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The Alleged Plot against Mussolini.

By **Ercoli.**

Milan, 7th November 1925.

What is the truth regarding the alleged plot to assassinate Mussolini? That is the first problem that must be considered and it is the problem to which it is most difficult in these first moments to give an exact answer. The only reports which are to hand are those of the official government agency and of the fascist press. These reports, which are difficult to check, lead one to assume the following:

1. That an attempt to assassinate Mussolini had been prepared, which was to be carried out by **Zaniboni**, a former **Unitarian Socialist** member of parliament, and that this attempt was frustrated by the police at the very moment when everything was ready in order to carry it out. **Zaniboni** has been arrested in a hotel in Rome, in a room, the windows of which overlook the balcony on which Mussolini was to appear; that he had prepared a special rifle and made all preparations in order to be able to take exact aim, and at the moment in which Mussolini showed himself, to be able to shoot him.

2. That the contemplated assassination is the result of a conspiracy on the part of members of the opposition parties,

especially of those who are at the head of the freemasons and of the emigrants in France, and that the plot was intended to be the commencement of a large-scaled action which was forcibly to overthrow the fascist regime.

It is very difficult to arrive at the truth regarding the first point. In the first hours following the arrest of **Zaniboni**, some fascist newspapers gave reports which differed from those which were afterwards issued by the police and the Ministry of the Interior. It is, however, not impossible that, details apart, **Zaniboni** actually planned to kill Mussolini.

As regards the second point, it is this which has the greater importance. The assertions of the fascist government and of the police regarding the existence of a conspiracy to destroy the present regime provide Fascism with the best pretext in order to strengthen the reaction and to resort to fresh repressive measures against the forces of the opposition. One must bear in mind that, in recent times the position of Fascism as the ruling power has, for various reasons become worse.

1. In the first place the economic situation is becoming continually worse, and this is creating discontent among the

numerically strongest classes of the population. The Treaty with America regarding the debts will, when it is concluded, help to render conditions still worse;

2. The bloody deeds in Florence had far-reaching effects throughout the country. This has compelled Fascism to introduce a "pacifist offensive", but without any great success. Middle class public opinion (petty bourgeoisie) again began, as was the case after the murdering of Matteotti, to adopt a hostile attitude to Fascism.

3. The Senate which was shortly to reassemble, will have to approve the "fascist" laws that is the laws approved by the Chamber during the Summer and which fundamentally alter the constitutional regime and introduce a dictatorship by the ruling party not only in fact, but also in law. (Law against freemasonry, law on the control of political societies, press law, alterations of the criminal law, suppression of freedom of administration in the rural councils etc.) In order to obtain the passing of these laws by the Senate with a great majority, Fascism must exert pressure upon this body.

When one bears these facts in mind one can understand that Fascism has every reason for spreading belief in the existence of a wide-spread plot and for making the fullest use of the attempt of Zaniboni in order to justify a fresh wave of reaction. In fact steps have immediately been taken to dissolve the Unitarian Socialist Party (Reformist), of which Zaniboni was a member, as well as to place under military occupation all freemasons' lodges and the headquarters of the freemasons, in which there is used as a pretext the fact that General Cappello, a prominent freemason who was arrested at the same time, is a fellow-conspirator of Zaniboni. Not content with that, the Labour Chamber and also the headquarters of the General Confederation of Labour in Milan have been taken possession of, while at the same time the fascist newspapers are demanding and announcing fresh repressive measures, asserting that all opposition groups are involved in the conspiracy. The plan of the fascists is, therefore, quite clear.

* * *

Can one really believe that there existed a plot to overthrow Fascism at the very moment after Mussolini had been murdered? Everything goes to indicate that this is impossible. The attempt of Zaniboni is to be regarded as more in the nature of an individual act on the part of a sincere antifascist, who was driven to desperation when he became fully convinced that the political action of the bourgeois political parties has not been an anti-fascist action and that, instead of weakening Fascism, has only resulted in strengthening it.

There is no doubt that there exist in the camp of the opposition parties many elements whose feelings are similar to those of Zaniboni. These are elements which have lost their political bearings. They express all the uncertainty, naiveness and political incapacity of the petty bourgeoisie. Today, when all their plans have been wrecked, when all their intentions have proved incapable of being realised, when the forces of the bourgeois opposition are dissolving and Fascism can boast of having achieved a complete victory over them — today, individual terror appears to these elements to be the only way out. As a matter of fact it is nothing else than the proof of a pitiable political surrender. It is the petty bourgeoisie which has proved miserably incapable of the task of conducting the fight against Fascism.

The act of terror of Zaniboni occurs at the very moment when the crisis in the bourgeois opposition parties has reached its deepest point. After the withdrawal of the Maximalists from the Aventino Bloc, the organ of the Catholic People's Party (*Partido Popolare*) issued very ambiguous declarations which were generally regarded as the first indications of a new orientation, and the Duke di Cesaro, the leader of the Democratic Party of South Italy, straight away expressed his approval of some political measures which fascism has recently carried out or had announced for the near future. Zaniboni's act will undoubtedly to some extent help to accelerate the crisis. There will certainly be groups which will willingly take part in this game of the fascists. They will repudiate Zaniboni, appeal for the setting up of law and order and weaken the tone of all their political campaigns. The "*Giornale d'Italia*", which can be regarded as the Liberal Party, has already taken up this attitude.

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These are, in brief form, the facts upon which the Communist Party based itself in laying down its attitude towards the action of Zaniboni. Of course this attitude cannot be expressed in the legal press of the Party, which must confine itself to publishing

the official reports. It has been set forth in a Manifesto which has been illegally circulated and in instructions which the Central Committee also illegally, has issued to the Party.

The Party before all warns against blindly believing all the reports spread by the government and the fascist press regarding the attempt at assassination and the alleged plot. The Communist Party also warns the workers against allowing themselves to be influenced by the campaign for "restoring order" which Fascism and the groups of the bourgeois opposition will conduct, and in which they will use as a pretext the foiled attempt of Zaniboni. The Communist Party is therefore opposed to any sort of "moral" judgment of the alleged plot. It reminds the workers of the crimes of Fascism, the bloody deeds in Turin, Spezia, Florence, the murders of hundreds and hundreds of proletarians and the murder of Matteotti. It cannot be otherwise than that a regime which has arisen from blood and violence and which maintains itself by blood and violence must be fought with the same means. Instead of passing moral judgment on the act of Zaniboni, the Communist Party declares that it feels sympathy for all those who wish to fight Fascism up to the end, and in this fight risk their own liberty and their own lives.

Politically, however, the Communist Party condemns the act of Zaniboni and emphasises that it constitutes a fresh and final indication of the collapse of the action of the bourgeois opposition parties in their fight against Fascism. The only way and means of using the Matteotti crisis in order to overthrow fascism consisted in mobilising the power of the working class and bringing it into action. Instead of this the bourgeois antifascists and their allies (reformists, maximalists and republicans) have, every since the murder of Matteotti, prevented in every possible manner the mobilising of the forces of the proletariat. They have spread most ridiculous illusions as to the possibility of abolishing Fascism by peaceable means; they made use of and supported at every opportunity the tactics of legality. On various occasions they even rendered Fascism help in order to prevent the workers from taking part in the movement. By this means they have allowed Fascism to save itself and have condemned themselves to collapse and decay. Today, when all ways prove to be barred to them, the acts of individual terror on the part of those who are sincerely anti-fascist can be understood, in spite of the fact that they are no less vain and futile.

It suffices in fact to ask oneself what would have happened if the attempt of Zaniboni had succeeded, in order to arrive at a complete political condemnation of the attempt. It would have let loose a bloody reaction against the working masses immediately after the bourgeois anti-fascist parties, and in the first place the Unitarian Socialist Party, had done everything in their power to prevent the rallying of the forces of the proletariat and of the peasantry in order to organise themselves for a struggle.

This political criticism of the attempt must afford the Communist Party the opportunity to put before the proletarian masses its slogans, to submit to them its anti-fascist plan of campaign which is based upon the mobilising of the forces of the working class and the peasants.

POLITICS

The Balance of the Moroccan War.

By B.d. (Paris).

The troops in Morocco have taken up their winter quarters. The "great pause" has commenced which will last until the Spring. It is time to draw the balance of the results of the campaign up to the present.

Up to now our main source of information has been the official report of the French government. According to this everything has proceeded most beautifully, there have been daily advances, victory is near, while the tribes who had renounced allegiance to France are returning in masses. This official optimism has not failed to have its effect. Even in our own ranks doubts were raised regarding the quite different and pessimistic descriptions which the delegation of the Workers' and Peasants' Congresses and other expert comrades gave as to the situation of the French troops etc.

We can say today that our view of the situation was correct. On the one hand we have the official figures which

the government at last decided to publish. According to these, "this little adventure" has cost, up to now, 1½ milliard francs and over 10,000 killed and wounded. On the other hand we have a description of the results of the campaign, which is all the more reliable as it is from the pen of one of the best experts of France, Robert Poulaine, and has been published in the "Temps":

"160,000 soldiers, 20 aeroplane squadrons and 40 generals (!), about half of the French army and its generalissimo are firmly entrenched on the slopes of the Rif without anyone asking what they have done there, what they are doing there and what they will do there, without anybody being surprised that they are still there, while all the official reports state that everything in Morocco is proceeding splendidly, that our position is being restored and that the whole business will soon be settled..."

"The successes which have been reached there this Autumn, and regarding which I will soon report -- although not without importance --, are out of all proportion to the material sacrifices which have been required in order to attain them."

The military aims have not been achieved. The original plans of operations have been swept aside by the arrival of a new general staff; the aims of the new plans have not been achieved. "The great manoeuvre, which was to place the territory of the important Beni Serraul tribe in our hands, can now be considered as a complete failure", writes R. Poulaine. On the Eastern front the French troops suffered severe losses by the raid of the Spanish allies. An army division, consisting of 6000 cavalry and quite unnecessarily encumbered with heavy naval guns, was compelled to beat a hasty retreat, in which they had to abandon their guns and yield up a stretch of territory 35 kilometres broad which had been captured by the French as result of 14 days fighting.

"As regards territory", says R. Poulaine, "we are today not yet in possession of the line which we occupied on the 1st of April. From the military point of view, although we have driven back the enemy at certain points and captured arms and munition from him, he is not yet vanquished, and at the commencement of the Winter Abd el Krim has under his flag 60,000 rifles, that is 25,000 more than at the commencement of the campaign".

What is the reason for these astonishing facts? The glowing reports regarding the return of the disaffected tribes were mere bluff. "One can be certain that less than half of the disaffected tribes of our zone have returned to their villages". There then follows the actual enumeration of all the tribes in the area and their positions. We need only add, that when tribes return to their villages it does not mean their return to French allegiance, but more often than not the resorting to guerilla warfare behind the French front.

R. Poulaine concludes the picture by describing what is peacefully termed "winter quarters" but which is in fact a winter campaign:

"At the commencement of the Winter, when our troops have to take up their positions under unfavourable climatic conditions, when the provisioning of the troops becomes difficult, the enemy, who still has considerable munitions at his disposal and whose provisioning we shall be unable, or almost entirely unable, to prevent, shows his readiness to attack our front lines and even to penetrate far behind the lines and destroy our lines of communications."

R. Poulaine sees the only possibility of a solution in a "resumption of the initiative of operations in the Spring, which will bring victory. It seems today that it is no longer possible to find a general *modus vivendi*. Under these circumstances France must guard her interests, that is, she must destroy the Rif arsenal or neutralise it, and prevent any other power which would like to create difficulties for us in North Africa or anywhere else, from provisioning and arming at a given moment a population which is still very excited. We must be able at any moment to control the inner life of the Rif tribe, which certainly would prefer French rule to any other. But it is precisely this which renders the international solution so difficult."

These statements do not require any comment. The military and political situation is determined by the attitude of Spain. Spain wishes to give up North Africa. The Spanish general staff has abandoned the campaign. Agadir has long since been

evacuated; only the two promontories on the East and West are occupied. This attitude of Spain has destroyed the French plans of operations. Spain, of course, wishes to make the greatest political and financial profit out of the business. There exist two projects:

1. To convert Agadir into a Franco-Spanish port (this is the aim of the Banque de Paris). This plan is advocated in Spain by the Francophile diplomat Caballero in "Imparcial".

2. To exchange Agadir with England for Gibraltar. France and Italy would be compensated by other territory. (Murcia in La Verdad").

