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The Conference in Lausanne

By *Karl Radek*.

To-day the Lausanne Conference will open to discuss and decide the Near Eastern Question. According to the plan of the Allies, the Conference is to consist of two parts. In the first part the conditions will be laid down for the Peace Treaty between the Allies and Turkey. The second part will occupy itself with the solution of the question of the Straits. It suffices to raise the question whether England will be willing to conclude peace with Turkey, whether it will be necessary to withdraw the English cruisers and the garrison from the Straits and if Turkey will be allowed to build defence works on both shores of the Straits, for anyone to see how artificial is this division of the Conference. The division is dictated by fear of the participation of the Delegation of Soviet Russia in the negotiations on the questions of the state debts of Turkey, of the privileges of foreigners, of the right of Turkey to arm herself. The participation of Soviet Russia in the discussion of these questions will not only afford Turkey an opportunity to draw assistance from Russia, but would demonstrate before the eyes of the entire world the salient fact that while all the capitalist powers are striving to subjugate Turkey, only the Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia as the representative of the world proletariat, is ready to defend the enslaved Turkish nation.

When the Turkish cannon and bayonets pierced the front of England's vassal Greece, when the Turkish army, driving the Greeks before them approached the Straits, Turkey hoped that in the struggle with English imperialism she would obtain the support of France. But the Mudania Conference should have disillusioned Turkey. The French were opposed to the new war in the Orient threatened by Lloyd George. But the French not less than the English were opposed to the transfer of Constantinople to Turkey and the evacuation of the Straits. They wanted to defend them, not at Chanak, but to concentrate the forces on the European coast, in order to avoid an immediate military clash and thus gain time to bring diplomatic pressure on Turkey. But France not less than England wanted to retain in the hands of the Allies the Straits and Constantinople, at least during the critical period in the Near East, in order to control the necessary means for bringing pressure to bear upon Turkey. France is in need of such means of pressure, because she will

be compelled to demand of Turkey such concessions which Turkey will concede only at the point of the bayonet.

France is the chief creditor of Turkey and therefore French capital will not only insist upon financial control over Turkey but will demand the granting of a series of profitable concessions, to guarantee the payment of interest on the State debts of Turkey. The French capitalists not less than the English will demand juridical privileges in Turkey. They will refuse to recognize the Turkish Law Courts.

As far as these demands are concerned the entire capitalist world is at one and even Denmark and Norway have now declared that they are unwilling to stay in Turkey on conditions of equality, and demand for their merchants privileges against the sovereignty of the Turkish people on Turkish territory.

Wherein is the difference between the policy of English and French imperialism in regard to Turkey?

The French policy in Turkey is the exact copy of the German pre-war policy. It aims at the military strengthening of Turkey against England and a fictitious independence in order to convert her into her colony, and make her the object of her capitalist expansion, whereas England pursues the policy of the partition of Turkey and of her ruin.

No change in English policy has been observed since the fall of Lloyd George, except the renunciation of those claims which England well knows to be unattainable as a result of the crushing defeat of the Greek army. The clearest proof of this fact can be found not only in the threats of Bonar Law and Curzon, but in the departure from Constantinople of the Turkish Sultan on an English destroyer for Malta. The Angora government decided to overthrow the crowned traitor who, two years ago, denounced Kemal Pasha and the National Movement at the behest of the English Generals. At the same time it deprived him of his title of Caliph and appointed to this post another member of the Osman family, members of which have held this post since the sixteenth century. During the war England captured Mecca and Medina, the sacred places which are now actually in the hands of the English, though formally under the domination of Hussein, the King of Arabia. The

departure of the Turkish Sultan on an English destroyer means that English imperialism will proclaim the Sultan as the legitimate Caliph, in order to carry on agitation in the Mohammedan world to destroy confidence in the Angora Government and Kemal Pasha as the defenders of Islam. These religious intrigues of the Indian Department of the English Government, this powerful centre of the anti-Mohammedan elements, penetrating into all the sects of the Mohammedan world and conducting on a religious basis a subtle struggle against the regeneration of Turkey have already been conducted on a large scale in India.

The English Government has secured itself against unexpected moves on the part of France. With a brutality which left no room for doubt, England informed France that if France carries on an anti-English policy in the Near East, England will then develop an anti-French policy on the reparations question. Under the pressure of England a reversion of sentiment towards Turkey has taken place in the French press. Within the French government itself a struggle broke out giving rise to different tendencies. Millerand, President of the Republic, is inclined to place greater weight upon French interests in Germany. Poincaré, while endeavouring to defend French capitalist interests in Turkey, is determined to maintain a certain amount of freedom of action. But judging by the fact that the policy of Poincaré is endorsed only by the "Temps" which continues to maintain a Turcophile attitude, whereas the overwhelming majority of the French press announces that the reparation money on the Rhine is more important than Turkey, it is clearly seen that victory is on the side of Millerand. All evidence goes to show that France, apart from one or two ostensible moves to aid Turkey, will in all fundamental issues follow the dictates of England, preserving only an exterior appearance of Turcophile policy.

The Turkish Government, which with the utmost energy seeks the destruction of Entente hegemony in Turkey, and which is attempting to take the government functions in Constantinople firmly in its hands in spite of the threats of the Allies, will find itself in the most precarious position at the Lausanne Conference. To defend the national interests of Turkey, the Turkish government must be able to convince the broad masses of Turkey that it does not represent the interests of the higher classes of the nation which are striving to supplant foreign capital by their own exploitation of the Turkish people. We consider the persecutions of the Communists in Turkey a crime not only because we are Communists and are obliged to defend our comrades, but also in relation to the interests of the national emancipation movement of Turkey, as one of the centres of the emancipation movement against European imperialism in the Near East. The rulers of Turkey, of course, attack the Communist Party not without definite reasons on their part. They understand that the Turkish peasant masses consider the war terminated and want to be demobilized from the army and improve their conditions. The rulers of Turkey are afraid that the peasant masses will swing to the left, and that the Communist workers will become the guiding force of this movement.

