the revolution has swept away all this. The Soviet idea and the genius of its leaders have worked miracles.

I repeat once more that the Soviet idea is deeply rooted in the revolution. It need not be said that a more intense activity is necessary in order to enhance the welfare of the masses, and in order to educate them in the direction necessary for the attainment of better results in production. I have had the opportunity of seeing that this task is already being taken up.

The road to the goal is still long, but I am fully confident that it will be quickly travelled, for the Georgian government, as a Soviet government, does not need to think of the defence of its regime.

It is difficult to find a suitable designation for the policy of the capitalist governments in Europe, who pretend not to observe the actuality of the Soviet Union, misrepresent it by false reports, and lend their patronage to absurd adventures, without comprehending that the adventurers have long since been political corpses.

The policy of misjudgment is being replaced by the policy of hypocrisy. The leaders of the bourgeois states are declaring today that they are prepared to enter into political and commercial relations with the Soviet Union.

They imagine that by this policy they leave their hands free for fighting against the workers in their own countries, and in actual fact they are preparing to form a bloc for an armed offensive of all reactionary elements against the Soviet Union.

But the day is approaching when this mask will fall. The sincerity characterising the Union of Soviet Republics in its international relations will never find its counterpart in the bourgeois governments. At the present moment there is not a single political combination of states which would decline to adopt the fight against the Soviet Union as its secret goal.

I am however profoundly convinced that all these plans will be shattered, for reaction will be paralysed everywhere by the revolutionary will and by the uninterrupted growth of organisation of the proletariat.

I send a parting greeting to the workers and peasants of Georgia, and am fully confident that in doing so I am expressing the unanimous feeling of the working masses of Italy.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The 30th Anniversary of the International Co-operative Alliance.

By E. Varjas (Moscow).

30 years have passed since the founding of the International Co-operative Alliance in London.

The initiative and the propaganda of the idea of forming an international co-operative association were first taken up by the Christian Socialists working in the productive co-operatives, and supported by the functionaries of the co-operatives of France, Belgium, and other countries. The founders of the International Co-operative Alliance pursued two aims: 1. To counteract the labour movement which was then beginning successfully to extend its influence, to stop the mouth of the rebellious proletariat with small sops, and to substitute "Christian Socialism" for Marxism which was spreading all over the world; 2. to utilise the pressure of an international association for the purpose of forcing the powerful English consumers co-operative societies to relinquish their factories to the productive co-operatives, thus enabling the latter to reestablish their shaky position to some extent; the Christian socialists hoped at least to attain for the workers employed in the co-operative undertakings a share of the profits, so that this trump card for the attraction of the working masses might be played from the side of Christian Socialism.

The English co-operatives showed themselves anxious to become members of the International Cooperative Alliance at any price, as they aimed at carrying on within the Alliance itself the struggle for the demands of the Christian socialists in the question of the share of profits to be allotted to the workers employed in the co-operative undertakings.

This struggle over the question of share of profits lasted for a long time. The productive co-operatives failed in the struggle, pitted as they were against highly developed industrial undertakings, and began to lose ground. The consumers' co-operative societies, however, carried on by capitalist methods, were unable to secure a share of the profits to the workers. The factories and works run by the consumers' co-operative societies, themselves employed methods of exploitation worse than those of the industrialists and trusts.

The Alliance with its slogan of political neutrality, and its Utopian programme for "creating a co-operative State" (by this it was understood that this State is to be created by peaceful means, that present humanity is to undergo a complete transformation, and that conditions are to be changed by the gradual improvement of the position of the consumers in every sphere of life, the end result of this improvement — how long it would take is not mentioned — being, that capital will pass quite automatically into the hands of the co-operatives) remained isolated. The labour organisations left the Alliance to its fate.

The opportunistic co-operative resolution passed by the II. International at the Copenhagen congress in 1910, where comrade Lenin's resolution was rejected, delivered the co-operative movement entirely into the hands of the reformists. The adherents of class war within the Alliance were placed at a great disadvantage by this resolution of the II. International, and by the stipulations of the national social democratic parties, and remained very much in the minority. The army of the Alliance — counting 20 million members by 1913 — was nothing but an inert mass for the cooperatives, in spite of the fact that the mass consisted to about 90% of organised workers and peasants. The masses of the members had but little interest in cooperatives which were unable to offer any advantage as compared with private trade, and the Alliance itself was unknown to the broad masses.