The inner political consequences of the situation in Morocco are as much fraught with difficulties as the international consequences.

The war is still going on. The government must escape from the embarrassing situation in which it has been involved since the 12th of July. Painlevé has got rid of Caillaux and taken some of Herriot's people into the Cabinet. But nothing will prevent the socialists from appearing in their true colours. As regards the financial questions, a compromise has been concluded among the supporters of the Left Bloc. As regards the war question, an agreement is impossible. And the possibility of a repetition of the majority swindle has not been abolished: if the socialist vote for the credits they will no longer, as in July, find a Right majority. The strongest party of the opposition has decided to vote against the credits, as it rejects the war policy of the government as being not sufficiently energetic.

After a short pause following the strike, the indignation among the masses of the population is beginning to rise again. The truth regarding Morocco is leaking out, Syria is rousing excitement, the swindle of the "government crisis" is becoming obvious.

The war in Morocco is again occupying the centre of attention and is occupying the first place in the political crisis which commenced with the skilfully-staged Caillaux crisis.

The Guarantee Pact.

By Karl Radek.

II.

Six Pillars of the British World Empire which have been shaken.

British imperialism is the father of the Guarantee Pact. The idea of the Pact originated in England; its carrying out is the result of the efforts of English diplomacy. The key to the understanding of the aims which this Pact is intended to serve, is the inner and outer situation of the English world empire. England's world-rule rests upon six pillars. 1. English industry. 2. Commerce, 3. Credit, 4. the Mercantile Fleet, 5. the Navy and 6. the Colonies, secured the English bourgeoisie a position which enabled it to bribe a considerable part of the English proletariat and to dominate the world. All these pillars have been shaken.

1. The position of industry in England is more critical than in any other capitalist country. In the sixties English industry occupied a leading position in the world market. In the year 1913 it was already being overtaken by its rivals and had already begun to play the role of an equal among equals — German and American industry. It is now entering on the third phase of its development.

But Great Britain is not only suffering from this general sickness affecting all capitalist countries which enlarged and extended their heavy industry during the war. It is suffering from a special evil. England is beginning to be left behind as regards industrial technic. This is particularly noticeable in three spheres: in the production of coal and electricity, and in ship-building. Some figures regarding English electrical industry illustrate this situation with special clearness:

"In a report at the world congress for electrical energy a comparison was made between the electricity supply of London and that of Chicago, which very plainly revealed the economic advantage of the concentration of electrical energy and the linking up of all systems. In both towns the electrical works are consuming coal of approximately equal quality and cost. But the average tariff for a kilowatt hour in London amounts to 11 kopeks, in Chicago to 4.4 kopeks. The tariff for lighting amounts in London to 20 kopeks, in Chicago to 12. In addition to this the London Electricity companies make less profit in proportion to invested capital than those in Chicago, i. e. 5.369% as against 6.55%.

This enormous difference in the productivity of the electrical works of both towns is due to the difference in the organisation. In Chicago, three quarters of the energy required by the town is supplied by one big company, which owns eight great works, all of which are connected with one another. Of the 2,700,000 inhabitants of Chicago, 650,000 were supplied with electricity by the above-mentioned company, which in the year 1921 supplied 2 1/4 milliard kilowatt hours. In London the provision of electricity is split up among numerous undertakings. The town and its immediate environs has a population of eight million and is served by 77 electrical undertakings, which supply energy to 50 independent systems, the unification of which would be impossible without a thorough reconstruction, as the currents greatly differ from each other both with regard to rapidity as well as tension.

For the setting up of this absurd system of electrical supply in London much more capital was required than was the case in Chicago. For a kilowatt a capital of £ 75 is required, in Chicago, however, only £ 42. The consumption of coal in the small works in London amounts, on an average, to 1.68 kilograms per kilowatt, in the great American works, 0.85.

From the above figures one can perceive why the supply of electricity in London is considerably dearer for the population than in Chicago, while at the same time it brings in lower profits to the companies". (S. Kukul, "International Electrification", Moscow 1925, published by the Commission for Planned Economy. Page 28 and 29.)

The very severe coal crisis which England is undergoing is the result not only of the competition represented by the employment of water power in developing the systems of electrical works on the Continent, but it is also due to the backwardness of organisation of the English coal industry and of its technic. The 3000 pits belonging to 1800 companies are naturally incapable of competing as regards technic with the strongly trustified American and German coal industry. They are not capable of introducing new machinery, although the exhaustion of the upper coal seams of England render necessary a perfecting of technic to a far greater extent than in the United States, where the upper seams have still to be worked out.

The transition to liquid fuel which is rendered necessary owing to the competition of raw oil and electricity, requires the outlay of an enormous amount of capital, which is not available in England. When it is remembered that cheap coal was not only the foundation of English industry but also of the cheap freight rates of the English mercantile fleet, then it is not surprising that this situation of the coal industry is causing alarm to all the far-seeing English capitalists.

The position in the English ship-building industry is disastrous. The English steamship companies are ordering new steamships from German shipyards which, as regards technic, have outstripped the English. The Treaty of Versailles permitted the plundering of the German people, but did not permit the plundering of the capitalists. It deprived Germany of her mercantile fleet and at the same time imposed upon the German government the obligation to recompense the German capitalists for the loss from the proceeds of the taxes. With this money Germany built herself a modern mercantile fleet and established shipyards which are better equipped than the English.

Why has England remained technically behind the other countries? Because the falling off of the rate of accumulation of capital in England did not allow her to keep pace with the United States in carrying out the technical revolution which the world is now experiencing. The slowing down of the rate of the accumulation of capital and the retardation in the development of technic threaten to place English capitalism behind all capitalist States, which would be tantamount to the complete decline of the world importance of England, for this was based before all upon the advantage which English industry had over the industries of all other countries. It threatens at the same time to deprive England of the possibility of feeding her population.

Nothing better characterises the position of English industry than the declaration of Colonel Vernon Willey, the President of the Federation of British Industry, that only the United States is capable of supplying England with new technical equipment by investing its capital in English industry ("Daily Herald" 15th July 1925).

2. The situation of foreign trade was described by the English President of the Board of Trade, Cunliffe Lister in a speech in parliament on the 5th of July, when he stated that in the year 1925 English imports amounted to 855 million pounds and exports to 697 million, showing an adverse balance of 150 million pounds. In 1923 the respective figures were 1158 million and 955 million, which yielded an unfavourable balance of 203 million pounds. In the year 1924 the respective figures were: 1338 million and 997 million pounds, which gives an adverse balance of 341 million pounds. The figures for the year ending May 1925 were as follows: 1390 millions and 995 millions, which shows that the adverse balance has increased to 395 millions. That, declared the speaker, was a very serious situation which conclusively shows that Great Britain is living on borrowed money which is invested in industry.

Whilst English foreign trade only amounts to 57% of that of the pre-war time, the foreign trade of the United States amounts to 119% and that of France to 106%. The report of the commission set up to investigate the position of England in the world market points to the following reasons for the decline of the commercial power of England: decline of purchasing power on the part of other countries, growth of industry in the English colonies and the independent states and driving out of English goods by the industrial products of America and Japan. If one asks whether there are any reasons for assuming that these three factors will disappear in the near future, one can admit as the only possible change a fresh increase of purchasing power in the agricultural countries. The two other factors will only increase. But the report of the English parliamentary commission fails to deal with a very important cause of the cessation of the growth of English trade: the loss of importance of London as a world's money market.

3. The decline of English foreign credit. English trade was based upon the best credit system in the world. England had not only supplied the state with loans, which resulted in orders for English industry, she not only exported capital into the colonies and abroad for the founding of new branches of industry, she not only financed her own trade, but she was the source from which all other capitalist powers paid for their orders.

From the moment when the position of the Pound Sterling as the leading money unit of the world became unsteady, London ceased to be the centre of world credit. The traders of South America and the Far East had no further interest in investing their money in London at a low interest when it could lose its value in a few months. The result was that a considerable quantity of short-term payments, by means of which the English banks on their side had supplied English trade with short-term loans, were withdrawn from England.

The cessation of the accumulation of capital in England rendered impossible the investment of English capital abroad to the extent to which capital was previously exported from England. In the years 1911 to 1913, England had invested abroad and in her colonies an average of 820 million dollars, that is 82% of her investments; in the years 1920 to 1925 she had 444 million dollars invested abroad, that is 26.9% of her investments. In the year 1923 the export of English capital amounted to 124 million pounds, and was left right behind by the American export; in the year 1925 the English government was compelled to limit the export of capital abroad, and Australia, who applied to London for a loan of 20 million pounds, only received 5 million in London and was compelled to seek the remaining 15 million in the United States.

When it is borne in mind that the colonial markets of England, with the exception of Canada, are not markets in which English trade has proved to be most capable of maintaining its positions, it is clear that England's inability to supply her colonial markets with fresh capital must exert a disastrous influence upon her foreign trade balance. English capital investments abroad constituted the basis for the growth of the influence of English imperialism, and their decline is resulting in a mechanical diminution of this influence.

English industry is endeavouring to overcome its technical backwardness with the aid of American credits. The contemplated visit by the chairman of the Federation of British Industries Colonel Willey, and the Director of one of the greatest English banks, McKenna, the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, to New York in order to obtain a long-term loan, throws the brightest light upon the critical situation of England.

4. England has ceased to play the leading role in the world market as a ship-building power, even though the number of English merchant ships still exceeds the number of ships of the United States and Germany. In this connection England is not only suffering from an increase in the cost of ship-building, but also from the fact that the export of English coal, which served as an outward cargo for the ships which should bring home supplies of raw material, has diminished. This is increasing the English freight rates in general and is rendering more difficult the supplying England with raw materials and food stuffs.

5. The position of England in the colonies has uninter-ruptedly grown worse in the post-war period.

In the colonies with a white population there is an increasing tendency to become quite independent of the mother country. This is plainly to be seen in Canada, Australia and also New Zealand. The underlying causes for this are of an economic as well as a political character. The same tendency is to be seen in the growth of the dependence of these colonies upon the American money market, and the orientation of these countries to the United States as a power in the Pacific Ocean. Both Australia and Canada look to the United States for protection against Japan rather than to England. They are not in agreement with the English Oriental policy, which threatens their commerce with the East. The Australian press has protested in the sharpest manner against the employment of Australian cruisers in naval demonstrations in Shanghai, and declares that they were not built for this purpose. The attitude of the English colonies to the Turkish adventure of Lloyd George demonstrated in the clearest manner that they are not inclined to run into danger in order to protect the position of English imperialism in the East.

The position of England in the colonies with a native population, in India and Egypt, is confronted with fresh great crises, the first wave of the people's movement in the years 1919 and 1920 has receded. With the help of its powerful bureaucratic apparatus, English imperialism is keeping India and Egypt under the iron heel; it could even venture on a predatory attack upon the Sudan.

But the collapse of the policy of bargaining with the colonial bourgeoisie, the collapse of pseudo-parliamentarism, which English imperialism endeavoured to introduce as a cloak for its arbitrary rule, heralded the approach of new storms. England is already no longer able to proceed against the colonial bourgeoisie, but English imperialism has not even the power to accede to it a portion of its profits and privileges. And whilst England is helplessly involved in her difficulties with the Egyptian and Indian bourgeoisie, a wave of fresh and greater difficulties with the mass of the people is rising. The recent strike of the textile workers in Bombay shows that, as a result of the industrialising of India, a labour movement is growing up, which is passing through the school of economic struggles and is taking into its hands the struggle for national emancipation.

6. The military situation of England. Thanks to the development of sub-marines and to the ever-increasing importance of aviation, England is more and more losing the advantage of her insular position.

England is groaning under the burden of her military expenditure. The expenditure on the fleet amounts to about 150 million pounds; and this fleet is at present only equal to the American Fleet, whilst before the war England had insisted that her fleet must be equal to the combined fleets of any other two naval powers. The British Empire can no longer think of world victory without the support of the American fleet. And in addition to her credit and her fleet, England has maintained herself on a third basis: upon the cultural affinity of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. The connection maintained with the aid of credits and the aid of the fleet has been weakened. The cultural connection between the Dominions and the United States of America is already not less than that between the Colonies and Great Britain.

All six pillars, upon which English imperialism is based have been shaken to their very foundations. The whole process of the weakening of the world power of England is proceeding along with great outbreaks in the East. In order to understand the full seriousness of the situation of England one must compare her position with victorious American capitalism and the advancing revolution in the East.