But such a movement among the large masses which have undergone unparalleled suffering during the war is inevitable. If the rulers of Turkey desire that this movement shall not oppose them, they should themselves do everything in their power to improve the conditions of the peasant and working masses. The arrests of the Communists who, during the entire period of the blockade of Turkey and of the Allied intervention, were in the front ranks of the defenders of the national interests of Turkey, will convince the masses that the Turkish government is fighting against them. Following the example of Karl Marx who in 1847 advised the Young Communist Movement in Germany to support the national democratic movement of the bourgeoisie and even advised the revolutionary elements in Poland to support those sections of the landlord class which stood for land reform, the Communist International advised the Turkish Communists to support the national movement in Turkey as a force directed against foreign imperialism. But the Communist International will be able to do this in the future only on condition of the cessation of the persecutions against the Communists and on condition that the Turkish government will understand that in the struggle with world capitalism it must be supported by the broad masses. The English-picked Sultan and his clique of old venal Constantinople nobles will mobilize all the reactionary forces against Kemal Pasha. If he fails to change his policy as expressed in the persecutions of the Communists, he will undermine his own power, for the Turkish army consists of peasants.

Soviet Russia supported and is still supporting Turkey, not for the sake of the beautiful eyes of the government, but because it recognizes the victory of Turkey to be a strong factor for the revolutionizing of the Orient and for the strengthening of the world proletariat and the Russian Revolution. The Soviet government at Lausanne will support the legitimate demands of

Turkey. The fools of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals who, together with the entire capitalist press, are speculating on Soviet Russia changing her policy, do not understand that this policy is fundamentally independent of any accidental moves of the Turkish government in the sphere of diplomacy or in home politics. We openly denounce such moves on the part of the Turkish government because such action is detrimental to the interests of the Turkish nation. At the same time Soviet Russia, in spite of the deviations, sees the great historic road on which the industrial proletariat of the world finds a common objective with the peoples of the Orient in the struggle against world capitalism.

POLITICS

The New English Government

By Wm. Joss.

The new factors which form the new English Government provide very interesting reading. The return of the Conservative Party with 346 seats, is a complete defeat for the industrial organizations which were standing behind Lloyd George; in reality it is a victory of the bondholders over the industrial capitalists. This is well demonstrated in the meagre number of seats which have gone to the Lloyd George party, which has only retained 44 seats. The composition of the Conservative Cabinet also marks for the time being the extension of the policy of Imperial Preference for the purpose of creating a tariff system within the British Empire. This policy has come to the front in England with the operation of the American Shipping Subsidy Bill and the Fordney Tariff Bill, which were recently passed through the American Senate, and the composition of the Bonar Law Government shows a certain fear of the implications which would have been created by the maintenance of power by Lloyd George and the industrial groups behind him.

The associations of Bonar Law afford a clue to the play of the forces going on in politics. At a meeting where he cut adrift from Lloyd George his principal supporter was Mr. E. Grenfell, M. P., for the City of London. Mr. Grenfell, who is a member of the firm of Morgan and Grenfell of New York and London, recently at a bye-election in London defeated an ex-Mayor of London named Bowater, who is associated with oil. The real significance of this friendship in relation to the new Government finds its roots in the period before the war when the export of British capital to finance the railroads and industries of North America took place. The representative of British Capital in America was J. P. Morgan, Senior, who looked after the interests of British bondholders, and a considerable amount of profits earned in American railroads and industries found their way to the bank accounts of the British bondholders. This steady source of revenue received a rude shock during the war period, and it is possible that the cleavage in the coalition of Lloyd George arises from this point. During the war period it became necessary for England to purchase food, munitions of war, etc., and to meet these bills the English Government compelled the bondholders to deliver to the government all industrial, railroad and U.S.A. government securities to meet the demands for payment, and in return gave the bondholders equivalent Government stock.

The representative of the English Government in U.S.A. who made these purchases and payments was J. P. Morgan, junior, who succeeded his father as Lead of J. P. Morgan, New York.

Most of these securities found their way back to the late antagonists of Morgan, the industrial and financial interests grouped round Standard Oil through Kuehn and Loeb, whose policy is clearly seen in the defeat of Wilson and the advent of Harding.

Since the Harding administration has come into power it has compelled England to give America a share of the mandate on Palestine and Mesopotamia for oil development; it passed the Shipping Subsidy Bill, the Fordney Tariff Bill and the Preferential Dues of the Panama Canal, and distinctly told the English Government that it will not revise or cancel the debts incurred during the war.

The International Bankers' Association in its program of cancellation of war debts has an enthusiastic supporter in Mr. Reginald MacKenna, who has crossed over from the Liberal Party to the Conservative, while it is opposed by Mr. Hoover, of the U.S.A. Government. That may or not be the roots of the change of government which time alone can prove. The development of Imperial Preference is clearly shown in these ardent imperialists who belong to the British Empire Producers' Organization, which is to develop the Empire so as to make it an economic whole.

We may expect more repression in India. The virulence of attack on Lord Montague, former Secretary of India, resulted in his defeat because of his "radical" tendencies towards the Indian Nationalist Movement. The ex-Governor of Australia is another point in relation to Imperialist aims, and generally speaking the policy of the Government will be the development of Imperialist resources, the carrying on of the struggle against Standard Oil through their Wall Street colleague. Morgan who will possibly have bitter memories of previous struggles against opponents in Wall Street. The general situation will be a period of political instability, and even with the clear majority which Benar Lloyd George, with the bitterness of defeat pressing on him, it would not be surprising to have another display of Limehousing; on the other hand the success which has attended the Independent Liberals in their elections under Asquith, will give this forlorn relic of Paisley and East Fife the necessary encouragement to make a bid for power, which to any competent observer is inconceivable. And finally, the most important factor, the Labor Party with 142 members and 4 million voters behind them. There lies the danger, and the Labor Party has raised a Frankenstein which is going to destroy it. These millions who vote Labor are bread and butter politicians, all that they know is that the Labor Party has promised them—"to secure for the workers by hand or brain the full fruits of their labor and the most equitable distribution thereof."

The time is coming soon when these phrase spinners will be called on to make that program good, and that day will be the day for the Communist Party to demonstrate the failure of Parliamentary Democracy. Speed the Day.

The Foreign Policy of Czecho-Slovakia and the Treaty with Russia

By Karl Kreibich (Prague).

The task of the foreign policy Czecho-Slovakia is no light one. Its greatest difficulties always arise from the differences between France and England. A Czechish capitalist paper once quite aptly said, that Czecho-Slovakia felt attracted to France politically and to England economically.