The war broke out. The Alliance preserved neutrality towards the warring nations (although various congresses held by the Alliance passed resolutions against war, declaring that war was inadmissible). The co-operatives in the warring countries, on the other hand, entered into ever closer contact with the military authorities, began to supply the armies with war material and provisions, adapted their factories to the defence of the country, and subscribed — to larger amounts than they

could afford — the war loans. The war came to an end. Social revolution raised its head in Europe. The resulting situation left the Alliance in a position of complete isolation; whether it wanted it or not, it was forced to abandon its position of political neutrality, if not de jure, at least de facto. At the Hague the Alliance entered into an agreement with the Amsterdam Trade Union International, but its ratification was postponed by the stabilisation of capitalism. Up to the present the Alliance has not yet realised even a part of the programme worked out at the Hague for cooperation with the trade unions; three years have already passed in the discussion of the form to be taken by this cooperation.

At present the Alliance counts 50 million members, and comprises the cooperative associations of 34 countries; Fascist, reformist, and Soviet cooperatives. The Alliance is still as isolated as it was 30 years ago, but the discontent among the members is greater than ever before. It is true that the supporters of political neutrality still form the overwhelming majority in the Alliance, but ever louder are voices to be heard demanding that the Alliance and the trade unions should co-operate against the capitalist system.

This year the Alliance entered a fresh stage of its existence, and has arrived at a parting of the ways. The executive committee has postponed from one session to another the task of carrying out the theses accepted by the International Cooperative Congress last year. These theses will however have to be submitted to the Paris session of the central committee (convoated for the autumn of this year). The question of cooperation between trade unions and cooperatives will be sabotaged again for another year. The motions proposed by the Soviet cooperatives with regard to the struggle for peace, a campaign against high prices, and the participation in the impending unity congress with the agenda of the Stockholm session of the executive of the cooperative Alliance (held at the end of July) have been referred to the Paris session. The neutrals, headed by Heinrich Kaufmann (Germany), have so far succeeded in preventing the realisation of any tendency breathing the spirit of class warfare; where they have found it impossible to reject it altogether, they have accomplished an indefinite postponement. The coming session of the central committee of the Alliance will show whether the neutrals are to maintain the upper hand in the international cooperative movement, in which case the Alliance will become even more isolated and insignificant than before; or whether the wing demanding cooperation between the trade unions and the cooperatives will be in the majority, and will forge a weapon for the labour movement out of the Alliance.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The International Bourgeoisie and Karl Kautsky its Apostle.

By N. Bucharin.

VIII.

(Conclusion of chapter.)

This whole process is carried out through the intermediation of the market. Its progress will be the more rapid in proportion to the increased rapidity of the development of our state industry. At the present time we are faced with the problem of the restoration of basic capital, that is, with the problem of a real socialist "accumulation". If foreign credits are lacking (and we can manage without foreign credits, Mr. Kautsky? We shall not expire if the gentlemen owning capital abroad do not care to lend us any of it), we shall have to devote the utmost attention to the acceleration of circulation. Accelerated circulation, unfettered traffic in goods, inevitably involves the growth of capitalist relations. At the present stage of development, however, this is of no particular danger to us, for the socialist forms of economics and the co-operative forms immediately dependent upon them will grow the more quickly under the conditions attendant on rapid circulation, so that the preponderance of the socialist forms will constantly increase. The "concessions" which we are making to capitalism, and the "retreat" which we are carrying out, are thus in reality under present circumstances, an economic offensive, for we are moving

in a direction which ensures the increased preponderance of our collective economic power.

It is interesting to note that even our deadly enemies in the extremest camp of the bourgeoisie recognise this fact, even if with much gnashing of teeth. For instance, an exceedingly malicious article on "The Russian position", published in the English economic periodical: "The Statist"), states that the hopes recently awakened that the Soviet leaders have the intention of undertaking decisive alterations in their economic system have unfortunately proved unjustified; it is clearer than ever that they... have no serious intention of abandoning the great social experiment begun in 1917. The writer adds, it is true that the evolution of the famous new economic policy has passed through various stages, and that many further concessions have been made at the expense of pure communism; but however contradictory it may appear, these alterations have in reality had as their object the permanence of the communist system.

To the "Statist" writer it appears quite pardonable for the Soviet leaders to deviate from principle and to make concessions at the expense of "pure communism" (as if this had ever happened with us). It is useful however to note that these open enemies understand the essence of the matter better than their social democratic agents.

