

THE COLONIES

Revolutionary Movement in Dutch East India.

By Hammar.

In this country the capitalists have done their utmost to increase their profits and power, without having troubled in the least as to the interests of the working class. The political and economic oppression which exists here, could hardly be as strong in any other country. The native intellectuals suffer the worst from political oppression, and were the first to proceed against it. For this purpose they founded nationalist political parties: for example, the *Sarrekat-Islam Party*, the *National Indian Party*, and the *Boerdi-Oetomo Party*. The membership of these parties is composed of workers, businessmen, intellectuals, and so on. The largest and most important is the *Sarrekat-Islam Party* which counts about a million and a half members and from five to six million sympathizers. At the period when the Nationalist political parties were founded there was also founded a Socialist Party (in 1913), which after the reformists had left it, continued its existence as a Communist Party. This party has about 13,000 members, and a large section of the workers sympathize with it. The native members of the Communist Party (*Persarekatan Kommunist di India*) are also members of the great *Sarrekat-Islam Party*, many of them being among its leaders. Through these tactics and a strong communist propaganda, this great party today shows a more communist than nationalist character. Also the program of the *Sarrekat-Islam Party* is particularly communistic. The Dutch capitalists endeavour to oppose this revolutionary movement by every means, electoral or violent. Popular demonstrations are suppressed by force and bloodshed, as in Djumbi, in 1917.

Freedom of speech was forbidden; the leaders were imprisoned or banished. Two leaders—Malaka and Bergsma—were banished and 50 comrades imprisoned. Among the sailors and soldiers, both native and Dutch, communist propaganda has been most successful, so that the Dutch government, supported by the Dutch reformists, ordered most of the revolutionary soldiers and sailors back to Holland. In 1918, as the revolutionary wave swept Europe, the colonial soldiers and sailors elected Soldiers' and Sailors' Councils; the members of these however were arrested and sentenced to terms of imprisonment of from one to six years. Many of them are still in prison. They are outrageously treated, confined in narrow dungeons; and the authorities endeavour to obtain from them by force the names

of other comrades who have taken active part in the revolutionary movement.

As the revolutionary flood in Europe began to ebb, the reactionaries in Dutch East India also began to assume power, with the aid of the social democrats. Only by the most strenuous efforts could we guard the hard-won achievements of the working class, maintain the organization of our Party, and build up its strength. During this whole struggle the social democrats were on the side of the reactionaries.

Despite this we have been able to organize the trade unions into many strong working-class organizations and to unite them into a federation which includes all trades. This federation is strongly influenced by the communists, and possesses 60,000 members. The high officials of the railways and other industries are for the great part Europeans, and have their own organizations which are strongly opposed to the communist bodies. They are, however, of no great importance and can count but few adherents among the masses.

Political and trade union journals with about 40,000 readers, are published by the communists. This comparatively small number of readers may be explained by the fact that large numbers of the workers come from the peasantry which is illiterate. Together with the *Sarrekat-Islam*, the Communist Party has opened several schools for children, as the government does but little for the education of the young. But the government fears that the children will be trained in communist doctrines in these schools and therefore tries to break them up by every possible means. The attendance at these schools, however, is such that the government does not dare to take radical measures against them.

In general we may say that our tactics and propaganda among the millions of natives who feel themselves to be an oppressed class, has much effect and has created great sympathy for the Communist Party among them. This is shown by the fact that they never allow themselves to be used as strikebreakers against the white workers, nor as a means of lowering the wages of the European workers—which cannot be said of the natives in most other colonies. The Communist movement in the Dutch East Indies is therefore quite strong; its progress, however, may be materially hampered by the fact that many of its leaders are exiled and that those who remain behind are often arrested. As the movement in this territory is of great importance for the international working class, the Third International and the Red International of Labor Unions must do their utmost to aid the revolutionary movement, and the imprisoned comrades, in the Dutch East Indies, and to make known their condition to the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

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Opening of the Profintern Congress.

Radio to "Inprekorr."

Moscow, November 21.

The Congress of the Profintern was opened to-day. Present for welcoming the congress are: the Russian Central Trades Union Council, the Moscow Trades Union Council, and the Moscow Factory Committee.