The whole economic and political destiny of Czecho-Slovakia is still determined by the nature of the origin of this country. Political emancipation and the realization of national independence were, in the interests of Czechish capital, bound up with the creation of a close economic area, because Czechish national capital like all other national capital strives to monopolize the home market. This led to the breaking up of a great economic area of the old Austro-Hungary whose chief coal and industrial districts were in the territory now forming part of Czecho-Slovakia. This emancipation, under the guidance of the Czechish bourgeoisie led to the formation of a state whose geographical frontiers were such, that in the event of war all defence was impossible. This circumstance binds the foreign policy of Czecho-Slovakia entirely to France. The bourgeois republic of Czecho-Slovakia stands or falls with the supremacy of France on the continent and the continued subjection of Germany. But the position of France as the foremost continental power, does not in itself suffice to secure the existence of this state. This has to be supplemented by a system of alliances with small states with a similar outlook; it must to a certain extent become a strong section of French domination in Central Europe which is simultaneously directed against Germany and Russia, the two chief enemies of French hegemony. In this way there was brought about the little Entente, and it is of course no mere chance that Czecho-Slovakia through Mr. Benes plays the leading part in it. To no state is the little Entente so necessary as it is to Czecho-Slovakia, which from among her neighbouring states is threatened most by Hungary, and must at the time be endangered by any revival of capitalist Germany and a fusion of the latter with Austria within the frame of the capitalist system. It is in the very nature of the little Entente that in the days of the Turkish danger she was obliged to oppose the all too cheeky growing Turk. She was compelled to do this, not merely through the immediate interests of Jugoslavia and Roumania, but also in her role as the bulwark for the defence of the Versailles peace system. From this is to be explained the numerous reparts as to the admission of Greece into the little Entente. Czecho-Slovakia has recently concluded direct treaties and military agreements with Roumania and Jugoslavia. The treaty with Jugoslavia has lately been published and the meaningless reticence of the text confided to the public shows clearly enough how far in reality the treaty goes.

This political attitude of Czecho-Slovakia and the purely political problems of her foreign policy are at the expense

of the economic interests of her population and the greater portion of the Czechish capitalists. As a consequence of her foreign policy, Czecho-Slovakia is today at the service of the Entente, and before all of France, and due to the depreciation of the valuta in the remaining states of the little Entente, almost completely isolated economically. The result of this policy is seen today in half a million unemployed. Many Czechish capitalists are filled with dismay at the economic collapse of Germany. The enormous disparity between the mark and the Czecho-Slovakian crown has so damaging an effect on Czechish economy that the view is expressed in wide bourgeois circles that improvement can come only with a depreciated currency. It is not merely a question of the value of the mark, but regard must be had to all the central European valutas. At the same time the desire is expressed in Czechish capitalist circles to call a halt to the collapse of Germany. The Czechish bourgeoisie has to fear the worst from the two possible extreme results of such a collapse: a monarchist rising or a proletarian revolution. The spokesman for these circles is the Czecho-Slovakian ambassador in Berlin, Mr. Tusar, who is at great pains to bring about a moderation of the policy of the Entente towards Germany. But Mr. Benes inclines more to the Quai d'Orsay than to Downing Street and recent developments seem to justify his choice.

Quite in keeping with the Czech foreign policy is her attitude towards Russia. The tactics of Mr. Benes consist always in keeping two irons in the fire. In spite of all the endeavours of Mr. Kramar, the government still holds aloof from a policy of intervention but at the same time pampers the counter-revolutionary emigrant of whom Prague has become the chief centre. The publications from the secret archives of Kerensky in Paris clearly show that Mr. Benes understood excellently how to combine public abjuration of all meddling in intervention policy with confidential financial and diplomatic support of the Social Revolutionaries, particularly at the time of the Kronstadt insurrection. The economic crisis has however compelled Mr. Benes to do something in regard to the Russian question. Thus a treaty has been concluded which came into effect in August and now lies before the Czechish parliament for ratification. The treaty is a telling proof of the duplicity of Mr. Benes policy towards Russia. It is neither a commercial treaty, nor a proper political treaty. Its clauses contain only the most elementary things which must be settled between two states if a condition of war is not to prevail. Before all the treaty lacks the most important thing: the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet government. The settlement of this question is to be left to the future, for Mr. Benes must wait for the permission of France. But the *de jure* recognition is the preliminary condition to the conclusion of a suitable treaty which is more urgent for Czecho-Slovakia than to Russia. Today, our industry is in such a plight that any possibility of a market is welcomed. The industrials are continually urging the conclusion of a commercial treaty with Russia. The Federation of the Agricultural Machine Industry has addressed a memorandum to the government demanding the creation of a Guarantee Fund by which Russian industries will be able to obtain appropriate credits.

The government is attempting to pacify the industrials and the working masses, with mere declarations. The criticism of our representatives in Parliament was answered with the assurance that the government was eagerly continuing negotiations in order to conclude a commercial treaty. This pressure upon the government was the reason for the motion of our comrades in the Foreign Committee of the National Assembly for immediate negotiations for the recognition *de jure* not being simply refused, but being accepted with the modification that this be done at a "suitable time". The proposal for the creation of a guarantee fund was also not bluntly refused, but referred to the Committee for Trade and Industry, although the Finance Minister Rasin, the spokesman of Czechish Finance Capital and the close associate of Kramar in the Russian question had declared in a speech two days before that he would not give anything for such a guarantee fund. The economic need and the pressure of the working masses headed by the Communist Party renders it impossible for the governing majority to openly continue their anti-Russian policy as hitherto. The first breach has already been made in this wall and we must succeed within a reasonable time in carrying the thing further.

In addition to the above the foreign policy of Czecho-Slovakia is cracking in all directions. The position of Benes is shaken and the new prime minister Svehla has only accepted him into his ministry under pressure from President Masaryk. Benes is supported by no party, his sole prestige is the legend of national revolution and emancipation which is being dispelled more and more. Whether anything better will follow if Benes goes is of course a matter of doubt. In any case the whole

precarious economic and political position of Czecho-Slovakia is reflected in her vacillating foreign policy, and is also more and more shaking the foundations of the governing majority. Scarcely has a government been formed which desires to be a government of the strong hand, of concentration, when the structure begins to crumple and is threatened with the destruction of one of the majority parties. In consequence of this the right wing of the bourgeoisie is already coquetting with Fascism, while the Communist Party is appealing to the masses to form the united front, to overthrow the coalition and form the workers government. The dream of consolidating the economic and political forces in connection with the stabilization of the currency is dissolving before the hard facts and realities of the class war.

THE IV. WORLD CONGRESS

Discussion on "The Capitalist Offensive"

Radio to "Inprecorr".

Moscow, November 17.

After the opening of the session the Mandate Examination Committee announces that 61 parties are represented at the Congress by 392 delegates, 44 of whom have advisory votes. 6 delegates are admitted as guests. Thereupon the *debate upon the capitalist offensive* is continued.