The whole process is thus a process for developing traffic in goods, for developing a form of market which will expand of itself. The organisatory centre of national economics is the united and increasingly centralised state industry, and this is entirely at one with the banks by means of which it is financed. This enormous and mighty economic power is surrounded by a network of state and co-operative trade organs, and innumerable threads again lead from the co-operatives to the individual peasant undertakings. The increased rapidity in the circulation of the collective national economic "capital" imparts an ever increasing preponderance to state economics, and peasant economics change their "nature" with correspondingly accelerated speed. The peasantry unite together in co-operatives, they stream in ever-growing numbers into the whole organised gigantic process headed by the proletarian state power, a power receiving the immediate economic support of big industry, of state credit and transport service, of the foreign trade monopoly, and of the nationalisation of the land.

The more rapid the process of development of productive forces (and there is every prospect of this development reaching "American speed"), the greater the extent to which rational planned economics can be applied, and the specific significance of any one form of the market lessens correspondingly. Just as in a capitalist state of society we observe in national economics a tendency towards a vanquishing of the market by the market itself, free competition changing into monopoly; in the same manner the rule of the proletarian dictatorship enables the market itself, the process of circulation, to be the means of organising the small peasant undertakings under the economic leadership of the ever improving organised system of state economics. The private capitalist elements retire into the background and are supplanted by the new. A transformation takes place in peasant economics, and agriculture is drawn into the collective system. If the development of capitalist relations find their limit in classic state capitalism, the limit with us is: **Socialism**.

It is only natural that inconsistencies appear during this process of development. It would be theoretically absurd to suppose that all inconsistencies are suddenly swept away by the seizure of power. This will never and can never be the case. Nobody thinks of denying these inconsistencies; all that is of importance is to explain them, to allot them their proper place, to comprehend their dynamics.

Of course one could institute an entirely independent investigation of the question of the inconsistencies of our development. Here we cannot make a complete analysis of these inconsistencies, but we must at least deal with the general outlines of the question, for the Menshivist political speculators are constantly endeavouring to make capital out of precisely these inconsistencies.

The most important and fundamental inconsistency in our economics is that existing between state economics on the one

hand, and private economics, especially private capitalist economics, on the other. The class upon which the state economics rely for support is the proletariat, but the bearer of the private capitalist economics is the new bourgeoisie. The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has taken the form, in Russia, of an economic struggle between state and private undertakings. It has been found possible for both state and private economics to progress simultaneously. Private capitalist economics are carrying on an inexorable struggle against state economics for influence among the peasantry. This is one of the inconsistencies; the profoundest, the most essential were we to regard the matter not from the Marxist standpoint, but from the statistical; were we to regard the present moment as permanent and ignore the direction of movement; then we might lament over the existence of the private traders and prophesy misfortune and misery. But it is only necessary to regard things as they really are, and we perceive at once the road leading to the abolition of this fundamental inconsistency; despite the temporary absolute growth of private economics, the relative decrease of their influence shows us how this inconsistency will be removed.

When the bloc composed of proletarian industry and agricultural cooperatives has driven the private tradesman from the field, and the inconsistency between state and private capitalist economics has thus been wiped out, the main question of socialist development will have been answered. But this assumes the simultaneous abolition of a number of other inconsistencies.

The most important of these inconsistencies is that between state industry and peasant industry, between the proletariat and the peasantry. These two classes confront each other as buyers and sellers. The pursuance of a correct policy on the part of the State will, however, tend to reduce this inconsistency more and more; the state will strive to lower the prices of industrial products instead of striving for monopolist profits; the state will aim at improved production, not at monopolist stagnation. And the peasants' co-operatives, amalgamating with the state economic organs, will destroy this inconsistency at its source. It need not be said that this is a lengthy process. Much time will pass before it has been accomplished, and an underground struggle will be carried on during the whole course of the process. But the general line of development is definitely in this direction.

Among the peasantry themselves there are again tremendous conflicts and antagonisms between the large farmer (Kulak) on the one hand, and the peasant who does not even possess a horse, or the agricultural labourer, on the other. This is a class antagonism between the two opposing poles of the social system. How is this antagonism to be overcome? It will be overcome by raising the standard of life of the agricultural labourer in his capacity as a constituent of the working class; by the organisation of the poor peasantry in collective organisations ensuring them credits on much lower terms, and the aid and support of the State. Agricultural credits play a most important rôle here. The class struggle has not ceased. It may even become exceedingly acute for a time. But they must indeed be entirely lacking in penetration who cannot see that under the conditions of our development a way exists here of overcoming this inconsistency along evolutionary lines.