After a short speech of welcome from comrade Lozovsky, in which he shows the progress made by the Red International of Labor Unions despite the reinforced attacks of capitalism, the following comrades are elected to the presidium of the congress: Lozovsky, Melnichansky, Tomski, Heckert, Monmousseau, Watkins, Pavlik, Dimitreff, Calassa, MacDonald, Germanetto, Recabaren (South America), Kunitaroando (Japan), Tchakchonki (China).

Further elections are those of the mandate examination commission, of the commission for investigating the question of the co-operatives, the financial and Eastern questions, militarism, unemployment, and the tactics of the Profintern.

This is followed by speeches of welcome from Dudilieux (France), Heckert (Germany), Garden (Australia), Pavlik (Czecho-Slovakia), Tasca (Italy), and Tchakchonki (China).

Clara Zetkin, greeted with enthusiastic applause, welcomes the congress in the name of the Comintern. Andreyev brings greetings from the Russian trade unions.

A proclamation against the White Terror is accepted unanimously. With this the first session closes.

In the second sitting, on the 22. November, Lozovsky gives the report on the activity of the executive bureau. He gives a survey of the strength of the Profintern and of the Amsterdam International. He reads the correspondence with the Amsterdamers for the purpose of establishing the united front. In the further course of his remarks Lozovsky describes the relations of the R.I.L.U. to the syndicalists, gives a survey of the situation in France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, England, America, Norway, and Spain, and finally draws attention to the activity of the industrial propaganda committee.

It is unanimously resolved to send a greeting to the German Shop Stewards' Congress.

The third sitting on November 23. was devoted to the discussion on comrade Lozovsky's speech; the general tone of the debate was in agreement with the speech.

Watkins wishes for more exact statistical information, and that greater consideration be accorded to England. Smith points out the progress made in England despite the power of the old unions. Heckert agrees with Lozovsky's report. The tactics resolved upon at the first congress have been attended with excellent results in Germany. Holtz from the Union expresses his satisfaction at being able to work so well in commonunity with the German communist party. Monmousseau declares that however imply any enmity of the C.G.T.U. towards the R.I.L.U. Therefore he will not speak on the report. This does not however imply any enmity of the C.G.T.U. against the R.I.L.U.

Tomsky reports that the Polish comrades, despite the desire of the reformists for a split, have avoided the split in accordance with the instructions of the R.I.L.U. Jusefovitch desires more energetic work on the part of the propaganda committee. Gisluer is of the opinion that the united front with Amsterdam arouses the mistrust of the masses. He declares himself opposed to the French motions with regard to the statutes. Lefoil reports on the progress of the communists in the Belgian trade unions.

In the fourth sitting of the congress of the Profintern, held in the forenoon of November 24., the debate on Lozovsky's report is continued.

Hais (Czecho-Slovakia) reports on the split in the trade unions of Czecho-Slovakia, and defends the form of organization of the united federation. Hardy (America) discusses the peculiar tasks of the I.W.W. as organiser of the workers not included in the Federation of Labor, and speaks of the winning over of this organization for the R.I.L.U. Alter, of the Seamen's Union, speaks on the German seamen's strike, and declares himself in favor of recognizing the right of existence of the independent organizations. Kutscher (America) also expresses himself in favor of the maintenance of the independent trade unions in America. Tasca (Italy) and Aceveda (Spain) confirm the correctness of the R.I.L.U. tactics from the experiences of the terror. Jachel gives a survey of the history of the expelled building workers of Chemnitz. Dimitroff is of the opinion that the Amsterdam international is played out in the Balkans. Swabek reports on the activity of the Trade Union Educational League in unions of the Gompers tendency.

After Lozovsky has replied, the proposed resolution is accepted unanimously. The French delegates abstain from voting, as the C.G.T.U. is not yet affiliated to the R.I.L.U. The activity of the executive bureau is approved.

Moscow, November 24.

In the 5th session, held to day, Heckert (Germany) speaks on the capitalist offensive, the disruptive activity of the Amsterdamers, and the united front. He speaks in favor of maintaining the tactical line of the united front, and demands the most energetic fight, with all revolutionary consequences, against the capitalist offensive.