Ravesteyn (Holland) in opposition to *Trotsky* states that in the West there is imminent not a pacifist, democratic reformist tendency but an extreme royalist reaction. In England, Holland, France and Belgium imperialist tendencies are prevailing which strive for the complete abolition of social legislation. The slogan of the workers' government is possible in special cases in Central Europe, but it is impossible in the West with *Longuet*, *Blum*, *Clynes* and *Henderson*. In view of the danger of world reaction the tactics of the united front is absolutely necessary for uniting the proletariat.

Stern (Austria) characterizes the capitalist offensive as the last desperate effort of the world bourgeoisie to save capitalism. The best example of this is the Geneva Conference at which the world bourgeoisie ostensibly hastened to the aid of the Austrian bourgeoisie although it is impossible to save it. Proletarian action under the leadership of the Communist International is possible in regard to the Austrian question. The Austrian example proves that even small Communist parties can successfully employ the united front tactics towards large Social Democratic parties. The slogan of the workers' government is the counter-cry to the coalition policy of the Social Democrats. The united front tactics no longer mean the covering of the retreat but rather the covering of the advance. It implies no danger for us if the Social Democrats join in at the commencement of a struggle. On the contrary, the situation will be all the clearer when they betray the workers later.

Webb (England) points out that in England the capitalist offensive proceeds parallel with the betrayal by the Amsterdam trade unions and leaders of the Second International. The strike of the miners and of the engineers are the best example of this. There now follows the offensive against the railwaymen. A firm cohesion of the Communist parties of Central Europe is necessary and a close rapprochement to the East, where the Social Democrats have no grip and the revolutionary movement is on the increase.

Hoernle (Germany) declares in the name of the majority of the German delegates that they are in agreement with *Radek*. In controversy with *Urbans* he declares that the eternal doubts of the opposition on the question of the united front has a paralyzing effect. The united front is certainly bound up with dangers; but at the same time it tends to purify the party from opportunist elements. An example of this is the secession of the KAG. (Levi Group) from the Communist Party. A closer cooperation of all Communist parties is necessary,—as is the case with the French and German parties. Facism has two types in Germany: in Bavaria it consists of the middle peasants and middle bourgeoisie, while in the East Elbe district it also embraces a section of the agricultural workers. The self-defense of the proletariat must be organized at the right moment.

Rosmer (France) moves the following resolution: A Warsaw telegram reports the arrest of *Stephan Rybacki* who was returned to Parliament for *Dombrova* by 32,000 votes, and *Comrade Krolikovski* who was elected for Parliament by 27,000 votes in Warsaw, languishes in prison. This violation of the will of tens of thousands of workers is only part and parcel of the persecutions to which the Communist movement is subjected in the new democratic Polish Republic. After the shameful

judicial murder of *Comrade Dombal* who boldly espoused Communism, the Polish Government is attempting to silence the mouths of the members of Parliament who have been chosen by the people in spite of the unheard-of white terror. The Congress stigmatizes before the world proletariat the barbarity of the Polish Government. It expresses its admiration for the Polish proletariat fighting with sublime heroism for the emancipation of the working class.

The resolution is adopted unanimously.

In his concluding words *Radek* emphasizes the fact that in the Communist International there are right wing dangers and left wing dangers. The right wing danger, however, is the greater. *The greatest danger at present is passivity*, which means a lessening of the fighting will of the broad proletarian masses in connection with a one-sided adaptation to the Social Democrats. With regard to *Urbans* he replies that the left waters also turn the Centrist mill. He charges him with an incorrect estimation of the position. The counter-offensive of the proletariat is not yet begun, it is much more possible that the capitalist offensive has not even yet reached its highest point. The *Shop Stewards Movement* and the fight for the eight hour day is only a defence against a disastrous undermining of the position of the proletariat. As long as we are the weaker section, the tactics of the united front are necessary. We must endeavour to fight against capital together with the Second and 2½ Internationals, although the Social Democratic leaders consciously fight against every revolutionary movement.

The pressure of the proletarian masses can compel the Social Democrats to break with the coalition. Then we are ready to fight with them, but not in the coalition. The Communists must not only vindicate their conviction, they must rather conduct practical every-day struggles. The struggle will also convince those masses who do not believe in the dictatorship that dictatorship is the only way. The continual doubts of the opposition can hinder the organizing of the fight and injure the party. There exists the danger of *Otsovism* which passively waits for the revolution the day after to-morrow. The Communist parties have to act today and tomorrow. In our tactics for the next period we must not lose sight of the future perspective. Anxiety over the tactics of the united front is injurious. The Communists are practical class fighters. We negotiate with the Social Democratic leaders so long as we are not the majority. This way leads to our goal—the dictatorship.

Zinoviev reads out a telegram from which it appears that in England, *Newbold* is elected as an independent candidate of the Communist Party. Although we do not ascribe great importance to Parliamentarism, this, under the conditions obtaining in England, is a not an unimportant victory.

Velti (Switzerland) proposes the creation of a committee for the realization of the International United Front of the Communist Parties against the reaction.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

The General Federation of Labor of Japan against the League of Nations Fraud.

The recently formed General Federation of Labor of Japan has adopted a resolution in regard to the notorious International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations. This resolution reveals a remarkable turn to the left on the part of the Japanese Trade Union Organization, in which until recently, the reformist and avowed yellow elements fought against the revolutionaries. The text of the resolution is as follows:

The General Federation of Labor of Japan has refused to recognize the International Labor Conference, and for the following reasons:

1. Our opposition has to do both with the motives which prompted the organization of the Conference, and the objects for which the Conference stands. The laboring classes made great sacrifices during the recent world war, and in consequence, a world-wide revolutionary consciousness has arisen among the toiling masses. The crafty governments of Europe, quick to see the rise of this spirit, and wishing to suppress such a tendency, organized as a branch of the League of Nations this International Labor Conference. We are sure that the various Labor Movements perfectly agree with this statement.

2. At the time of and since the Washington Conference, the Japanese government has appointed the labor representatives. The government utterly ignored organized labor and appointed *Mr. Uhei Masumoto* as the labor delegate to Washington, in spite

of the vehement opposition of the Labor Unions. Mr. Keiichi Matsumoto was appointed in the same way for the third conference, and Mr. Yoshisuke Tazawa for the present conference.

The government has never allowed organized labor to vote on the labor representative.

The protests against this method made in the name of the *General Federation of Labor of Japan* together with all the other Labor Unions of the country acting conjointly and representing the fully awakened and organized will of Japanese labor, have not been considered seriously by the International Labor Conference, which accepted the Japanese government's method of appointing the labor representatives.