The Results of the Elections in Switzerland.

By Wieser (Basle).

On October 24th. and 25th., the elections took place in Switzerland for the "people's representation", the National Council. Proportional representation is in force, each Canton is a constituency, there is one member for every 20,000 inhabitants. The largest canton, Berne, elects 34 National Councilors; a few small cantons have only one member each.

In addition to the National Council, there is the Diet, the representative of the cantons; each canton — independently of its size elects two members of the Diet, the "half-cantons", such as Basle, even only have one. The Diet has constitutionally just as much competence and practically as much influence as the National Council. In the National Council for instance, the Catholic Conservative party is represented by, in round numbers, a fifth of the members; in the Diet however, through the representation of the "original cantons", almost half. The Diet always acts as a break, it has changed many of the resolutions of the National Council for the worse in a reactionary sense; as the most influential persons sit in it, it almost always enforces its will. No resolution, no law can be passed without the consent of both Councils. In the Helvetian model Republic, Parliamentary Democracy has thus stopped short in its development at a very reactionary level.

The last elections took place in the atmosphere of the economic crisis which has been making itself felt to a stronger degree during the last few months. The economic situation of Switzerland is decisively determined by the position in the export industry (machines, watches, embroidery etc.) The opportunities for sale in our large export industries are however constantly being narrowed by the policy of tariff protection which has been established in almost all the countries which come into question. Switzerland also has for years tried to protect its industries which work for home demands, against the competition of foreign countries, by protective tariffs and restrictions of imports; trade and agriculture (i. e. the large landowners) have profited most from this policy. The consequence for the workers was, that Switzerland is to-day the most expensive country in the world; the prices are, calculated in gold, even somewhat higher than in England and America. This means however, that wages could not be cut down below a certain level, to that our export industry has constantly been handicapped in its possibility of competition. The net wages of Swiss workers are still considerably higher than those, for instance, of German workers; the wages for women and juveniles however have been absolutely "equalised" with those of other industrial countries.

Our export industry received a severe blow from the new, so-called McKenna duties, which were re-introduced in England on July 1st. The value of our exports sank from June to July by just about a quarter! The silk industry in particular was badly hit. In individual cantons, for instance in Basle town and district, partly also in Zurich, this industry experienced a real catastrophe. Some works closed down altogether, other dismissed half their workers. In the Basle district, about 90% of the silk looms in the trimmings branch were idle. The number of unemployed rose rapidly.

The situation of the workers is rendered considerably worse by the constant increase in rents. At the present time, the Swiss worker must pay on the average one third to one quarter of his wages for house rent. With very modest pretensions, three rooms cost 1500 francs per year. The very moderate tenants' protection which has existed up to now, is to be completely abolished by next Spring, which will of course be accompanied by an increase of rents.

With the present import duties, about 300 francs per year fall on a normal working class family. The most important piece of social work in the last period of legislation was to be the social insurance of the aged, of disabled persons and of widows and orphans. The bills became worse from year to year. The insurance of disabled persons was dropped altogether; then it was decided that all the money needed for insurance should be raised by indirect taxation (alcohol and tobacco). On December 6th., the federal plebiscitum as to the new articles of the Constitution will be held; Social Democracy is now agreeing to this reactionary blundering with the excuse, "Better something than nothing!"; the Communist Party is the only one which has issued a slogan of rejection.

All these questions were to the fore in the election campaign. The growing discontent with the economic policy of the Confederation has caused a considerable increase in the social democratic votes in some cantons; in other cantons, the Social Democrats lost votes. Among the almost 200 members, 49 are Social Democrats (up to now 43), 42 Catholics, 60 Independents. The relatively great loss of the Peasant party (4 out of 30 mandates) is interesting. Increasing discontent is making itself felt among the mass of the small peasants, with the policy which is conducted in the interests of the large farmers. The small peasants are deeply in debt; they also are affected by the increase of prices. Our Communist Party, steadily pursuing its aim, has, during the last months, started propaganda among the small peasants, more especially by publishing a periodical paper "The Free Swiss Peasant". We demand for the small peasants, above all the reduction of the rate of interest on mortgages.

Our Communist Party maintained its position well in the elections; it gained one mandate in Schaffhausen and retained one each in Zurich and Basle. In Basle we had a relatively greater increase of votes than any other party, our position among the organised industrial workers has been consolidated; in the meeting of the delegates of the trade union cartel we have a certain two thirds' majority. In Schaffhausen, about a third of all the votes were given to our party, many of the small peasants voting for us. We were able to observe that in this election campaign, quite a number of factory nuclei worked very well and on their own initiative. Unfortunately our party lost about 1000 votes in the very industrial canton of Zurich; this was partly due to unpleasant circumstances within the local organisation. In French Switzerland we made progress in several places.

In a country, in which democratic illusions are deeply rooted in the workers, the fight of the Communist Party is extraordinarily difficult. The fact that, in spite of this, we are able to record very satisfactory progress in some places, proves to us once more that our Party as a whole, has been firmly consolidated in its internal structure during the last few years. We shall not lose the positions which we now hold.

At the same time as the elections, there was an interesting Federal plebiscite which gave the National Council increased competence with regard to regulating the residence and settlement of foreigners. The Social Democrats and all the bourgeois parties as well, assented to the proposal of the Federal Council for entirely reactionary reasons, whilst our party alone issued the slogan of rejection. The result showed that the great majority of the organised workers, including the social democrats, in the most important towns followed our communist slogan.

Conference of the National Minorities.

By L. Katz (Vienna.)

At the same time as an "atmosphere of reconciliation" was created in Locarno, the European Conference of the National Minorities took place in Geneva. Representatives of 30 different national groups from 12 countries assembled to bring into being a kind of league of the national minorities of Europe. This succeeded all the better because a friendly attitude was demonstrated on all sides. After the question of organisation, the creation of a central bureau in Geneva, had been solved, the Conference ended by passing a number of resolutions.

In these resolutions, the Conference established the demands of the minorities as "the preliminary conditions for a loyal cooperation of the European countries". These demands are: an equal right to self-administration for all national groups, without considering whether they form the majority or minority in the State, further the guarantee of this autonomy by the League of Nations.

Before passing to a close consideration of these demands, we must point out the great gaps in the organisation of the Conference. Although the border States and the succession States of the former Habsburg monarchy, Poland, Germany, Austria, Italy and Denmark with their German, Magyar, Polish, Jewish, Slovenian and other minorities were represented, just the most important national groups which are striving for national independence, the Slovaks, Croatians, Ukrainians, Macedonians were absent from the deliberations in Geneva.

Although the Conference — with no slight exaggeration — claimed to speak for 30 millions among the minorities, there was, even according to their own estimate, no delegate in Geneva, to represent no less than 20 millions of various nationalities! Whom then did the delegates who were present, represent? Without exception, parliamentary parties of the minorities in question, which had been able to constitute themselves legally in various countries.

It would lead too far to prove by statistics that these parties do not embrace even a fraction of those 30 millions in whose name they negotiated in Geneva. It is enough to point out the fact that even the active national minority parties in the succession States can only unite thin strata of their bourgeoisie, but are isolated from the great mass of workers speaking their mother tongue.

Whatever may be the condition with regard to the adherents of these parties, an abrupt change in their policy and tactics was noticeable at the conference which has just been held in Geneva. Why this sudden change in their tactics, this revision in their programme of action?

In Geneva also it was a question of the policy of capitalist consolidation, of a re-arrangement of foreign policy under the aegis of England. If the German fatherland revised its conception of foreign policy in Locarno, how would it have been possible for the German minority parties in Geneva to work against the Berlin circles and the attitude they had held up to then? When the Horthy Government — under pressure from England — was negotiating as to the conclusion of peace with Roumania, when the "Awakening Magyars" were forming a united front with the Roumanian Fascists, how could the Magyar party of Transylvania which was closely allied with them, continue the offensive, irredentist tactics it had hitherto pursued?

The same class political tendencies which had more and more gained the upper hand in the foreign policy of the defeated States, found open expression in Geneva as well as in Locarno. The political leaders of the minority parties especially found no difficulty in veering into a new course. There is no lack of pioneers in this direction in the past! Since Radic exchanged the Croatian idea of the State and the republican ideals for the capability of governing in the Serbian way, there is, among the other leaders of minorities also, no lack of attempts to propagate the necessity of cooperation with class brothers speaking other languages.

In Geneva, these isolated attempts have now been summarized into one programme of action. The bridging over of national contradictions, the erection of an effective united front, directed against the Soviet Union, these are the slogans which were issued in Geneva on the occasion of the Minorities Conference.

Voicing the new Presidium, G. Süllö, the clerical deputy and leader of the Magyar party in Czechoslovakia, expressed this openly in his concluding speech. He said:

"The solution of the national minority problems is of great importance to the whole of Europe. The complaints of the national minorities form the best means of propaganda for the Bolsheviks. If the minority problems are not solved, the despair of the national minorities may lead finally to Bolshevism. In order to prevent this danger, collaboration between the League of Nations and the Central Organisation of the minority parties, peace within the precincts between the latter and European diplomacy is urgently needed."

It is thus more than ever one of the most immediate tasks of the Communist Parties of Europe, to reveal this policy of compromise of the leaders and the tactical machinations of the various minority parties, to put the tonic power of the existing national energies at the disposal of the class war.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Struggle of the Indonesian Proletariat.

Appeal of the R. I. L. U.

The Red International of Labour Unions has issued the following appeal to the workers of all countries:

The workers of Indonesia have for years been conducting an energetic struggle against their exploitation by the Dutch imperialists. The Dutch government, after the defeat of the railway workers' strike by means of terror in the year 1923, continually increased its repressive measures against the labour movement.

Up to July of this year hundreds and thousands of workers and peasants had been **thrown into prison** for having fought against the **cruel exploitation and suppression** — a fight which is conducted with the assistance of the Communist Party of Indonesia, of the revolutionary, people's organisation "Sarekat Rayat" and the trade unions.

At the same time the government increased its repressive measures against the whole national movement of Indonesia. The workers in this colony, whose wages only amount to 15 to 20% of the wages of the workers in Holland, England and other European countries, are compelled, along with the poor peasants, to pay heavy taxes which amount to 25% of their annual income. There are no laws protecting the coloured workers from exploitation and slavery. The only labour laws in the country are: the law forbidding strikes and the laws which punish the workers for conducting any struggle against the existing fearful conditions of living.

In August last the **general strike of the dock workers in Semarang** was suppressed; during the **general strike of the printers** in the same town and during the strike of the hospital workers, the leaders of the local trade unions, **Darsono** and **Suwarno**, were arrested along with ten other comrades. The strike of the dock workers in **Padang** which was declared in September last, was suppressed at the very commencement. The strike and the demonstration of the dock workers in **Belawan** and **Medan** in October last led to the arrest of the leaders, while the demonstrators were dispersed by means of armed force, as a result of which many workers, along with their wives who had taken part in the demonstration and demanded bread, were severely wounded.

Many hundreds of workers were discharged solely because they are members of trade unions or other workers' organisations. In spite of the constant terror, the Indonesian workers are doing everything in their power in order to set up trade unions. With only these recently formed and still weak organisations to aid them, they are compelled again and again to plunge into the struggle against their fearful exploitation by Dutch capitalism.

It is only the Communists who venture to oppose the imperialist terror of the Dutch government and to help the workers to combine together in trade unions.

It is the duty of the international proletariat to voice its energetic protest against this terror. We draw your attention to the situation in Indonesia and call upon you to organise everywhere protest demonstrations against Dutch imperialism. We call upon the workers of Holland in particular, to protest against the terror exercised by the Dutch government in Indonesia.

We say, however, to the enslaved workers of Indonesia: Rest assured that the revolutionary workers of the whole world are in sympathy with you in your struggle. Continue to fight for the improvement of working conditions, for the right to organise trade unions, for the right to strike and for your complete emancipation from Dutch imperialism! The workers of all countries will support you in this difficult fight; for your fight against Dutch imperialism is the concern of the workers of the whole world.

Down with Dutch imperialism!

Long live the working masses of Indonesia who are fighting against imperialism!

Long live the fighting trade unions of Indonesia!

Show Solidarity with the Chinese and Japanese Trade Unions.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions has issued the following appeal to all its affiliated organisations:

The Delegation of the R. I. L. U. and of the Central Trade Unions of the Soviet Union which has returned from China and Japan, recorded in its report the considerable growth and the political maturity of the Chinese trade union movement, which is entirely at one with the R. I. L. U. In addition to this the delegation recorded a number of facts which go to prove that the imperialists and a section of the Chinese bourgeoisie are endeavouring to suppress the young labour movement in China.