Achmeto (Turkey) arouses great excitement in the congress with his reports on the imprisonment and persecution of the communists in Turkey. The congress resolves on a declaration of protest.

Dudilieux (France) describes the struggle against capital and reformism. He declares himself in favor of the united front. Pavlik (Czecho-Slovakia) speaks on the capitalist offensive, and accuses the Amsterdam International of treachery and splitting. For the rest he is in agreement with Heckert's remarks.

Moscow, November 25.

The discussion on Heckert's speech is continued. Zaiser (Germany, Union) considers the united front tactics hitherto pursued to be inconsistent. He is opposed to the creation of new organizations. Mandel (Switzerland) remarks that the experience gained in the Swiss engineering conflict confirms the conclusions drawn by Heckert. Hoytkevich (Poland) points out the success of the united front tactics (despite the efforts of the Amsterdamers towards a split) against the capitalist offensive having for its object a legal ten hour day and the introduction of a Tsarist labor code. Tasca (Italy) is of the opinion that all countries are threatened with Fascism, as this is a special form of capitalist organization accompanied by reformist ideology. Yanson (Russia) speaks to the effect that the capitalist offensive only affects Russia indirectly. He promises the Western European proletariat the aid of the Russian workers. Herta Sturm: The workers are the most important factor in the process of production. The protection of their interests is of the greatest significance. Sabottha (Germany) holds it to be a matter of course that in Germany the tactics of winning over the trade unions should be followed. We must lend the Shop Steward Movement every aid, in order to impart a solid form to the united front of the workers which we are striving after. Malakha (Java) draws attention to the offensive of the united Dutch and native capital in India. In Java 60,000 out of 200,000 organized natives have gone over to the R.I.L.U. He emphasizes the necessity of creating a Red International of Transport workers.

This closes the debate.

A motion proposed by Pavlik, to send a telegram of sympathy to the striking miners in Czecho-Slovakia, is accepted. A telegram of greeting is sent to the Esthonian trade union congress.

Moscow, November 26.

Heckert, in the course of his concluding words, regrets that the discussion has occupied itself too little with the practical application of the united front. The united front is the prerequisite for the victory of the proletariat.

A commission is appointed to formulate the tactics.

Lozovsky then speaks on questions of organization: The aim pursued by the revolutionary trade unions is the overthrow of capitalism. The struggle for partial demands must be utilized. No worker should remain unorganized. No members should leave the trade unions, and no little unions should be formed. The social revolution is only possible with the aid of the workers organized in the trade unions. The speaker discusses the organization of expelled members of trade unions, and demands that the utmost efforts be made towards re-unity, use being made of the Shop Steward Movement. We are opposed to federalism. He warns against the illusions of the One Big Union. Lozovsky demands more activity from our trade unions working within the various industrial internationals. At the same time care must be taken that the unity of the industrial internationals is preserved as far as possible.

The Task of the Communists in the Trade Unions

(Radio to "Inprecorr.")

Moscow, Nov. 21.

After the session has been opened, Lozovsky speaks to the following effect on the tasks of the communists in the trade unions:

The Comintern fought equally against the breaking up of the trade unions and against the liquidation of the Profintern. The offensive of capital, and the tactics of the reformists, diminished the number of members in the trades unions. The Amsterdam trades union international bravely defends the interests of the bourgeoisie, instead of those of the proletariat; it is cowardly in its relations to the bourgeoisie, but most courageous with regard to the left. The Amsterdam trades union international is openly striving to split up the trade unions. This has been seen in France, in Czecho-Slovakia, and in Spain. The periodical of the General German Trade Union Federation announces: "The enemy is on the left. We must purge our own ranks!" The German miners' movement prefers to join hands with Catholic and Polish national federations rather than with the Union of Brain and Hand Workers. The international industrial unions have declined association with the Russian trade unions because the latter belong to the Profintern.

In France, Italy, Spain, Holland and America, the anarcho-syndicalists are combating the Profintern under the watchword of independence for the trade unions. They demand separation

of party from trade union, and are trying to create a new trades union international. They form a united front everywhere with the reformists. Anarchism is a petty bourgeois ideology. The anarchists merely form a small group of political vegetarians. Their political ideal is the bandit chief Machno. Neither the anarchists nor the syndicalists recognize the part to be played by a revolutionary party. In syndicalism there are various tendencies. Many recognize the necessity of the proletarian dictatorship. We must work in common with these, despite theoretical differences.