3. At the Washington Labor Conference, the Japanese government pled for special treatment in carrying out certain of the agreements made at that time. This was finally accorded to them, in spite of which, however, even the special agreements have not been put into execution with any degree of sincerity. Nevertheless, apparently without any qualms of conscience, Mr. Eikichi Kamada, who signed the agreements as representative of the Japanese government, has since accepted an important government post, namely that of Minister of Education. This ignoring of agreements, however, has been done not only by Japan, but by all the other great powers as well, all of whom have been insincere and dilatory up to the present time.

When the International Labor Conference was first mooted, we had some degree of expectation that something might be accomplished, but we confess to having been completely disillusioned.

For this reason the organized labor of Japan hopes that this useless and even pernicious Conference may promptly be done away with.

It is also the firm conviction of labor in Japan that *the improvement of industrial conditions depends solely on the power of the laboring classes*, and that it should not be intrusted to the consciences of either the government or the capitalists.

Hence the General Federation of Labor of Japan is of the opinion that an International Labor Conference should be held, quite apart from government control, and that the present International Labor Conference should be rendered as ineffectual as possible through the refusal of the Labor Unions of the various countries of the world to appoint labor representatives to such conferences as the one being held. We sincerely trust to the united strength of the Labor Movements of all countries, and in the name of the Labor Movement of Japan, we appeal most earnestly for the united action of the proletariat throughout the world.

Tokio, Japan.
October 1, 1922.

The Amsterdammers Again

The following correspondence has been exchanged between Herr Fimmen, Secretary of the Amsterdam International and Comrade Lozovsky, Secretary of the Profintern.

Amsterdam,
October 23, 1922.

AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. LOZOVSKY, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE SO-CALLED RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS.

Dear Mr. Lozovsky.

On frequent occasions official members of the so-called Red International of Labor Unions and of the Communist International have publicly expressed their suspicion that the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions receives money from the bourgeoisie. Perhaps you still remember how, for instance, Frau Clara Zetkin, at one of the sessions of the Third Congress of the Communist International asserted that 50,000 Italian lire, sent by the Amsterdam International to the Italian Federation of Trade Unions for the purpose of assisting this Federation in its struggle against the Fascists, came from bourgeois sources.

In view of this we have the pleasure of submitting to you a detailed report of the income and expenditures of our International (financial report enclosed).

From this report, as well as from the report of our activities, submitted to the International Congress of Trade Unions in Rome, you may gather that the resources of the International Federation of Trade Unions exclusively consist of dues from trade unions, that is, of the international proletariat. Any other assertion is either an error or falsehood and slander.

We request you to accept our report for information and we shall be grateful if you will send us a clear detailed statement of the income and expenditure of the so-called Red International of Labor Unions which you represent.

We are sure you will find no difficulty in fulfilling our request.

Thanking you in anticipation.
With international greetings.
On behalf of the International
Federation of Trade Unions.
Fimmen (Secretary).

*

To the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam.

Mr. Fimmen.

Dear Sir,

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 23rd, together with the financial report for the period of 1919-21. We are exceedingly happy that you have at last recognized your responsibility before the revolutionary workers, and presented to us a detailed account of the financial situation of your organization.

Having studied your financial report we would first of all call your attention to the fact that a certain amount of the money expended by you really belongs to the Profintern. Indeed, during the stated period you received from Czecho-Slovakia, 1,359 fl., and you must be aware of the fact that the majority of the Czecho-Slovakian Trade Unions belong to the Profintern.

For the first three years of the existence of your organization you received from France 21,485 fl. We hope that you will agree that half of this money belongs to the adversaries of the Amsterdam International. You received from Italy 12,433 fl. It is a well-known fact that 40 per cent. of the organized workers of Italy belong to the Profintern. Nor will you dispute the fact that in Great Britain not less than 15 per cent. of the members of the trade unions are in favor of the Profintern. Consequently, of the total of 168,914 fl. accounted for in your financial statement, a certain percentage should be assigned to us.

In Germany one-third of the organized proletariat is on our side; therefore, we consider ourselves entitled to a third of the 655,944 marks transmitted to you. An analogous situation obtains also in Poland, Switzerland, Sweden, Canada, South Africa, Holland, Norway, etc. At a modest estimation, 35 per cent. of the money collected by you was taken from the revolutionary workers, opponents of your program and tactics, who adhere to the point of view of the Profintern. They made their contributions to the organizations affiliated with you only because they stand for the unity of the labor movement and against division.

IN SOVIET RUSSIA

The 4th All-Russian Congress of Educational Workers

The Fourth All-Russian Congress of Educational Workers opened in the Central Institute of the Commissariat of Education yesterday. One hundred and twenty-seven delegates were present of whom 60 per cent were Communists.

The opening of the Congress was attended by a representative of the revolutionary teachers of Germany Comrade Kerkly, a representative of the Bulgarian Teachers, Comrade Khlebarov, and by Professor Taska—all delegates to the Comintern Congress.

On the arrival of the delegates of the Comintern the whole Conference stood up like one man and gave them a rousing welcome. In response to the speeches of greeting, the Conference resolved to send greetings to the revolutionary teachers of all countries. Subsequently amidst great enthusiasm, resolutions of greeting were passed to Comrade Lenin, the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, the E.C. of the Russian Communist Party, and the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions.

Comrades Lenin and Trotsky were elected Honorary Presidents of the Conference.

Anatole France Greets Soviet Russia

The following message of greeting has been received from Anatole France:

"Four years ago the Soviet Republic was born in poverty. Indomitable, it was the herald of a new spirit threatening the doom of all governments of injustice and oppression which have shared the world among themselves. The old world has not erred in its fears. Its leaders immediately recognized their foe and hurled against Soviet Russia their calumnies and force. They endeavoured to suppress it and sent

against it their gangs of brigands. The Soviet Republic closed its red ranks and the brigands were defeated.

If there are in Europe friends of justice they should bow in respect before the revolution which after many centuries has made the first attempt to establish power wielded by the people and for the people, born in privation and brought up amidst famine and war. The Soviet Government has not yet completely achieved its grand idea, and has not yet established the reign of justice.

But it has at least laid the foundations. It has sown seeds which if fate wills, will one day fill Europe with abundance.

Anatole France.

The Red Students of the Zinoviev University

By Heinz Neumann (Moscow).