The Executive Bureau of the R. I. L. U. is of the opinion that the immediate contact which the trade unions of the U. S. S. R.

have established with the Chinese trade unions, means a great step towards securing the participation of the Chinese proletariat in the international labour movement. The Executive Bureau calls upon all affiliated organisations to set up direct connections with the Chinese Trade Union Federation in Canton and to prepare the proletariat of all countries to give active support to the young Chinese trade union movement.

In Japan the delegation was enthusiastically welcomed by the whole of the workers. As a result of this attitude the Japanese workers were subjected to mass persecutions, which took the form of the arrest of several hundreds of workers, in floggings and in unexampled arbitrary acts on the part of the Japanese police, the purpose of which was to prevent the coming together of the Japanese trade unions with those of Soviet Russia. The Executive Bureau sends fraternal greetings to the Japanese workers and calls upon all affiliated organisations to protest against the insolent police regime in Japan.

Long live the Chinese Trade Union Federation!

Down with the imperialists!

Long live the Japanese proletariat!

Down with the Police Regime of the Japanese Capitalists!

The Anthracite Coal Strike in the United States.

By Wm. Z. Foster.

For almost three months the Anthracite miners of the United States, numbering 158,000, were on strike against the powerful combinations of mine operators and railroad companies which own these rich and strategically situated coal fields. The principal demands of the workers were for substantial increases in wages and for the establishment of the so-called "check off". The check off is an arrangement by which the employers collect from the workers' wages the Union dues and assessments, and then turn them over to the Union. The effect of it is to maintain at least the financial phase of 100% organisation. In every American coal strike the struggle around the issue of the check off plays an important part, the employers always fighting against it. In most of the organised coal fields the check off is established, but not in the Anthracite district. The Miners' Union is the only American Union with a genuine check off.

The anthracite miners have conducted their struggle under growing difficulties. The anthracite coal fields are situated in Eastern Pennsylvania, close to the greatest cities of the country. The coal is used almost entirely in these cities, which have smoke laws which prohibit the use of bituminous coal. In addition, most of the heating and power plants are equipped to burn only anthracite coal. These facts have tended to make something of a monopoly of the anthracite industry and to give the miners a strategic position, which is increased by the fact that, owing to the extremely hazardous nature of the mining, no men can go to work as miners unless they are regularly licensed by the State, a situation which tends to eliminate strike-breakers.

Consequent upon these favourable factors, strikes in the anthracite industry, although some of them have been bitter struggles, lack the intensity and desperation of the strikes in the bituminous coal industry, which sometimes almost reach the stage of civil war. The anthracite miners usually win more easily than those in the bituminous fields. In the present struggle, however, they have had to contend against a whole series of fresh difficulties. The worst of these was the competition of other power and heat-producing elements. When the strike began the big cities promptly eliminated their smoke laws and thus permitted the use of bituminous coal, which, mined mostly by Union miners and hauled by Union railroad workers, flooded into the Eastern cities to break the strike of the anthracite miners. Then there was the tremendous competition from all sorts of oil and gasoline devices which, developing rapidly in the last few years, grew like wild-fire as soon as the strike began. Then there was the growing competition of water power, which is being developed extensively throughout the entire United States.

To make matters worse, the Union itself, the United Mine Workers of America, is undergoing a crisis which threatens its very existence. This centres in the bituminous fields. During

the war the bituminous industry was greatly over-developed, hundreds of new mines being opened. These have since struggled along trying to maintain production. Consequently, tremendous chronic unemployment prevails. The average working week of the bituminous miners the year round is only 2½ days. For long periods they have no work at all. The employers and the reactionary officials of the Unions agree that the way to cure the unemployment evil is to shut down a large number of mines and to drive 200,000 miners permanently from the industry. It is this drastic and inhuman measure they favour rather than the establishment of the six hour working day which is advocated by the Left Wing.

In this situation the Union has great difficulty to maintain itself, considering its reactionary leadership and antiquated policies. Of 800,000 miners, only about 400,000 are organised. The employers are extremely militant and are fighting the Union at all points. The Union has been completely destroyed in several of the bituminous districts, including Alabama, Colorado, West Virginia etc. The only well organised bituminous fields now are in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Western Pennsylvania. To defeat these the industry is moving away to the unorganised districts of West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee etc. While the miners starve in idleness in the organised districts, the unorganised miners in the scab districts have comparatively steady work. The effect of this upon the Union is disastrous. The employers, on the other hand, are becoming ever stronger. Just now a new \$500,000,000 coal combination is being organised. Formerly the United Mine Workers' was the most progressive Union in the American Labour Movement. Now its leadership is among the most reactionary. These bureaucrats are worse than helpless in this crisis. Not only do they do nothing themselves to strengthen the Union, but they ruthlessly crush, with the aid of the employers, every manifestation of activity by the organised Left Wing, formed into the Progressive Miners' Committee, which is supported by the Workers (Communist) Party.

Notwithstanding these tremendous difficulties, the Left Wing contrives to exercise a large influence on the organised miners. During the last union election, Voyzey, a Communist working miner, polled 66,000 votes against Lewis' 134,000 for President of the United Mine Workers of America. An honest count of the votes could have given Voyzey many thousands more. The bulk of the miners are immigrant workers, Italians, Poles, Russians, South Slavs, Lithuanians etc., and they are radically inclined. The Americans, English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh, (the English-speaking group) are far more conservative. The percentage of foreign born miners is particularly large in the anthracite districts and it is there that the Lewis machine necessarily makes the most desperate efforts to kill the influence of the Workers (Communist) Party.

The strike has now been settled on the basis of a 5% increase in wages to the anthracite miners, all other demands being denied. This means that the Lewis clique have not only directly betrayed the anthracite miners, but have deliberately rejected the opportunity to rebuild the union by a general strike and have abandoned the bituminous miners to their fate. And this fate is a hard one. The bituminous miners are so weakened that it is difficult to see how, as an organised body, they can survive another serious struggle such as that of 1922. They are confronted with the rapidly approaching non-union fields, which are now able to produce almost the total amount of coal necessary; they have to contend against a growing concentration of capital, a rapid improvement in mining processes, a sharp competition from oil and water power, and ultra-reactionary trade union leadership and a host of other adverse factors.

Should the bituminous miners be defeated in their coming struggle, as they may well be, it would mean a calamity not only for the Miners' Union, but also for the whole American labour movement of which it is the very backbone. To avert such a calamity to the Miners' Union a radical change in the policy is necessary. This cannot come from the present leadership. Lewis, the President of the Union, is a Right hand man of Calvin Coolidge, and is so reactionary as to oppose the formation of even the most conservative type of Labour Party. Green, long the Secretary of the Miners' Union and now President of the American Federation of Labour, is just as reactionary as was Gompers, if not more so. Such leaders are the bitterest opponents of a policy of class struggle. Their

power must be broken, or the Union will be destroyed by the militant capitalist class. To overthrow them and to bring the Union into a policy of class struggle, by which it alone can survive, is the great task of the growing Left Wing in the Miners' Union.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

On the Relation between the Comintern and the Ruth Fischer-Maslow Group.

Introductory Remark.

Various adherents of the Ruth Fischer-Maslow group are now trying to represent things as though their policy during the past year had met with the tacit consent of the Comintern. The following documents from the time of the Frankfort Party Conference are evidence that this assertion is contradicted by facts, that, on the contrary, the Executive of the Comintern has, from the beginning taken an attitude of decided opposition to the deviations of this group.

I.

Letter of the Delegation of the ECCI. to the Frankfort Party Conference of the CP. of Germany, addressed to the Representatives of the Left.

Dear Comrades!

On the basis of yesterday's negotiations between the delegation of the ECCI., the RCP. and yourselves, we proposed, for the coming negotiations, the following text which contains in concise form, the chief theses expressed in the letter of the ECCI. to the Party Conference of the CP. of Germany.

1. Since the Moscow resolutions were passed, individual comrades of the German Left have behaved in a way which is a breach of the Moscow resolutions and which is, to all intents and purposes, a rejection of the tactics of a united front, and implies the support of the obnoxious slogan of the secession of the advanced revolutionary elements from the so-called free trade unions; in view of this, the Party Conference, the majority of which is formed by the Left, will declare that in these two questions, it takes its stand on the resolutions of the conference held in Moscow last January. The Party Conference therefore declares, with regard to the question of the tactics of a united front, that, in the approaching historic period, these tactics will continue to be, as they always were, a powerful tool for agitation and for the mobilisation of the masses, and that their rejection might imply a danger of the young Communist Parties developing into sects and becoming isolated from the masses. Needless to say, it would be out of place to transfer those forms of the united proletarian front, which are applied in Germany, to other sections of the Comintern which are at a different stage of development and in a different concrete historical environment.

2. The Party Conference disapproves of the "new" tactics which demand secession from the trade unions and want to create parallel organisations, and is determined to base its trade union theses on the theses which were passed at the January Conference in Moscow.

3. The Party Conference expresses its readiness to give up the congress of the trade union opposition fixed for May, or at least to postpone it, in order to avoid a split and to give the social democrats no excuse for turning the communists out of the trade unions. The Party Conference feels obliged to explain publicly that it is taking these steps for the purpose of maintaining trade union unity. With the same object, the Party Conference feels compelled to point out to the trade union functionaries that they may sign the undertakings demanded by the social democrats, the Party Conference being obliged to give suitable political reasons for this step.

At the same time it is necessary to take measures in order to bring together the workers throughout the Republic, who are excluded from the trade unions, under the slogan of the fight for the restoration of trade union unity.

4. The Party Conference is under the obligation of taking the most serious measures to ensure that the communist trade union fractions not only represent leading organisations, but that communist fractions exist in every union, which really embraces the masses.

5. In connection with the retreat of the German proletariat in October, depression has spread among the young elements which are not yet hardened from the revolutionary point of view and have had no serious Marxist schooling; it is therefore necessary for the Party Conference to condemn both the remains of social democracy in the Right wing and the depression in the Left, which finds expression in the attempts to revise the fundamental principles of Bolshevism in Germany on the basis of the situation created by the October retreat (it was even proposed to alter the attitude of the Party in the agrarian question, the national question, questions of organisation etc.).

6. The Party Conference feels compelled to oppose the attempts of the adherents of this tendency to depression in the Left, which would result in undermining the confidence in the Comintern by irresponsible and entirely unfounded attacks on it. The Party Conference must state that, in the present period of the consolidation of the revolutionary forces under the banner of the 3rd, Communist International, such attempts actually imply a splitting up of the forces of the proletarian revolution.

7. At the same time the Party Conference must oppose both the pessimistic estimation of the future pace of the revolution which implies restricting the aims with which the proletariat is faced, to the so-called small tasks and the point of view which denies the necessity of a fight for partial demands. Both these extremes reflect moods of depression and lead in the same way to the revolutionary disarmament of the proletariat.

The Party Conference must resolve and the new Central Committee enforce that, from the moment when the Party Conference has passed its resolutions, all the existing fractions will immediately be dissolved and the present Party majority must discontinue the organisatory fight against those comrades who belonged to other groups before the Party Conference, provided that these comrades loyally carry out the resolutions of the Party Conference.

As a practical start to this new course, which involves the transformation of the old Left opposition into the majority of the Party, the Party Conference will take Comrade Clara Zetkin and Pieck and five comrades from the centre group into the Central Committee.

II.

Declaration of the Delegation of the ECCI. with regard to the Draft Theses of Comrade Maslow on "The Situation, the Prospects, the Tactics".

The delegation of the ECCI, having examined the resolution on "the situation, the prospects and the tactics", considers it necessary to call the attention of the Left to the sad and extremely harmful consequences for the CP. of Germany and the Comintern, which might result if these theses were passed by the Party Conference. These theses not only contain a number of incorrect and insufficiently thought out statements, but, a matter of far greater importance, they reveal the desire to give the Comintern a new tactical basis, in other words to de-Bolshevise it. Before we pass to an objective examination of the most important points, we would like to say a few words on the construction and on the relation between the separate parts of the theses you have proposed. The occupation of the Ruhr and its consequences monopolise three quarters of the theses. This misrepresents the perspective of the development of events. The occupation of the Ruhr is one stage in the development of the imperialist conflicts, but not the most important, and still less the only one. The problem of the international revolution is lost in a few scattered remarks, and this gives the impression of there being nothing to say about it. Soviet Russia as part of the world revolution and its most important motive force, is somehow or other evaded, so that the theses deserve rather to be called "The Occupation of the Ruhr and its Consequences" than "Situation, Prospects and Tactics". Let us now proceed to a more detailed consideration of the resolution.