The relations of the trade unions to the party must be adapted to the special conditions obtaining in every country. The French party and the French trade unions must come to an agreement as to their mutual relations. The independence of the Union of Brain and Hand Workers in Germany can be maintained. The members of the French party must however remain communists, even in the trade unions. In France the syndicalists created their groups within the party and not the reverse, which proves the diseased condition of the French party. We communists must fight against schism in the trade unions, and where there have been expulsions, we must act for re-unity. We must create our groups within the syndicalist organizations. All expelled members must be immediately gathered together by the watchword of re-unity. If the exclusion of the communists from the international industrial federations is continued, this will oblige us to gather together the international revolutionary forces. We fight equally against schism and against the voluntary withdrawal of communists from the trade unions.

The party press must devote more attention to the trade union question. We are not desirous of winning the trades union leaders, but the workers. Affiliation to the Profintern is only possible where the majority in the national organization is in favor of it; where this is not the case, we must remain further in the trade unions. The red trade unions must also remain in the international industrial federations, and fight energetically in them. The Comintern unites communists only, but the Profintern unites all revolutionary workers really anxious to fight against capitalism and reformism. The liquidation of the Profintern, as demanded by the Amsterdamers would be a crime against communism. The Amsterdamers, whose working masses we cannot win over by schism, but only by ideology, are the last rampart of capitalism. We shall only be successful in this conquest of the trade unions if the communist parties work out a practical program of action for every country, for every industry, and form united communist groups within the trades unions. Our watchword is: Unity against every attempt at schism, and strict discipline in the trade unions in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Clark (England) declares himself in agreement with the proposed resolution. The English workers are already really anxious to fight. In the speaker's opinion twenty per cent of the English workers are under the influence of the communists. In Scotland, and in the London district, the movement is particularly powerful.

Lansing (America) speaks as follows: The strike of the railwaymen and miners proved the increased strength of the left tendency. During the railwaymen's strike the slogan was: Political general strike! We must fight against the expulsion tendencies of Gompers and his kind, and also against the secessionist tendencies of the left radicals. The trade unions are not only the recruiting ground for the communist parties, but also the lever for the overthrow capitalism.

Heckert (Germany): The Union of Brain and Hand Workers fights against the formation of communist groups. The latest agreement forms however a favorable foundation for mutual work. The good syndicalist elements in France should enter the French party, and thus enhance its proletarian character. The French and Czech parties missed the right moment for forming groups in the trade unions. It is not always possible for expelled members to gather together in their own organization. The speaker proposes that communist groups be formed everywhere in the trade unions, and that a special communist program be worked out for every country and every federation. The revolutionary trades union organizations should be prohibited from fighting against one another.

Lauridan (France) criticizes in detail the conduct of the French party, which has forgotten its own traditions. Since Tours, the party has not concerned itself with what is going on in the trade unions. By this it has facilitated the spread of anti-communist ideology. It has also neglected to provide for the formation of communist groups in the trade unions. Besides this, the campaign referring to the trial of the social revolutionaries was much too feebly conducted in France. The party can only be solved by uniting the really communist elements, in the party with the C.G.T.U.

Herta Sturm (Germany) points out that the capitalist offensive concerns women particularly. Up to now there has only been an average of 10 per cent of women in the communist

parties. The speaker makes practical suggestions regarding the ideological enlightenment and organization of working women in the trade unions.

Tasca (Italy) declares the agreement of all the Italian delegates with Lozovsky's remarks on the necessity of communist work in the trade unions. The communists may enter the Fascist trades unions with the object of destroying them. The root of the French party crisis lies in the trade union question. The speaker does not demand that the trade unions be subject to the party, but the C.P. has the right of influencing the trade unions. He expresses himself opposed to any concessions in this respect.

Garden (Australia) declares that in Australia 1000 communists are influencing 400,000 members of trades unions. They forced the labor party to admit communists, and did away with the influence of the I.W.W. in the trade unions. Under the leadership of the communists the capitalist offensive was warded off with entire success. The wages have remained as before.