There are a number of inconsistencies within the working class itself. Not every worker understands the meaning of the so-called "commander-positions". The "Red Director" and the "plain workman" are not to be placed in quite the same category, though both belong to the working class, and both work for the same aims. If the working class were entirely homogeneous, no such division would exist; every worker could do the work of the director in turn. But this is not the case. And then a certain difference in "social position" exists, involving certain dangers and injurious tendencies. This is another inconsistency, again to be overcome by the growth of productive forces, by cultural uplift, and by the raising of the material welfare of the masses. The methods of the actual practice of our Party (the struggle against dangerous tendencies and against bureaucracy, attention accorded to the requirements of the broad masses, etc.) steer a direct course towards this aim. That decades of systematic work are required for this must surely be grasped by all but the most naive.

Real life is exceedingly complicated, and the right line is only to be found with the aid of the mutual corrections among the various organs of the labour movement. We give an example: Our economic functionaries and our trade unionists are working,

1) "The Statist", July 1925. p. 49.

in general, for the same object, for the establishment of Socialism. The main part of the activity of the economic functionaries lies, however, in the improvement of production, in its cheapening and rationalisation. The trade unionists, on the other hand, are mainly occupied with caring for the immediate welfare of the workers. That is, they have to correct the results of the activity of the economic functionaries. It is solely by means of this reciprocal correction, by means of overcoming the inner antagonisms, conflicts, and relative inconsistencies, that the really right line of proletarian policy can be discovered.

The proletarian dictatorship forms the pre-requisite for overcoming all these inconsistencies on evolutionary lines. The inconsistencies of the capitalist state of society continue to be reproduced on an ever greater scale until this society collapses amidst the lightning and thunder of the revolution. The inconsistencies of our social order, the order of the proletarian dictatorship, are being reproduced on an ever decreasing scale, and will finally be merged into the system of "all round communism." The observer who infers from the existence of these inconsistencies that communism has broken down is a miserable coward, who has not a human head but only a turnip. This applies to the Russian Mensheviks, and also to Kautsky. They are much "impressed" by the power of the League of Nations, and are therefore prepared to exploit the inconsistencies still clinging to our economics, and our poverty, inherited from the old regime and enhanced by the intervention, for the purpose of rendering their "master" new and ever new favours. But we, the Party of the working class, can be proud of having directed the whole course of development into fresh paths. What we do not attain today we shall attain tomorrow, and what we do not attain tomorrow we shall attain the day after. And we — yes, you miserable menials of capital! — we shall reach our goal, we shall complete our work in the full consciousness of the great historical task, the greatest of all historical tasks, which we have been called upon by history to perform.

OUR MARTYRS

Comrade Heydemann.

By O. Rjastas.

The Esthonian hangmen have not yet shed enough workers' blood. The socialists are protesting in a hypocritical manner by pointing out that the trial of the Communists of Dorpat in July was based upon perjurious statements of the secret police. Notwithstanding this, the death sentence has been carried out. But the socialist Party still remains in the government, in spite of the fact that the law has been openly violated. The pitiful

protests made a few hours before the execution are a mere mockery. The hands of the socialists are stained with blood; they are participants in the systematic murder of proletarians in Esthonia.

The latest victim of their treachery, comrade Heydemann, was a son of a poor peasant. Right from his earliest youth he earned his living as a land worker and later as an industrial worker. After severe physical work during the day he educated himself by attending classes and lectures in the evening.

He commenced to take part in the labour movement in the year 1920. He entered the Esthonian socialist Party and became the leader of the left wing of the Party in Dorpat. After the split in the Esthonian socialist Party and the resignation of a handful of intellectuals, Heydemann continued the work as a member of the Central Committee. He was put forward by the trade union organisations of the workers as candidate for parliament and was elected to parliament by the workers of Dorpat on the united front ticket of the workers.

During his parliamentary activity Heydemann proved himself to be a consistent revolutionary.

As a result of the arrests at the commencement of the year 1924, comrade Heydemann was forced to live illegally.

The district military court condemned him to death. Why? The death sentence states on account of "espionage". But the evidence brought forward against Heydemann by court, just as the whole trial, proved to have no solid foundation. But do the hangmen of "democratic States" require any proofs?

The execution of Comrade Heydemann is the immediate continuation of the wholesale shootings which have taken place in Esthonia since the December revolt.

The proletariat of Esthonia will cherish the memory of Comrade Heydemann and carry out the work commenced by him.

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