1. The resolution records a new period in world politics, from the occupation of the Ruhr district to the liquidation of

this occupation. Further, the resolution provides three possibilities for the liquidation of the occupation of the Ruhr, so that the period under discussion is regarded as an uncertain quantity connected with the liquidation of the Ruhr occupation, whilst it is not known when and how this liquidation is to take place. At the same time however the liquidation of the Ruhr occupation itself is dependent on a number of factors of a national and international character. For this reason, the limits drawn by you, appear uncertain and artificial.

2. The MacDonald Government which, with the help of pacifist phrases and with the help of the English workers, is to carry out the programme of the English bourgeoisie (agreement with Soviet Russia so as to get their debts paid and their property back, exercising an influence on France, increased armaments etc.) is wrongly characterised. The meaning of the existence of the Labour Government is that the working class in England should be forced to do what, under existing conditions, neither the conservative nor the liberal bourgeoisie can do. Nevertheless the Labour Government represents an extremely important stage in the development of the English Labour movement.

3. The loss of the Ruhr represents of course the loss of the most important proletarian revolutionary basis, but the task of winning back the Ruhr is a problem of the Franco-German proletariat and not of the German alone.

4. It is not true that "German nationalism is impotent"; such statements create illusions as to the impotence of our enemies who are still strong enough; as a matter of fact they hold the power in their hands.

5. It is untrue that the occupation of the Ruhr district did not meet with the necessary counteraction on the part of the Comintern. The task of opposition to the Ruhr occupation was a purely international one. The international conferences in Essen and Frankfurt, the enormous amount of illegal work which was performed among the troops of occupation and in all countries with the help of the Comintern, prove that the statement is not true. The delegation must decidedly reject the statement (at the end of § 4) that the Comintern did very little in this question, and that thanks to it, the Communist Party in Germany pursued an "absolutely wrong" policy in this question.

6. All those parts of the resolution which speak of a serious crisis in the Comintern, of a communist revisionism etc. are wrong and extremely dangerous for the whole communist movement in Germany. All the sections of these theses in which the problem of the International is dealt with, reveal an absolute lack of understanding for the events which are happening in the International, for the forms and methods of the crystallisation of the Communist Party, and show that efforts are being made to change the principles of the Comintern by making a clamour about its severe sickness its severe crisis.

7. That this is the intention of these theses is proved by a number of unfounded assertions. According to the asseverations in the theses, the tactics of the Comintern have, since the 3rd. Congress, been directed "towards the backward strata of the proletariat." It is one thing to modify one's policy according to the backward strata of the proletariat, and another thing to conquer the backward strata of the proletariat and to raise them to a consciousness of communism. Must such elementary things be a point of dissension among communists? Is it possible to confound adaptation to backwardness (what Lenin called Chvostism) with the revolutionising of the backward masses?

8. The assertion that the new tactics have led the European Parties to lose the firmness of their principles in favour of elasticity of tactics, is essentially wrong. Theoretically it is wrong, and practically it does not correspond with reality. The old Bolshevik doctrine that the elasticity of tactics is the natural and logical expression of the communist principles, must be known to all comrades who want to create a Bolshevik Party in Germany. The assertion that the tactics of the Comintern have led to a dissolution of the principles of tactics (a formulation which is altogether difficult to understand), to a blurring of the boundaries between communism and reformism and to the beginning of communist revisionism, is incorrect and demagogic. It is absolutely wrong to assert that in consequence of the defeat in October and November, an "unconcealed liquidatorship" has arisen in all sections of the Comintern.

9. Everything that has been said in the theses about the united front, is absolutely confused. It is a false statement that the 4th. Congress of the Comintern did not point out the dangers of the united front. (See the text of the resolution of the 4th. Congress.) The discussion with Bucharin on the question of the minimum programme and the forms of transition reported in the theses, is very far fetched. It is well known that in this question Bucharin stands alone in the Russian Communist Party, and that no less a person than Lenin was a decided opponent of these views of Bucharin's. Finally, these episodic differences of opinion have entirely disappeared since the 4th. Congress of the Comintern.

10. The assertion that the CP. of Germany, obviously with the help of the Comintern, had been playing a dangerous game with nationalist phrases and had practically made peace with the bourgeoisie, is extremely harmful and untrue.

11. The formulation with regard to the organisation of the revolution in the Ruhr district, is wrong and extremely indefinite. What does it all mean? Does it refer to the occupation of the works and mines by the workers after the occupation of the Ruhr district by the French troops? If that is what is referred to, it should be clearly stated. In this as in many other questions, the Comintern has not the least intention of shaking off its political responsibilities. It was perfectly right to disregard the provocation of the agents of the French General Staff.

12. The mistake of the previous Central Committee was, not that it made partial demands, but that it did not understand how to combine these partial demands with the revolutionary fight. It is incorrect to maintain that the fight for partial demands and for a united front cannot be combined with the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In September 1917, Lenin proposed a compromise to the Mensheviks and the Social Democrats; the Party however continued its preparations for an insurrection. In the October days, when armed conflicts were going on in the streets of Moscow and Petrograd, the Bolsheviks negotiated with the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries with regard to the formation of a coalition government. The negotiations and the fight were going on at the same time. This is why the formula "either — or" can find no sympathy from the delegation of the ECCI.

13. The whole last section on the crisis of the Comintern, in which the phrase of "communist revisionism" is again repeated several times, shows that the writers of these theses have not accounted to themselves for the actual situation in the Comintern. It is a matter of course, that such assertions which the Comintern describe as caricatures, cannot even be regarded as a basis for discussion by the delegation of the ECCI.

Without going into the details of a number of extremely daring theoretical assertions, which are scattered in various parts of the resolution or of the absence of any kind of reference to the Fascist movement etc., the delegation of the ECCI. declares that the acceptance of these theses by the Party Conference would imply a declaration of war against the Comintern and the creation of a platform for a new International. We therefore suggest that these theses be re-written in a most drastic way, in doing which, the practical programme of action proposed by the Left, might, with the necessary additions and changes, be made the starting point for the formulation of the theses.

Speech of the Representative of the ECCI. at the Party Conference of the C. P. of Germany.

Comrades!

In the name of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and the C. P. of Russia, I bring your Conference the warmest brotherly greetings.

This Conference will be of far greater significance in the history of the German Communist Party than a whole number of sessions which were held in the quiet conditions of normal party life.

The historical mission of the Conference is to draw the conclusions and to learn the lessons resulting from one of the most severe crises which the German C. P. has ever passed through.

This severe crisis was intensified by the circumstance that it flared up immediately after the ordinary Party Conference, just because, in the debates of this Party Conference, there was no echo of the necessity to change the methods of work of the Party with regard to the broad masses of workers, a necessity which has existed for a long time.

In its first stage, this crisis had the character of a conflict between the leading group of Ruth Fischer-Maslow and the E. C. C. I., and, in the beginning, this circumstance confused many German comrades. A large number of them were under the impression that this crisis was not the consequence of an internal development of the Party during the last few years but that, to a certain degree, it had penetrated into the Party from without and was, in the end, nothing but the question of the regulation of the reciprocal relation between the Party and the Comintern.

A considerable number of the German comrades who had voted for the E. C. C. I. letter, transferred the chief weight of the discussion to the question of discipline as regards the Comintern. These comrades failed to grasp the significance of those fundamental problems of the further development of the German Party which were raised in the letter of the E. C. C. I.

Thus for instance, in the discussion of the E. C. C. I. letter, the Berlin comrades of the Central Committee, put the question in an extremely simplified form. "The E. C. C. I. demands of us the acceptance of its criticism." Even such a formal way of putting the question shows how much is still left in the Party of the unwholesome methods of Ruth Fischer-Maslow, what a demoralising effect the external mechanisation of the whole Party life by this group has had on some comrades.

It would be disastrous for the Party were we to make a kind of gospel of the E. C. C. I. letter on which the Berlin Party leaders would have to take their oath every day, without at the same time thoroughly considering the whole depth of the problems which are now arising and facing the Party, and without understanding them.

If the conclusion of the whole discussion is distorted into a question of external discipline, the whole political content of the E. C. C. I. letter is annihilated, and this would be utterly contrary to the spirit and purpose of this document.

Praiseworthy as is the fidelity of the Berlin comrades to the Comintern, in the present circumstances, when the Comintern is systematically discredited by the Ruth Fischer-Maslow-Scholem group, this would not help us one step further in the question of the development of the re-awakening of the Party to initiative and to self-activity.

It would, at the best, turn the whole problem into a question of replacing the leadership of the Ruth Fischer-Maslow group by the leadership of the Comintern. This would however mean resurrection of the worst sort of centralisation, which would obstruct the growth and development of the C. P. of Germany. It is no such malformed "Bolshevisation" of the Party which the E. C. C. I. is striving for in the C. P. of Germany.

The E. C. C. I. at this Conference is not aiming at a mechanical majority but at having the question put clearly. Only if this is done, will the lessons of this crisis make their mark on us. Only then will they be a source of restoration to health and revivification to the Party.

In my opinion, the effect of the crisis in the C. P. of Germany can be summarized in three forms.

Firstly, it is a crisis of the reciprocal relations between our Party and the broad masses of the working class who are without the pale of our Party. The crisis has most clearly revealed the inefficiency of the methods hitherto used by the Party in approaching the non-party and social democratic workers;

secondly it is a crisis of the existing relations between the leaders of the Party and the broad mass of the members of our Party, that is to say, a crisis within the internal Party regime, arising from mechanical suppression of the spontaneous activity of the Party and,

thirdly and finally, it is a crisis of the reciprocal relations between the Party and the Comintern.

All these three forms of your Party crisis are so closely interwoven that it is extraordinarily difficult to distinguish them from one another. It is for instance impossible to acknowledge the existence of one form of the crisis and to deny that of another.

The isolation of the Party externally, corresponds to the gulf which, within the Party, separates the Party leaders from

the members: sectarianism of the Party leaders, personal dictatorship, suspension of Party democracy etc. **All these are various facets of one and the same phenomenon — the estrangement from the masses.**

However often the Party leaders who observe a regime of this kind within the Party, may promise that they will support demands such as "the policy of conquering the masses", they will always go hopelessly bankrupt, because they are organically incapable of solving these problems.

From this results the ambiguity of their policy, the incongruity between their words and their deeds, their diplomacy towards the E. C. C. I. and towards their own party. **For this reason, the crisis must be radically treated, and the treatment applied to all sides of the Party life.**

I now pass to the examination of the first form of your crisis, to the question of the weakening of relationships between the Party and the broad masses of non-party workers. In what form has this crisis found expression?

Firstly, in the decrease in numbers of the Party membership, secondly, in the lessening of the recruiting power of the Party, thirdly, in the reduction of our influence on the trade unions, fourthly in the weakening of the power of attraction of the Party for those strata of the workers who sympathise with us and who have otherwise usually given their votes to the C. P. of Germany at the elections.

Comrades, it is not necessary for me to prove to you that the E. C. C. I. was perfectly clear in its own mind as to the enormous objective difficulties by which the Party was faced after the Frankfurt Party Conference. There is however now no object in referring to these difficulties if the Party is painfully recognising its subjective shortcomings and trying to find the way to eradicate them.

It is of the first importance that the Party should break away from the fatalistic philosophy of Ruth Fischer and Scholem which, in the course of the year has fostered the defeatist mood of the Party.

This depression is by no means accidental, it has grown out of the circumstances of the difficult development of the German revolution. Since 1919, the German proletariat has suffered three serious defeats: in January 1919, in March 1921 and finally, the worst defeat, in October 1923.

The Frankfurt Party Conference was a Party Conference which not only formed and consolidated the Left wing which was resolutely fighting against Brandler's opportunism within the Party, but also, in the Ruth Fischer-Maslow-Scholem group, gave ideological expression to the depression, the deep pessimism and the hopelessness which had seized the less advanced strata of workers after the October defeat.