Pavlik (Czecho-Slovakia) criticizes Lozovsky's speech. He desires information as to the manner in which the expelled are to organize themselves in Czechia, where the Amsterdamers are striving for a split.

Vereik (Czecho-Slovakia): The Profintern is not following any defined line. The Amsterdamers have already carried out the split. The speaker wishes the congress to recognize this fact in a clearly defined resolution.

Kucher (America) declares that the winding up of the independent trade unions is not to be desired, as there are 32 millions of unorganized workers in America, and the Federation of Labor, which is incapable of reform, only comprises four millions of workers. The independent trade unions have thus a wide field of activity before them.

Rosmer (France) defends paragraph 20 of Lozovsky's resolution, by which the relations of the C.G.T.U. to the French party are regulated. The C.G.T.U. possesses more influence over the masses than the party. Even if theoretical differences exist, an agreement is still the first step towards practical work.

This ends the discussion on Lozovsky's speech. His reply is to be given in the afternoon sitting.

Orkhan, in the name of the delegates from Angora and Constantinople, proposes to direct an appeal to the workers and peasants of Turkey with reference to the persecution of communists. The appeal states that on the eve of the Lausanne conference the Angora government had communists arrested in the interests of the bourgeoisie, although the communists helped it in its fight against imperialism. The appeal protests against the torture and deception of the people by the government of national betrayal.

The appeal is unanimously accepted.

Lozovsky's Concluding Words — Münzenberg's Speech on Famine and Economic Relief

(Radio to "Inprecorr.")

Moscow, Nov. 21.

Afternoon session.

In his concluding words Lozovsky establishes the fundamental unity of the congress as to the tasks of the trades unions; such differences of opinion as have arisen refer to some few practical questions only. The speaker controverts Heckert by stating that the Union of Hand and Brain Workers in Germany does not comprise communists only. Heckert's attitude is thus a mistake. Theoretical confusion must be eliminated from the union. With regard to Laridan's remarks, the speaker is of the opinion that the French Communist Party feels itself in agreement on the trade union question. The French party had resolutions only, and no policy, in the trade union question. (Marcel Cachin interrupts the speaker, and declares that the president of the trade union commission, Tomasi, belongs to the left.) Lozovsky continues: Whether right or left, he who does not fulfil his duty should be sent away. The whole party is responsible for the trade union policy. The French party possesses bad traditions in addition to its many good ones. All honor to the memory of Jaures, but his trade union policy was not communistic. The French party should retain the glorious traditions, but reject the bad ones. The tactical line pursued by the Profintern for the prevention of a split in Czecho-Slovakia has been clear and correct. The party in Czecho-Slovakia has been afraid of the majority in the trade unions. An error committed in one country harms the whole International, and therefore international interests must invariably be considered before national ones.

After Lozovsky's speech a special commission was elected for the final revision of the trade union theses.

The program discussion now being taken up, Bucharin reads various declarations from Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev and Bucharin, in which the Russian delegation unanimously confirms the opinion that the inclusion of transitional demands in the program of the national sections, and their general formulation and theoretical establishment in the general part of the program cannot be regarded as opportunism.

The presidium makes the following proposition with regard to the program question:

1. The Executive studies, revises, and publishes all drafts of programs;

2. All sections are under the obligation to submit draft programs to the Executive three months before the 3rd congress;

3. The national sections must clearly and decisively establish the arguments showing the necessity of fighting for the transitional demands, and in doing this they must make the suitable reservations consequent on the concrete conditions;

4. The congress decisively condemns all attempts to represent partial demands, when supported by theoretical argument, as opportunism; it also condemns all attempts to distort or distort revolutionary aims by means of partial demands;

5. The general program must contain fundamental historical types of transitional demands of separate national sections, based on the economic and political structure of the different countries.

Zinoviev speaks to the following effect: A short discussion on the program question is futile and a detailed discussion impossible. Thus the best solution is that contained in the unanimous proposal of the presidium.

The proposition of the presidium is then unanimously accepted by the congress.

During the further course of the proceedings Münzenberg speaks on the famine and economic relief as follows.