Red Petrograd is the highest expression of the Russian Revolution. In October 1917 the weapons of hundreds of thousands of Petrograd workmen overthrew the bourgeois republic. The workers sent their best to the front during the civil war. They defeated the Cronstadt White Guards. The workers of the large factories, the proletariat of Putilov, Alexandrovsk, Treugolnik, stand to-day in the first ranks of the economic front.

One of the greatest creations of the Russian Revolution has sprung up on the soil of the proletarian masses of Petrograd: The Petrograd Zinoviev University. In the great industrial undertakings the workers of Petrograd work with their hands, in the mighty October celebration they take part with their whole hearts, and in the red universities they employ their brains. More than a thousand students, proletarians without exception, are occupied here with the task of absorbing the knowledge offered by modern science, and of planting the seed of proletarian culture. Not a single bourgeois, not a single intellectual. Down to the last student they are all the sons and daughters of workers, many of them have fought on three, four, or five fronts. Many have been wounded, many have been commanders in the Red Army. All are faithful Communists.

They work just as seriously and systematically as in the highest bourgeois universities of Europe or America. The requirements of the syllabus are extremely high. There is no playing at study. And the spirit pervading the work is that of the class consciousness, of the proletariat. It is not possible to enter here into details, the plan of work, the vocational technical organization of the Zinoviev University. It is only possible to give an idea of the spirit, and of some aspects, of this first proletarian university. The celebration of the 5th anniversary of the revolution afforded an insight into the mentality of the Zinoviev students.

The University building is the Tauric Palace, once used for the Tsarist Duma. At the revolution celebration all of the students, male and female, gathered together. A magnificent picture. The benches and platforms were filled, with young people from the proletariat, their ages varying from 18 to 24 years. One thousand students from the ranks of the working class. The elite of Russian working youth. The first pioneers of the work of communist culture.

They welcome the delegates of the Communist International with a jubilation very different from the customary ceremonies. These cheers, this singing of the "International", are no mere formality. It is a mass manifesto, it is a form of expression of the victorious revolution, carrying everything with it in its impetuosity. The meeting is opened. The delegates of the foreign Communist Parties rise to speak. These addresses are no lectures, no propaganda speeches such as we hear at our Western European meetings. It is a dialogue between the speakers and their thousand auditors. All languages are spoken, Hungarian, Russian, English, German. Some of the Zinoviev students have already utilized the philological faculty to such purpose that they are able to follow the various foreign speeches. The others grasp the import surprisingly well, they understand the international expressions: *Proletariat, Communism, Dictatorship, Revolution, Imperialism, October*. They translate single words among themselves. The majority appear to follow the speaker's train of thought. The mental atmosphere is soon such as we only experience in Western Europe in moments of great revolutionary events. The great hall is filled with the wildest enthusiasm. Exclamations, enthusiastic applause, hand clapping, cheers—almost invariably in the right places. Those who understand the foreign language set the example, all the others follow.

In conclusion the students' band plays the "International"; the thousand rise to sing it. All this is a scene which we have

witnessed a thousand times outside of Russia, but for which none the less there is no comparison. The difference is that there the enthusiasm is not merely instinctive, but is founded on a clear and self-acquired consciousness of the significance of the demonstration. For these red students the International, the World Revolution, and the proletarian Dictatorship, are no dreams of the future; for them these are the actualities of their life and work.

The Zinoviev students question the foreign representatives. The questions are written down and handed up to the platform. They are excellently and accurately formulated. The overwhelming majority are questions about Germany. First the leading question: Why have the German workers not yet accomplished the revolution? But some questions formulate more concrete points: How does the German proletariat fight against the Versailles peace?—What is being done to break the influence of Social Democracy?

Questions dealing with the political situation in America are directed to the American representative. Later on the delegates converse with the students. Here the enthusiasm is again not merely emotional, but intellectual. The students again put questions of amazing political clearness. Here is no "herd", no "brutal mass"; this proletarian youth has personalities and brains in its ranks. The future of the Russian revolution, and of the world revolution, lies in the hands of this generation. It lies in good hands. If these children of the old revolutionary workers succeed in making their own the mighty weapon of bourgeois science, and of helping forward the masses of the peasantry with this weapon, neither world capital nor the new economic policy can endanger the Soviet Republic. This is the conscious aim of the Zinoviev students, who are only the vanguard of innumerable learners in town and country.

All students, male and female, live in the University. They form a single community. As government workers in the performance of their duties they receive board, lodging, and clothing. This red university fulfils with the greatest ease all the demands which the bourgeois school and high school reformers in western Europe are striving for in vain. Not only is the technical work most energetic, but community work has here passed from a phrase into a reality.

This is shown in the artistic activity of the Zinoviev students. They have choral societies, where they sing folk songs and revolutionary songs with a wonderful power. The deepest impression is made by the speaking choirs of the red students. There are no individual performances of special superiority, no virtuosi, but a splendid mass will, revealed in the varying and combined tones of the choirs. Voices of every shade of clarity or depth, voices of man and girl comrades, rhythm spoken or sung, at the end the mass intonation of a hundred voices. They recite revolutionary poems; the motif is almost invariably the same, the form still somewhat uncertain, the impression most powerful. "The ballad of the twelve" by Alexander Bloch, has never been rendered so effectively as in the speech of this mass choir. The mightiest effect is that made by a new poem, entitled "Conitza", dealing with the riders of the Red Army. Single voices take the lead, the mass choir replies; through it all the ground motif is repeated again and again in deep tones by three girl comrades, three vibrating syllables: "Conitza, Conitza, cavalry, cavalry!". The dramatic might of this choir carries the thousand auditors along with it. They form a unity. No accidental theatre audience. No aesthetic narrow-mindedness. A proletarian collective, in which work, art, and politics are beginning to melt into one whole. The end of this evolution cannot be prophesied to-day, but its commencement is perhaps the greatest triumph of the working class.

The End of Enver Pasha

The death of Enver Pasha, made known in Russia, was flatly contradicted by the bourgeois press. To those whose interests are opposed to the strengthening and internal pacification of Soviet Russia, it is indeed displeasing to acknowledge that the attempt of the Turk to carve out a Musulman state in Turkestan, has terminated in a lamentable failure. Such however is the case. The Pravda of October 11th, published on its front page, the following note, signed by an "eye witness".

"The news of the end of Enver Pasha meets again with incredulity. Its truth, however, can no longer be doubted.