If, at the present time, we look back at Frankfurt, we can discern that on that occasion, two currents flowing in a left direction, merged: the one was the progressive part of the German working class, which tentatively, with proletarian instinct, sought the way to overcome the remains of social democrat ideology within the Party, a healthy current, from which at the present time, the genuine iron cohort of German Bolshevism is growing; the second was the current of the intelligentsia, who derive their ideological descent from the Communist Labour Party of Germany, a current which is trying to construct some kind of specific German Bolshevism, "more Left" than Leninist theory and Bolshevik practice.

This latter current brought to light at the same time the effects of petty bourgeois nationalism, the disbelief in the methods of the proletarian revolution in Soviet Russia and the absence of any thorough knowledge of the principles of Marxism, of the Leninist doctrines and of any revolutionary traditions of the past.

These two currents differ in the tendency of their development and in their objective class contents. In Frankfurt they appeared as one united fraction which carried on the campaign against Brandlerism on a common platform.

The Frankfurt Party Conference consisted of a number of criticisms of the mistakes of the Party, and this circumstance gave the force of internal cohesion to a fraction in which, side by side with Comrades Thälmann, Geschke and others, who could look back on decades of work in the Labour movement, there were also persons who took the side of the working class in 1919 under the impression of the war and the German revolution, but who were unable to assimilate the proletarian point of view.

The process of the estrangement of these persons from the Thälmann fraction was inevitable as soon as the Party, like a

sensitive barometer, began to record an increased activity of the working class, at the moment when the feeling of oppression among the lowest strata of the proletariat began to disappear, at the moment when the ideology of defeat clashed violently with the Party consciousness.

Just at this stage of its internal development, the Party felt how conservative and noxious a ballast is the ultra-Left group in this period of the transition of the Party from defeat to new conquests, from depression to increased activity.

What could the leaders of yesterday say in this new phase of the Party? Could they — as in Frankfurt — recommend fleeing from the trade unions; could they reveal the pessimistic outlook of Maslow that ten years would elapse before the next German revolution; maintain, like Rosenberg, that, with millions of social democratic workers, it is only possible to elect a Crispian but not to carry through a revolution; could they have it stated by Ruth Fischer that the masses are not willing to fight for the demands of the day?

But to-day even a blind man could see that "Left" slogans of this kind do not contain a single grain of genuine revolutionism or Bolshevism.

That is the usual mental attitude of a more or less "disappointed" philistine who attributes his depression to the masses. The individual tragedy of these leaders of yesterday is that they came into power under the sign of the October defeat, but have overlooked the new phase of the development of the Labour movement.

Instead of remaining in the vanguard of the masses, leaders of this kind are in reality at the tail of the movement. However one may estimate this crisis subjectively, objectively it is evidently the result of a change which can be observed in the mental attitude of the working class.

The universal stabilisation of capital has not hindered the increasing activity of the working class, on the contrary, it has animated it.

The veering round to the Left of the working class in England is unfolding itself before our eyes.

Externally, this approach of the English Labour movement to the communist world movement is apparently not taking place through the channels of the Comintern but through the trade unions. This however is only a groping for new and special forms of influence through which we can approach the masses. We can see embryo forms of analogous slow processes in other countries as well, in which this movement of seeking new ways expresses itself in the workers' delegations and visits to the Soviet Union.

All parties who do not prepare in good time for this process of growing activity, are threatened by a crisis such as yours. For this reason, your crisis is by no means merely of a local character, of local significance. It signals for the Comintern and its Enlarged Plenum one of those tasks with regard to the methods of winning the masses, about which we shall all have to rack our brains during the next months, possibly years.

At the present moment, I dare not yet assert categorically, but at least it seems to me that, after the suppression of the insurrection in Esthonia, after the bloody convulsions of the Zankoff regime in Bulgaria and the unprecedented persecution of our Party in Poland, the zenith of the world reaction on the one hand and of the feeling of defeat on the part of the international working class on the other hand, has been passed.

Are you then in Germany really not aware of the symptoms of this change of attitude within the working class?! Take for instance, the last City Council elections in Berlin. What have they shown? In the first place that the district officials in Berlin had made very poor preparations for these elections. At the time when the election campaign ought to have been technically organised and the propaganda activity extended among the masses, the Berlin district officials were carrying on an endless discussion with the Central Committee about the question of the combination of the lists, about our tactics during the elections, about our attitude to the letter of the E. C. C. I., about various details, and it declined any responsibility to the E. C. C. I. for the results of the elections.

These elections showed however that, regardless of the bitter Party crisis which was going on at the same time, sympathy for our Party has increased in Berlin, and that every fifth elector voted for the C. P. of Germany. This last circumstance bears witness, that just this crisis in our Party appears to itself to be a source of the spread of its influence among the non-party

masses, and that all the prophesies of the "Vorwärts" as to the disintegration of our Party are ridiculous absurdities, that healthy Bolshevik self-criticism is only helpful to a Party which is so full of life and vigour and in its heart so proletarian as the C. P. of Germany.

Will the Party, will especially the **Berlin comrades**, who have hesitated for so long, be capable of applying the lessons of these elections in their practical political activity of to-morrow?

We have very little use at present for resolutions and solemn declarations of fidelity to the Comintern. It must be shown by deeds that the Party has adopted the line of fighting to win over the masses, and the old defeatist tactics of self-isolation must now be abandoned.

Do not gossip, Comrades, about the tactics of a united front from above or from below, but **endeavour to give the whole Party an example of a Labour front from below, by mobilising the Berlin works and the factories round about Berlin, by well thought out and clearly formulated demands of the working class districts of Berlin.**

I pass on to the second and last part of my speech, to the questions of the crisis within the Party regime and to the relations of the Party to the ECCI. It would be unprofitable at this juncture, to repeat all that has been written in the Press and spoken at meetings both about omissions and irregularities within the former Party regime of the Ruth Fischer-Maslow and Scholem group, and about the relations which this group has maintained with the Comintern.

It is much more to the purpose at the present stage of the discussion, to put those questions with which the Party is concerned and which are still insufficiently elucidated.

The question of the conquest of the masses places the Party before the problem of an internal Party policy which may bridge over the gap between the Party and the non-party and social democratic masses.

A Party which seriously faces the question of penetrating into the masses of the social democratic workers, must reconstruct its internal Party relations and groupings in such a way that channels are formed through which these Labour elements can pass over into our Party.

It is for instance, an anomaly to speak seriously of the question of conquering the masses of social democratic workers — and at the same time to offer them as one of the leaders of the Berlin organisation, a young student, **Gerber or Lilly Korpus**, who, not only cannot make any impression on the social democratic workers but who also possess almost no authority in their own Party circles.

This method of selecting individuals for the leading posts has as little in common with Bolshevism as the defeatist ideology has with Bolshevism.

With a system of this sort, the Party can be "Austrianised", can be separated from the masses, but can never be led to the creation of a close union with them.

Reduced to a pocket edition and ruled by Gerber and Lilly Korpus, the Party would be transformed into a sort of Austria, brought down to the dimensions of Vienna with its suburbs, but it could never become a Great Power in the Comintern.

It seems to me that it is not necessary to be a special genius in order to understand this simple truth which Comrades **Ruth Fischer** and **Scholem** nevertheless are apparently unable to assimilate, and that the first conclusion to be drawn is that we must reconstruct the whole leading staff of our organisation in such a way that we have at its head not semi-artistic, semi-literary bohemians, but **Left workers** with many years of Party membership behind them, who have worked in factories and who, by their broad political and moral outlook, inspire with confidence the working masses who are outside the framework of the C. P. of Germany.

The second conclusion to be drawn is, that the Left leaders of the Party attract and should now attract groups within the Party who are able to find words which will appeal to the head and heart of the social democratic masses of workers

In the discussion, the question is often put in this way: "Who is at present nearer to the Comintern., **Meyer or Scholem?**" Putting the question in this way, transfers the actual discussion from political to formal lines. Efforts are being made to detach this question from internal Party politics, from the problems of general political order.

In my opinion, another way of putting the question is far more correct: "Who can now most quickly introduce to our Party class comrades whose eyes are beginning to be opened as to the

true character of the social democratic policy, thanks to the **Bar-matiad, the bankruptcy of the Dawes plan, the collapse of the social democratic coalition?**

And if we frame the question in this political way, I can only say that Comrade Scholem and his group with all their practices, have shown that they not only cannot win over a single social democratic worker, but that they even repulse those proletarian elements which are near us and on the way to us. Any such **Hesse** from Berlin, who has for a long time been standing with one foot outside the Comintern, is only capable of causing an uproar in social democratic meetings, but he is not capable of introducing a single argument which would explain the true role of social democracy to a simple worker from the ranks and file. The sooner the Party puts these half-rotten elements in their right place and removes them from leading positions, the sooner it will make progress in taking root in the broad masses.

On the other hand some — following up these considerations — put the further question: "Which, at the present moment, is the greater danger for the Party — the **Brandlerist Right** or the **ultra-Left danger?**"

Brandler's political corpse is, as everyone knows, the only capital on the interest of which, the **Scholem** fraction in the Party vegetates. The Scholem group is now laying special stress on the question of Brandlerism in political debate, so as to distract the attention of the Party from the ultra-Left danger. During the Czechoslovak crisis of last year, the Right demanded of the Executive of the Comintern that it should recognise the ultra-Left as the more actual danger, so as, in this way, to shelter the opportunist **Bubnik** group. These are old traditional tactics of all fractions which are hostile to the Comintern, as to which there can be only one opinion. If we speak theoretically of a Right danger, we must admit that a foundation for such dangers does exist — the retardation of revolutionary development, the period of stabilisation in the development of capitalism, our manoeuvring with social democracy which has revealed that elements such as **Schön-lank** exist in our party; if however we examine into the concrete situation within the Party, we must clearly and simply understand which danger is knocking more persistently at the door of the Party.

At the time of the **Brandler** Central Committee, it was the **Right** danger, now, at the time of the **ultra-Left** danger, it is the **Scholemist**. The Right danger could only threaten us with a new and serious Right crisis under the condition that, by intelligent tactics in the fight for the masses, we were to win over 100,000 to 200,000 social democratic workers. These new strata might, if they penetrate into the Party, doubtless galvanise Brandlerism into fresh energy. In this case, we should have to face the new danger in full force. Now however, as our Party is threatened with **ultra-Left** defeatism which, as a matter of fact, is one with **Schön-lank's** Right defeatism, we must fight against both these extreme wings. It is ridiculous to hold up before us the bogey of a Right danger, which has existed longer than Schön-lank and has penetrated in the Party almost into the inner sanctum of the Central Committee; for the childish nonsense of the ultra-Left, the real obstacle in our fight for the masses, lies heavy on our shoulders. I must confess, Comrades, that I am at present less alarmed by the organised Left fraction of Scholem than by the remains of Scholemism in those who vote unconditionally for the open letter of the ECCI. for mere reasons of discipline. Scholem actually thinks it right, in the interest of his fraction, to spread rumours that the German Party is steering with full sail towards the re-establishment of Brandler's power in the Party. These rumours will be believed by no one but Scholem himself and the Brandlerist elements who form a **grumbling** opposition to the Party and the present Central Committee.

The Executive of the Comintern says clearly and firmly: "This must not be!" It would be a catastrophe for the German Party, were the conditions to return which prevailed until the Frankfort Party Conference. Then we should again have two souls in the Party, we should then have to wipe out the whole of the work which has been done in the sphere of Bolshevism in the Party since the serious defeat of 1923. The history of the Labour movement has known no similar example of all the experiences gained by the Party being thus destroyed without leaving any trace behind them.

The fight against Brandlerism is the first page of Bolshevism. The German Party is about to turn over the second page of Bolshevism, that of abolishing the childish nonsense of the ultra-Left. And, just because any fractional attempt to undermine

the present Party leadership from the Right or from the Left, would drag the Party backwards, demoralise it politically and disorganise it internally, any such attempt will, after this Conference, meet with inexorable Bolshevist resistance on the part of the Central Committee and the Executive of the Comintern. We are prepared to discuss the question with the ultra-Left workers at the Enlarged Executive, to discuss it again and again and again; for their mood reflects their revolutionary impatience. But the Conference must without delay protect itself against the disorganising work of such ultra-Left leaders as Comrade Scholem.

Comrades! At the end of my exposition, I want to say to you: Look, here, in this historic assembly, the representatives of the largest Party of the Comintern are united. They can tell you with what deep, fraternal joy we are all watching the regeneration of the German Party, what great hopes we cherish with regard to its future. And never, at no Party Congress, at no Conference, have we contemplated the future of the German Party with so calm and unshaken a sense of security. A new and genuine Bolshevist spirit is growing up in your Party, and the savour of a healthy Labour optimism floats through the Conference.