40 millions of human beings have suffered from the famine. Of these 3 millions have died. The famine catastrophe has been overcome, not by help from abroad, but almost exclusively by Soviet Russia itself. The aid of the whole world only brought in 33 million puds of foodstuffs. Soviet Russia alone, on the other hand, gave 196 million puds. That is, six times as much as the whole world supplied. The famine relief called forth an unexampled solidarity among the workers. An hitherto unknown capacity for self-sacrifice was shown. Political considerations induced the reactionary governments to adopt an attitude of opposition to Soviet Russia at first. Later on they were obliged to alter their standpoint.

The Amsterdam International at first supported Soviet Russia politically and economically, under the pressure of the workers. Later, when the pressure of the masses diminished, the economic relief diminished correspondingly. The social democratic parties attempted to rouse feeling against Soviet Russia. The communist press has only been able to partially ward off this attack. The workers relief has been utilized for purposes of counter-revolutionary propaganda. Representatives of the Amsterdamers travelled about Russia for weeks, striving to obtain demonstrations of political sympathy from the famine-stricken. The total sum raised by the Amsterdam relief amounts to one million four hundred thousand Dutch gulden. This is the result of their collections in every part of the world where they possess influence. As compared with this, the Communist Committee of Holland collected in Holland alone half a million gulden. In Switzerland the difference between the results of the Amsterdamers and the communists is equally striking. The Communist workers relief alone collected two and half million dollars.

The Workers' Relief Committee from the very beginning combined famine relief with the reconstruction of Russia by means of economic relief. The economic relief is of supreme importance. The speaker expresses himself decidedly against the mass immigration into Russia; at most, specialized workers might be admitted from time to time. No collections can be made for the economic relief. It might be possible to mobilize the financial forces of the proletariat and of those sympathizing. It would also be possible to arouse sympathy for Soviet Russia without requisitioning the party apparatus. Many people are only adapted for the economic relief apparatus. In reply to the question what will the result of this be? the speaker replies: 40 million gold roubles within the shortest possible time to be applied to economic reconstruction. The economic relief undertakings are occupying 30 000 workmen at the present time. This number can easily be raised to one hundred thousand. The dollar loan is readily subscribed to. We can calculate with certainty on its being over-subscribed by the spring. The economic relief is also attended with the danger of opportunism. But this danger accompanies all tactics. It is our work to carry out everything properly.

The Eastern and Colonial Questions

(Radio to "Inprecorr.")

Moscow, November 22.

Forenoon session.

After the opening of the session a commission is appointed to examine comrade Müntzenberg's report, and to draw up a corresponding resolution.

The debate on Eastern and colonial questions then commences.

The first speaker is *Ravensteyn* (Holland). He first gives the history of the Near Eastern question. Since Napoleon's time French and English capital have been struggling for supremacy in the Orient; later on Russia took part in this struggle, and finally Germany also appeared on the scene. The Freedom of the Straits is an important question for the world proletariat, whose interests in this case coincide with those of Soviet Russia. The capitulations determined the relations between the powerless peoples of the East and the mighty capitalists. The most important demand is therefore that the capitulations be done away with. The bourgeois governments and the orthodox church are responsible for the outrages in Macedonia. The orthodox church is, in the East, nothing but an apparatus for the exploitation of the working classes. The Balkans and Asia Minor form a political and economic unit, and there thus exists the possibility of solving the oriental question by the autonomy and federative unity of the single lingual district of the Balkans and Asia Minor. Since the victory in Tripolis, pan-Islamism appears as a world historical factor reacting against world imperialism.

Ravensteyn then analyses the situation in the Balkans, and comes to the conclusion that this is worse than before the Balkan war; Turkey alone is strengthened. He further describes in detail the Near East policy of the great powers, and confirms the fact of England's catastrophic defeat in the Near East.

Pan-Islamism not only represents a religious national movement, but signifies a mass fight against imperialism. The proletariat should help in this fight.

Roy (India) points out that the II congress established the relations of the world proletariat to the struggles for emancipation among the colonial peoples. It was a mistake to range the colonial peoples all in one single category, seeing that these are at different stages of their social-economic evolution. The movement thus takes various forms in various colonies. In those colonial countries which are farthest developed the native bourgeoisie shows a tendency to enter into compromises with the world bourgeoisie, while the feudal-military elements of backward colonial countries are mere instruments of the world bourgeoisie. The masses of workers and peasants of the East must energetically fight against militarism. It is however only possible for the masses to participate in such a fight under the leadership of a class party. Young communist parties already exist in the countries of the East; it is their task to lead a campaign for the anti-military united front, and to win all revolutionary social elements for this.