On August 4th, the superior forces of the Red Army hemmed in a small contingent of *hasmatch* (Musulman insurgents), among whom was *Enver Pasha* and his colleague,

the chief Musulman *Davietmin-Bey*, at about twelve versts from the town of Baldjouan. After a stubborn struggle, the *basmatch* were defeated. On the field of battle was found the body of a man, dressed in English uniform and wearing a fez. In his pockets were found: two personal seals of Enver Pasha, his correspondence with his wife, a letter from his son, dated from Berlin, a package of English newspapers from India, and dispatches in code. The local population recognized the man as Enver-Pasha. The *basmatch* prisoners likewise confirmed this identification. Daviet-min-Bey, who had attempted to save the wounded Enver, could not be interrogated: severely wounded himself, he succumbed.

The *basmatch* movement is nearly crushed. One of Enver's lieutenants, Daneyar, is trying without success to revive it. He has neither the authority nor the ability of the dead man."

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The International Co-operative Conference in Moscow

By Karl Bittel.

The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International was preceded by the first International Conference of Communist Co-operative Societies, at Moscow, from 1. to 6. November 1922. The main object of the conference was to establish the attitude to be adopted *on principle* by the class conscious proletariat towards the Co-operative question, and to show the rôle played by the Co-operative movement in the various phases of the workers' movement. In particular, the urgent necessity was felt, of determining—on the basis of international experience—the line of tactics applicable for systematic co-operative work of the communists within the Co-operative Societies. The conference has fully carried out these tasks.

The Second International has not yet succeeded in finding any other solution for the co-operative question than plain opportunism, its attempt at its 8th congress (Copenhagen 1910) ending in the failure of a reformist compromise. In no instance has the bankruptcy of social reformism been more obvious than in the co-operative policy of the Social Democrats, especially during and after the war.

The III. World Congress of the Communist International (Moscow 1921) replaced the shallow theoretical principles of social democratic Co-operative Societies by other co-operative theses, and created a Marxist foundation for communist co-operative work.

The leading speeches delivered at the Co-operative Conference in Moscow dealt with the theme "Co-operatives and Communism" in its relation to principle (speaker Chintchuk, Russia) and to tactics (speaker Bittel, Germany). These speeches, in combination with the lively discussion following in each case, unfolded a wide vista of problems and their solutions. The delegates of all countries were in unanimous agreement on the most essential question—that within the actual sphere of the proletarian class war a "co-operative movement in itself" does not exist. This implies that from the class war standpoint the so-called "pure co-operative socialism" must be most energetically combatted. For the class conscious proletarian there exists only one fighting movement, and there is only one proletarian collective policy, capable of carrying through trade union and co-operative work in organization and tactics. This demands the closest fighting unity of party, trade union, and co-operative society. For us communists this involves the absorption of co-operative work in party work, and the complete submission of co-operative work to party discipline.

The report of the co-operative section created at the III. World Congress, to the Comintern, as also the reports from the various countries, showed that the III. International is still far from beginning to carry out its resolutions of June 1921. The most successful work could naturally be reported from Soviet Russia. In Bulgaria a gigantic co-operative society has been formed. In Germany the most thorough and successful beginnings have been made towards establishing the old Co-operative Societies with fractional groups. In France some individual comrades have been working, but the French communist party has failed to do anything whatever. In Italy the co-operative movement is completely crushed by the Fascists, and in Hungary and Poland by the white bands. In Switzerland, Austria, and the northern countries, the beginning of systematic co-operative

work is reported. No report was given on the successful work in Czecho-Slovakia, as the delegation arrived too late; in England co-operative work is in a hopeless condition.

The result of the conference was the drawing up of organization statutes for practical work. The watch-word now is: The utmost energy is to be directed towards carrying out the co-operative resolutions of the III. World Congress, which resolutions, it is to be hoped, will be doubly emphasized by the IV. World Congress.

There is no doubt that one particularly valuable result of the first conference was the personal contact among the communists who are conducting co-operative work in the various countries, especially the contact with the Russian comrades, who accomplish extensive work for the Co-operative Societies. The very greatest result of the conference for the delegates was, however, their own recognition of the "work of destruction"—so much spoken of by the Mensheviks—performed by the Bolsheviks in the co-operative movement. Astonishment and admiration were again and again expressed at the colossal co-operative work accomplished by the communists within a few years, putting all work done by the Co-operative Societies in West European countries completely in the shade.

The Co-operative Conference exchanged greetings with the Comintern, with the Profintern, with the Red Army, with Lenin, and finally with the IV. world congress. It issued a manifesto to the workers of all countries, and laid down lines for communist co-operative work, drawing up the organization statutes for the latter. In conclusion the 15 members of the co-operative section were elected, also a presidency (Chintchuk, Meschtjerjakoff, Kramaroff, Kaminsky, Bittel, Henriet, and Tasca) and 2 secretaries (Chintchuk and Kramaroff).

It is certain that this first international co-operative conference throws a bright light on the road upon which the co-operative movement, in company with the whole workers' movement, is proceeding from reformism to revolution.

POLEMICS AND DISCUSSIONS

Eastern C. P.s are the Result of Capitalist Development in the East

By V. Vilensky.

The penetration of capitalism into the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the East has unchained the productive forces of these countries and advanced them on the road of the development of native capitalistic possibilities. The result was that the colonial East began to build its own industries, creating its own bases of capitalist development. The war has interrupted the connection between Europe and its colonies in the East and thus left the latter to their own resources; this in its turn accelerated the growth of the native capitalistic industries as well as the concentration of native capital and its adaptation to an independent existence.

This brought about the revolutionary struggle in the East, which aims at casting away the unsuitable alien forms of life and substituting them by other forms that are better adapted to the social structure of the Eastern nations.

This brought the Eastern nations face to face with the necessity of the struggle for national liberation. The Eastern hatred for European Imperialism leads at times to the rejection of everything European, including those forms of social construction which are objectively inevitable stages of the progressive movement in the East. Such an attitude naturally complicates the social problem in the East, and the process of the revolutionary movement assumes peculiarly complex forms, which are deeply coloured by nationalist hues.

The only safe way which can lead the nations of the East to the wide avenue of freedom from imperialism is the way of the Russian proletarian revolution. The only class capable of successfully coping with the difficult task of liberation of the Eastern nations from imperialist bondage is the working class, which grows in numbers along with the native industries. Under the roofs of the shops and factories of Japan, India, and China there grows the organized force of the East which is historically called upon to take the lead in the struggle of the East against the slavery of Imperialism. The experience of the Russian Revolution has demonstrated the fact that the proletariat, even when in a minority, can become the leader of the

struggle for the interests of the wide masses of the peasantry. India and China by their social structure have a great deal in common with pre-revolutionary Russia and this makes the experience of the Russian Revolution particularly valuable to the peoples of these countries.