We in Germany, are on the verge of a Bolshevist consolidation of the Party, of new conquests.

Long live the iron cohort of the German Bolshevist workers, the Communist Party of Germany!

FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Trade Union Developments in the Asiatic Countries and the Countries of the Pacific.

By A. Lozovsky.

The fight for the unity of the international trade union movement and the creation of a united International embracing the workers of all Continents, has up to recently encountered a great obstacle in the arrogance of the European labour aristocracy. Until the war Europe possessed the financial, industrial and political hegemony of the world — a fact which found expression in the leading bodies of the socialist and trade union movement, upon which the Internationals were based and which were entirely limited to Europe.

These remnants of pre-war psychology dominate up to the present the minds of the leaders of the reformist labour movement who do not like going beyond the confines of Europe. They intentionally refuse to understand that enormous upheaval which has come about as a result of the war, of the October Revolution and the rise of real world Internationals, the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions. It is only recently that international reformism has deigned to cast a glance at the East, because the labour movement of the East is assuming a revolutionary character and disturbing the plans of international reformism.

In the meantime the labour movement is growing in every corner of the earth, and a number of international tasks are arising which can only be solved by common international action. In connection with this a whole number of projects have recently arisen which are highly characteristic of the attitude of the labour movement of the new countries on the stage of international politics. Of such projects there are a present three:

1. The prominent Japanese reformist Bundshi Susuki (a Japanese bourgeois paper describes him as „Our Japanese Gompers“) spoke at the Conference of the International Labour Office, which is affiliated to the League of Nations, with representatives of the unions of India regarding the convening of a Pan-Asiatic Labour Conference. According to the proposals of Susuki, this Labour Conference is to be participated in by representatives of the trade unions of Japan, China, Persia, Siam, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, the Philippines, India, Egypt, Palestine, and Turkey.

2. The Trade Union Council of New South Wales has taken up the initiative in calling a Conference of the trade unions of the Pacific countries for the 1st of May 1926. As the Australian „Daily Standard“ reports, the secretary of the trade union council, Garden, (he took part in the II. Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions) has sent an invitation to the

labour organisations of China, Japan, Canada, the Philippines, the Hawaii Islands, Singapore, India, South Africa and the United States, in which invitation it is pointed out that this Conference is called to “disouss the questions of the Pacific.”

3. The same Australian newspaper, the “Daily Standard”, reports that the Executive Committee of the Australian Labour Party has decided to arrange a Conference, to be held in Honolulu in November 1926, of the representatives of the countries of the Pacific. To this Conference there are to be invited representatives of those trade union workers and kindred (!) organisations of all countries of the Pacific who stand for the maintenance of peace.

All these three projects deserve serious attention, while it must be remarked that the character of the three undertakings, in spite of the scantiness of the news, is quite clear.

With regard to Susuki's proposal, this means nothing else than the creation of an Asiatic International, and in this respect the Japanese reformist is following the footsteps of Gompers, who for his own purposes organised the Pan-American Federation of Labour, and of the leader of the English railway workers, Cramp, who a few months ago put forward the idea of the creation of a Continental International.

Bundshi Susuki at his interview with the representative of the “Japan Advertiser” said nothing regarding a coloured International. He only intimated that he had decided to convene an Asiatic Labour Conference when the “labour unrest in China has subsided”, and that its aim is “to raise the level of the Asiatic workers, so that they will be better prepared to take part in the work of the International Labour Office”. But as a matter of fact, Susuki is not arranging his projected Asiatic Conference for this purpose. The “Daily Standard” adds the following words of Susuki regarding this Conference:

“We representatives of the coloured workers have decided to create a coloured International as a counterpoise to the white International”.

Susuki's projects therefore, go much further than the revival of the internationalism of the International Labour Office: he wants to have his own Asiatic International. What will be the political tendency of this International?

Judging from the fact that it was Bundshi Susuki who instigated the splitting of the trade unions of Japan and the expulsion of the revolutionary elements from the Japanese Labour Federation, we see that for him it is a question of setting up the new reformist International as speedily as possible in order to fight against the revolutionary labour movement of Asia. It is not for nothing that Susuki is making preparations to convene this Conference immediately the “labour unrest in China has subsided”. When it is further remembered that Susuki entirely forgets the existence of the trade unions of the Soviet Union which is also bordered by the Pacific Ocean, then the colour of this Pan-Asiatic project will not differ from the child of Gompers: the Pan-American Labour Federation.

The project of the Australian Labour Party for the convening of a Congress at Honolulu of “all trade union workers' and kindred organisations of the countries of the Pacific” has a somewhat different but likewise unique character. Here is to be seen an open attempt to convene a pacifist Congress, for otherwise there would be no sense in giving expression to such a vague term as “kindred organisations”. The Congress has as its object to bring together the supporters of peace in the countries of the Pacific, and as there are many supporters of peace among the bourgeoisie who have set up all sorts of pacifist societies for this purpose, then it is obvious that these “kindred organisations” will have a place at the Congress. It is apparently, therefore, a question of a Pacific edition of the International Peace Conference at the Hague in December 1922, where there took place a fraternising of international reformism and of bourgeois pacifism. But we are still awaiting particulars regarding this project.

The third project — the convocation of a Congress of trade unions of the countries of the Pacific in Sydney — seems to us to deserve the most attention. To this Congress only trade union organisations will be invited, and these will discuss the common questions of the countries of the Pacific. Although we possess no detailed information regarding the agenda of this approaching Congress or regarding the proposals to be submitted to it, we consider such a beginning as very useful. Such a Congress could serve as a stage in the struggle for the united international and for the unity of the International trade union movement, if the conveners invite the trade unions of all countries of the

Pacific and realise that the questions of the countries of the Pacific not only concern the workers of this or that country, but also the whole of the international labour movement.

No matter what attitude is adopted to these projects, one thing is clear: they all mean a new era in the development of the international labour movement. The fight of the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions against European narrowness, for the unity of the labour movement of the whole world corresponds with the requirements which have become historically ripe. There will be still much confusion, deviations and many attempts to create Continental and coloured Internationals, but all this must not mislead us. All these attempts, which express the growth of the enterprise of the new countries, will compel the labour movement of Asia, and also of Australia and the countries of the Pacific, to overcome their own narrowness and to weld themselves into a united, fighting trade union International based on the class struggle.

UNION OF SOVIET REPUBLICS.

Comrade Frunze (Arsenia).

(Written in 1920 on the occasion of the overthrow of Wrangel.)

By A. Voronsky.

He is well known to the workers, peasants, Red Army men and citizens of the Ivanovo-Voznessensk industrial region. He is not only well known from our days of revolt, but he is also well remembered from those days which have already receded far into the realm of the past.

In January 1907 on the outskirts of the town of Shui, a group of underground Bolshevik revolutionaries encountered by chance a police-sergeant by the name of Prelov, a devoted blood-hound of that section of the gendarmerie whose work it was to exterminate internal enemies.

One of the group observed that it would be a good thing to remove the police-sergeant or something similar. At that, another got down on one knee, drew out a mauser and fired. The bullet missed fire. The sergeant turned round quickly and also opened fire. The comrade who had fired at the gendarme was unable to return the charge as the cartridge jammed in his mauser so there was nothing for it but to bolt. The one who fired went under the nick-name of Arsenia. He was a young student. He had radiant eyes and limped with one leg because in 1905 he was lassoed during a pogrom and dragged for one verst by savage drunken Cossacks.

It could hardly be said that the shooting of this police-sergeant had been seriously thought out. All the more so as the firer was far from being a terrorist, and belonged to the Bolshevik Social Democrats and participated in mass political work.

On March 24th, 1907, one of those whom the gendarmes and police had so long sought for was arrested in a conspirative apartment in the town of Shui. He was arrested with two mausers in his hand: he had wanted to fire, but decided not to as there were children and other people in the house. He was called Arsenia, but that was only a pseudonym; his real name was Mikhael Frunze.

How dear this young underground worker was to the Shui workers may be gathered from the following. The news of the arrest of Arsenia spread over the whole town in a flash. The factories came to a standstill. The workers left off work and huge crowds went to the prison and demanded the liberation of Arsenia. The terrified police-inspector was only able to appease the crowd by cunning and false promises and afterwards despatched Arsenia to Vladimir in great haste. This incident gave an interesting jecture. The cold steel of bayonets of a whole company of soldiers flashed. File after file of the grey ranks swung by in measured steps. They were accompanying the one and only — Mikhael Frunze. He was worth a guard of honour.

After a few months during a certain trial, the police-sergeant Prelov, who was there as a witness chanced to meet Arsenia who was also a kind of witness in the court, and thereupon announced that this was the man who had fired at him. They recorded the deposition and Frunze was faced with the death penalty. Frunze meanwhile was imprisoned. In prison he continued assiduously to study the Italian language, and the syndicalist movement....

... The trial came off, and the death sentence was pronounced. The Italian lessons ended but he began studying English I believe. Who knows; perhaps it may soon be necessary to go to England or Italy? Is it worth while for a young eager student to go to Italy or England? Of course it was, very much worth while...

... The sentence was commuted. The prosecution protested. Once more the article on the death sentence, again a trial. And the police-sergeant tried hard. According to a witness V. G. Korolenko ("Russian wealth", No. 10, P. 134) he had a witness brought from Shui to Vladimir at his own personal expense and personally conducted him to the prosecutor of the Vladimir Court. He was very zealous in destroying sedition-mongers.

... The sentence was once again commuted. Once again the plaintiff protested... And this time went by. This affair dragged on for not less than two years. For two years his fellow prisoners saw the strong young form, for two years unwillingly they were engrossed in him, and for two years this vile strangulating noose hung over him. For two years he supposed that it would be necessary to go to England or to Italy. But what kind of a journey abroad would it be without understanding the languages? What great foresight on the part of those who study languages prior to going abroad?

His trial ended in exile. For six years he had to sit in the Vladimir Central Penitentiary. Under these deadening, damp, gloomy and hermit-like conditions, Mikhael aroused the thoughts of his comrades, did not let them pine for human sympathy, and brought assuagement into this perturbed, nerve-racking atmosphere of these joyless prison days...

When some important State official or other visited the prison they always asked:

"Oh, say, you have got M. Frunze here, haven't you?"

And the important one was conducted into the cell where he could feast his eyes on the victim and look him up and down with curiosity...

... When fights, quarrels or scandals arose among the political prisoners, they always turned to Comrade Mikhael.

Years of imprisonment, and exile. Illegal work in Siberia, an attempt at a new arrest, flight, illegal life...

They were forever on his track...

* * *

Across the far-off Volga Steppes the Ufa Division of the Black Admiral lay stretched out in fighting columns. They were sure of themselves. They were marching on Moscow. These were the best troops, the hope and support, the well-trying royal bodyguard. On the other side of the lines wagon loads of young troops of a new army but still weak. Some of the new soldiers wore cap-helmets with big red stars similar to the helmets of the Normans and the ancient heroes. These warriors, however, came from starved working class districts. And the workers of the Volga rallied to them. They came from a country encircled by a huge ring of fire, a country which seemed to be suffocating in a death-like embrace of cold... Now they are entering the final death struggle... They swept on and the Ufa Division was smashed. Glory to the young army. But we do not forget its Commander, Comrade Frunze, who although never having passed through military staffs or academies, showed his distinguished talents as a Red military leader.

... The helmets with red stars have already flashed by Ufa. The Black Admiral plays his trump card, he sends forward the Kappel regiment.

The Kappelites marched forward... The Kappel regiments know no defeat... The Kappel regiments are marching on Moscow: their wagons bear the inscription: Kurgan-Ufa-Moscow... They have with them the most experienced military specialists of the old army.

Again an encounter. The Kappelites are smashed.

This is an episode from the battle...

A regiment with helmets with red stars was crossing a river. The enemy fired volleys of shells... The detachments were making ever stronger and more audacious steps to break across. The people in the helmets were becoming disconcerted... One detachment became shaky, another melted away...

Comrades, this way... Not one pace backwards. Follow me. Forwards. Your Commander-in-chief is with you.

A man runs forward limping, with a rifle in his hands.

— "Forward, forward."

The Commander of the Division, the unrestrained and fearless Chapayev, cries out:

"Comrade Commander-in-Chief. Go away from here. This is no place for you."