The capitalist development in some districts of China and India has caused an extensive strike movement in the countries. This once more confirms the fact that the laws of capitalist development are common to the East and West, and that the proletarian movement grows along with the increasing growth of industry.

And if the proletariat of the East, born of the capitalist development of the Eastern countries, finds sufficient strength to declare its class interests in times of strikes, there can be no gainsaying the necessity of forming revolutionary class parties of the East. In every one of the countries of the East there should be a communist party opposing its program to the programs of the national Liberals, and striving to absorb the various shades of socialistic opinion which abounds among the intellectuals of the Eastern peoples.

Relying upon the firm basis of the Labor movement (the trade union movement), the Communist Parties of the East can assimilate and make good use of the various socialistic circles. The absorption of these circles is the pressing tactical task for the Communists of the East, whereas all talk of conciliation, of a united front with these intellectual circles, is a tactical blunder which unwittingly confirms these intellectual circles in their insularity. The experience of the Japanese, Korean, and Chinese Labor movement has shown that this intellectual insularity causes a split of the forces and creates difficult conditions for the internal struggle, hindering the entrenchment of Communist Parties in these countries.

It is high time to admit that in the interests of the social revolution in the East (at least in Japan, China and India), it is imperative to direct all efforts to the strengthening of the Communist Parties, which under proper tactical guidance and under the conditions of the modern political realities in the East, are capable of becoming a mighty and active force, which will be in a position to take up the fight for the liberation of the peoples of the East from the yoke of European and American Imperialism.

The Communists and the Masses

By N. Steklov.

The delegates of the International proletarian advance guard have met face to face, the working masses of Petrograd and Moscow, the two chief industrial centres of Russia which played a leading role in the October Revolution and in the defence of its conquests. They were able to judge for themselves the temper of our proletarian masses. They were able to see what they were like after five years of a stubborn struggle for Communism and for the Soviet Power. And after what they have heard and seen they would be justified in asserting on the strength of their personal experience, that *after five years of struggle and great hardships, the proletarian State stands firmer than ever before* and that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the wide masses of the Soviet Republic has not abated with the transition to peaceful construction. As to the Communist Party, after all the experiences which Soviet Russia and especially its proletarian vanguard had to go through,—*this Party has not only retained the sympathies of the population, but has even approached much nearer to the wide non-party masses than it was in the beginning of the revolution.*

Such is the meaning of the festivities and demonstrations, organized in connection with the October Anniversary, in honor of the delegates of the IV. Congress of the Comintern. However, if in summing up our experiences during these four historic days, we were merely to limit ourselves to the above deductions, we should not do justice to the situation. The Russian Communist Party is proud to hear acknowledgment of its achievements from the lips of the representatives of the International proletariat. It would feel doubly rewarded however, *if the experiences of its struggle would benefit its struggling brothers abroad, and would be a guidance to them.*

What really matters is—that the other parties adhering to Communist International are willing and able to use the Russian experience in their work, that in conformity with the specific conditions prevailing in their countries, they make use of those methods which brought victory to the Russian Com-

munists, and which if fully applied, must also bring victory to the Communists of the entire world.

The October festivities were in reality turned into demonstrations not only in honor of the Russian Revolution, but also in honor of the Russian Communist Party. At the call of this Party the widest possible masses of workers demonstrated in honor of the III International. These demonstrations were not only attended by Communists. In Petrograd as well as in Moscow, the majority of the demonstrators were not members of the Communist Party. It is this fact which gave to these demonstrations an especially imposing character. The participation of those non-party masses showed once more that the Communists have won their confidence, and that these masses are ready, not only in words but in deeds to give active support to the Communist Party which is leading them and is defending their interests. In a word, these festivities have shown once more what constitutes the *secret of the unconquerable strength of the Russian Revolution—the close organic union of the Communist Party with the working masses.*

The Russian Communists (formerly Bolsheviks) adopted the fundamental rule to keep in touch with the masses under any conditions and circumstances and regardless of all obstacles. The Russian Communists accomplished this by various means: the press, responding in all their proclamations and periodical publications to the needs of the hour which agitated and interested the working masses; oral agitation among the most advanced workers, as well as in the very midst of the masses, and by direct contact with the masses in the working class districts, in the workshops and factories. The Bolsheviks carried out these tactics even under Tsardom, and found means even under the then prevailing police repressions to reach the working masses. They applied the same tactics from the beginning of the February Revolution and during the bourgeois Provisional Government, giving a wider scope to their connection with the masses by penetrating into the army and getting into touch with the soldiers even in the trenches. They followed the same tactics during the five years of external and civil war after the October Revolution, having by then succeeded in permeating the peasant masses. They are continuing these tactics under the new economic policy, appealing to these masses at every opportunity, familiarizing them with their creative work, profiting by the practical suggestions of these masses, and making their temper and mood the criterion for their political orientation. By this means they not only succeeded in establishing a comparatively numerous and firmly welded Communist Party, but (what is far more important) in compelling the wide non-party masses to recognize this Party as their true representative, to accept its political guidance and to entrust to it the most responsible posts.

It is precisely these fundamental pre-requisites of power and success that the majority of the other parties belonging to the III International still lack. And yet, without these fundamental conditions, these parties can neither achieve a victory over the bourgeoisie nor can they be transformed into more or less influential factors in the social life of their respective countries. It is for this reason that they must turn their attention in that direction.

The Comintern long ago realized the need of this. Even at the II. Congress it studied the question of the transformation of the Communist Parties into mass workers' parties. At the III. Congress this question again occupied a prominent place, was discussed in still greater detail and led to the adoption of the tactic of the united proletarian front. In some countries, especially in Germany these tactics were fairly successful, thus proving that they were a move in the right direction. Unfortunately, we cannot boast that the process of the conquest of the working masses by the Communist Parties has yet succeeded in assuming visible forms in the majority of the capitalist countries.

The IV. Congress will have to devote itself to the elaboration of this question; for it is of the greatest importance for the very existence of the Comintern. Whatever the IV. Congress is going to discuss, be it the general communist program, the agrarian program etc., the delegates of all countries will be faced with the most important questions of all,—the linking up of the Communist Parties and the workers, the transformation of the working masses into mass proletarian parties for a successful defence against the attacks of capitalism, and for a successful transition to a counter-attack of the proletariat against the strongholds of capitalism. If the IV. Congress will get within reach of a practical solution of this question (and we trust that it will do so), it will have fulfilled the most important task in the world struggle for the emancipation of the working class.