"Forward with me. I am taking over command of the regiment."

"Comrade Commander-in-chief, it is I who am Commander of the Division here, and you have no right to command these troops."

A shell bursts... Contusion...

Two years of imprisonment under a death sentence, six years exile and other wanderings, are not capable, fortunately and to the pride of humanity, of extinguishing the radiant energy from eyes, or dulling their fresh glitter, of depriving a man of his audacity — these things do not always clip a man's wings, or make him soft, feeble and dull. Honour and praise to humanity and to the Party in whose ranks such people fight...

... On the Orenburg steppes, thanks to the skilful commanding on the part of this young Red Army leader, and thanks to his cautious tactics, sixty-thousand Cossacks surrender.

It seems that he was not only able to defeat the enemy in the open struggle, but also make them surrender without bloodshed; and this is a particular talent.

On the Ural steppes Comrade Frunze stormed the army of General Tolstoy, a talented and clever Black-Hundredite.

In distant Turkestan the Caspian Sea is cleared under the leadership of Comrade Frunze...

... I hope the diplomats will excuse me, but I think that the brilliant activity of the Bukhara revolutionaries, which ended with the Emir being deposed, were not entirely unconnected with the activity of our Red General...

Comrade Frunze conducted the military operations on the Southern front against Wrangel with remarkable persistence and audacity. The capture of Perikop and Sivash represents one of the most brilliant pages in the history of our Revolution. The most experienced French Generals had been at work on the fortifications of the Isthmus. Comrade Kamenev who inspected the Southern front on the eve of the attack, on returning to Moscow gave an indefinite reply to a question as to the possibility of taking Perikop and Sivash. In this connection Steklov, in a leading article, also expressed rather timid hopes.

But the Red lava was already flowing on the Crimean Peninsula.

A Marxist, terrorist, agitator, underground worker, was Commander-in-Chief on the front.

Was it not true that he had the warm heart of a boy, the personal courage of a terrorist and rare talent...

... But how did he become a strategist and military leader?

He certainly did not sit with folded arms, but learned, read, took lessons from old specialists, tested his steps, but in the long run who can trace the complicated, mysterious and torturous path, this most miraculous laboratory in the world called the brain, which produces a famous artist from a ragamuffin, and a military leader and the just pride of the new army from an underground agitator? Who knows?

Comrade Michael knows how to rally people around him and to choose the right men. All those who have ever worked with him know that. His victories are the victories of a great organiser. His comrades loved him, and specialists respect him. He "knows how to manage things". He makes people obey him by the force of his own personality, his words are simple, but command obedience better than official orders.

A considerable role in making him a talented red military leader is played by the fact that in his spare moments he was always ready to amuse himself by playing about with firearms, cleaning them, taking them to pieces, assembling them again.... During these moments, he is just like a child playing with his toys.

We Bolsheviks are astonishingly lavish. Just look at our rivals and opponents. How carefully they collect and preserve in their minds everything worthy of note. With what love have they pictured Kalaev, Balmanov, Gershuni, not to mention the Cadet leaders... We are frantically lavish. But after all is Comrade Frunze a less important figure than Kalaev, Gershuni and the others; just look at the wealth of colour in this man. Agitator, Marxist, terrorist, a man condemned to the gallows, a commander-in-chief, fighting in the front line with rifle in hand...

No, it is of real value to note these attributes if only because it will once more prove that the Party of the revolutionary

proletariat, despite all bloodshed by the allies and the most difficult of conditions, has still power in the magazines.

Comrade Frunze is bound to the Ivanovo-Voznesensk district with ties of blood both in the past and in the present. In drawing attention to his distinguished qualities and services, we associate them above all with the Red textile workers of our province, for it is with them that he fought on the Volga, at Ufa, Orenburg, in the Urals, by the shores of the Caspian Sea and in the Crimea.

IN THE R. I. L. U.

Convocation of the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions.

Moscow, 2nd November 1925.

The Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions has been convoked for the 22nd December in Moscow. The agenda is as follows:

1. Business Report of the Executive Bureau, next tasks of the trade union movement (reporter, Lozovsky);
2. Anglo-Russian Committee (speaker, Tomsky);
3. Trade Union Movement in China (speaker, a representative of the All-Chinese Trade Union Federation);
4. Trade Union Conference of the Pacific countries (speaker, Heller);
5. Trade Union work in the United States of America (speaker, Foster);
6. Trade Union work in Germany (speaker, Heckert);
7. Trade union movement in Japan (speaker, a representative of the Revolutionary Trade Union Federation of Japan);
8. Organisatory questions (speaker, Lyss);
9. Fight for the Eight Hour Day and Social Legislation (speaker, Schuhmann);
10. Miscellaneous.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the International Co-Operative Alliance.

By L. Chintchuk (Moscow).

At the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the International Cooperative Alliance which was recently held in Paris, the campaign which the extreme Right wing of the Central Committee had been carrying on against the Cooperative Associations of the Soviet Union, broke down completely. The Conservative Wing had concentrated its efforts on cutting down the rights of the cooperative associations of the Soviet Union in the Central Committee, i. e. on leaving them only 7 seats instead of the 14 which they now hold; quite apart from this, had the Right been victorious, the policy of the alliance would have become considerably more conservative and our opponents would have had more prospect of obtaining the exclusion of the cooperative associations of the Soviet Union from the Alliance.

It was to be foreseen that the Plenary Session would be largely attended this time, and as a matter of fact 44 delegates from 19 countries took part in it, among them 11 representatives of the Soviet Union. The relative strength before the opening of the Congress was about as follows: in our enemy's camp were about 20 delegates, among the wobblers 5 and among those who shared out point of view 15—17.

The public meeting however, which was organised by the Worker's Cooperatives of Paris and was held on the eve of the first Plenary Session of the Central Committee, changed the comparative strength in our favour. Several thousand people attended the meeting. The friendly demonstration of the cooperatively organised Parisian workers had, to a certain extent, the effect of a warning to the French delegation; the sympathies of the Czechoslovakian and the Austrian delegations were certainly on our side, so that the efforts of the Right wing were predestined to failure.

At this meeting the questions of the interpretation of the conception, and the limits of political neutrality were to be discussed, of the neutrality which the alliance, according to its statutes, is bound to observe, and the question of the future activity of the alliance. In accordance with a resolution of the International Cooperative Congress at Ghent, a resolution was to be passed on the form and the extent of the co-operation between the Alliance and the International Trade Union Organisations.

In the question of collaboration between the Cooperative International and the Trade Union Internationals, four different currents could be observed in the Central Committee of the Co-operative Alliance. 1. that of opposition to any kind of union with the trade unions; 2. that of those in favour of establishing a connection with the Amsterdam Trade Union International only; 3. the tendency of those in favour of union with both Trade Union Internationals, i. e. both the Amsterdam and the Red Trade Union International, but only as regards questions of conflicts about wages which may from time to time arise between the co-operative undertakings on the one hand, and the workers and employees of these undertakings on the other hand and 4. that of those in favour of close collaboration with both Trade Union Internationals (the Amsterdam and the Red International of Labour Union).

There were lively debates on the question. Our motions with regard to the question of work in co-operation with the trade unions were supported by the Czechoslovakian and some of the Swedish delegates. When put to the vote, the resolution of the English delegation which was against the principle of co-operation had the majority.

In the question of the "future policy and activity of the Alliance" we had proposed a resolution which pointed out the way which, in our opinion, the Alliance should take, the way of close co-operation with the trade unions and the proletarian parties. We formulated the immediate tasks of the Alliance in eight points, proposed fighting measures against capitalism and methods for successfully resisting the exploitation of the workers by private business-men, trusts, banks etc.

It was however resolved to postpone the discussion of our memorial till the next conference.

At the end, a report was received about the devastation of the Italian co-operative organisations by the Fascists; unfortunately however the Congress adopted no decisions as to the organisation of mass protest demonstrations against the vandalism of the Fascists.

After the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Co-operative Alliance was ended, meetings were held of the Committee of the International Wholesale Purchasing Association and of the Committee of the International Co-operative Bank.

It is interesting to note that, at the meeting of the committee of the Wholesale Purchasing Association, the chairman emphasised the extensive development of trade operations between the co-operative organisations of England and the Soviet Union, and pointed out that in the last nine weeks the English co-operative organisations had received 12 million pood of corn (1 pood = 16 kilo) from the Anglo-Russian Ltd. Comp. for the Export of Corn (this society was founded by the Co-operative Societies of England and the Soviet Union and the People's Commissaries for Foreign Trade), and that the Centrosoyus (central federation of the co-operatives of the Soviet Union) had distinguished itself by the punctuality with which it had carried out its obligations.

At the meeting of the committee for creating an international co-operative bank, a resolution was proposed that the organisation of the bank be proceeded with without delay, and at the same time it was declared that, if this resolution were passed, the Wsjeko-Bank (the central bank of the cooperatives of the Soviet Union) would be prepared, as a shareholder, to put considerable sums of money at the disposal of the International Co-operative Bank. It was resolved to postpone any decision as to the question of the creation of the International Co-operative Bank till the next session.

This ended the Paris meeting of the Central Committee of the Alliance. The efforts of our opponents to reduce us to an insignificant minority in the Central Committee by reducing the

number of representatives of the Soviet co-operative societies, was not crowned with success. We must however continue to be on our guard, for the conservative wing of the Alliance will hardly reconcile itself to the resolutions passed.

IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

The Crisis in the Bulgarian Social Democracy.

By G. Dimitroff (Moscow).

As is well known, the party of the broad-minded socialists (the Bulgarian Mensheviks) promoted the military putsch of June 9th, 1923, had seats in the Zankoff Government, supported the terrorist policy against the Communist Party, the Peasants' League, and the Red trade unions, gained 30 mandates for seats in Parliament on the lists of the Zankoff Government and, for a long time, supported the united front with the blood-thirsty Zankoff against the united front of the workers and peasants, efficiently defending the Zankoff regime at home and abroad.

The result of this treacherous behaviour of the Bulgarian Menshevik party was that it was completely discredited in the eyes of the masses of workers and peasants in the country. It is now considerably weaker than before the revolution; it has lost influence, especially among the workers.

When Zankoff's position was shaken and a change of government seemed inevitable, the old party leaders with Pastuchoff (the former Police Minister) at their head, steered towards an independent policy for the party, preparing in this way to take part in the coming Coalition Government.

It was just in connection with this change of political course by the party, that a serious crisis arose. An opposition was formed against the CC. of the party, led by Kasassoff, the former Minister in the Zankoff Cabinet, and Assen Zankoff, brother of the Prime Minister Zankoff. This group, which was in the minority in the CC. of the party, carried on a campaign against the majority led by Pastuchoff. An adherent of this group, Tschernookoff, the deputy for Philippopol, published a special brochure "Bulgarian Socialism", aimed at the CC.; this brochure caused quite a sensation in the country.

The Kasassoff-Zankoff group announced a policy of "class war", i. e. that the party refused to participate in the creation of a Bloc of opposition parties against Zankoff. A policy of this kind is, at the present time, very advantageous for Zankoff, and the Government Press took up an attitude of approval towards this group. Under the cover of an "independent policy" the members of this group are actually adherents of the Zankoff Government. But under the demagogic slogan of an "independent policy", the Kasassoff-Zankoff group won over some Labour elements, who were honestly opposed to a coalition with the bourgeoisie, carried through their resolution in the organisation of Sofia and succeeded in sending their candidates to the Party Conference.

At the Party Conference, held at the beginning of October, the Pastuchoff group won the day. The majority of the new CC. is composed of members of this group. At the Party Conference, no Left tendency made itself felt. The small number of the Left elements which existed in the party was led astray by the slogan of an "independent class war" which was intended as a manoeuvre and which had been deliberately brought forward by Kasassoff and Assen Zankoff.

There can be no doubt that the Labour elements will soon free themselves finally from their illusions, and then a Left, proletarian tendency will develop in the party. This current however is not destined to play an important role in the party, because the overwhelming majority of the members of the Bulgarian Menshevik party is politically degenerate, petty bourgeois and intellectual. The number of real workers in the party is insignificant, it does not exceed 15%.

The role of the Communist Party of Bulgaria as the party of the proletariat and leader of the working masses, has remained untouched and unaffected. In spite of the magnanimous support of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, in spite of all the hopes of its leaders, the Socialist party never has taken and never will take the place of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.