Katayama (Japan) points out that Japan's imperialism is the greatest stumbling block in the way of the revolutionizing of the masses. As Japanese industry has developed more rapidly than European, so the labor movement in Japan will develop more rapidly. The feeling among the masses is anti-military. The C.P. of Japan is liquidating the influence of the syndicalists in the trade unions. A gradual awakening of the Japanese women is also to be observed.

The Japanese and Chinese delegations suggest that a message of greeting be sent to the population of Sakhalin, and a protest against the Japanese occupation.

Bondengha (North Africa) describes the spread of the revolutionary movement in North Africa. The French government persecutes the workers and peasants of Algiers, and suppresses workers papers. The speaker expresses the wish that the French party support the North African movement more than it has hitherto done, for without the revolutionizing of North Africa a revolution in France will not be possible. In the same manner the English C.P. should give more support to the movement in Egypt.

The congress then resolves to send a telegram of greeting to the German Shop Stewards Congress.

Discussion on the Eastern and Colonial Questions

(Radio to "Inprecorr.")

Moscow, Nov. 23.

After the session has been opened, comrade *Webb* (England) rises to speak. He points out that the communist parties have not fully done their duty with regard to the revolutionary risings in Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, and India. The first blow against the Treaty of Versailles was dealt by the victory of the Turks. The young and still weak communist party of England recognizes the tremendous importance of the movement among the colonial peoples.

Yunyentchia (China) points out that the movement under Sun Yat Sen failed solely because Sun Yat Sen attempted to realize democracy with the aid of a military revolt only, without the support of a mass movement. Military aid alone, without mass movement, does not suffice in China to annihilate at one and the same time, native feudalism and foreign imperialism. The labor movement in China is still young, but mass strikes have often taken place. The communists are still working in the revolutionary democratic parties.

El-Arabi (Egypt), who appears as the first Arab at the World Congress, expresses the hope that, despite the resistance of English imperialism and of the native bourgeoisie, the red flag will one day wave from the pyramids. The so-called new independence of the Egyptians is nullified by the English inspection and by the separation of the Sudan. The young illegal communist party has made political and economic progress. It is working in the trade unions and will take part in the elections. The party is now working out an agrarian program.

Earsmann (Australia) speaks to the following effect: The capitalist states on the Pacific Ocean on the one hand keep down the subsistence level of the white workmen by the employment of coolies, and on the other hand they want to bring about a fresh world war with their slogan of the yellow peril. The speaker expresses himself in favor of the convoking of a congress of all organizations of the states on the Pacific Ocean. He demands that the yellow workers should become members of the trade union movement.

Sajarov (Russia) desires to see more interest in the oriental question, and a livelier sympathy. The fate of the revolution is closely bound up with the colonial movement. It is a source of great danger that the backward peoples form a reserve for counter-revolution. Since the world war the industrial production of the colonies has doubled. Our slogan must be: simultaneous combatting of native feudalism and foreign imperialism. The communist parties of the Orient must not be mere fractions within the nationalist movement, they must develop into independent factors. Passive resistance and the boycotting movement in the colonies must be replaced by mass movements, through the agency of the communist parties.

Okhran (Turkey) notes the fact the parties take too little interest in colonial questions. The program of the English party, does not even contain a word on the subject. It is the duty of the communist parties to bring about a united front, with concrete demands, among all colonial peoples. Concrete demands are: absolute independence of the colonies; evacuation of Turkey, Egypt, Syria; Freedom of the Straits; freedom of the press. He expresses himself in favor of the convocation of a congress of all revolutionary organizations of the East, under the leadership of the Comintern.

Nich-Bin (Persia) describes the communist movement in his country. Here industry is developing rapidly. The trade union movement comprises 15,000 workers. The trade unions are under communist influence. He also wishes more support from the western parties.

Radek, in closing the session, points out that the social democrats are combatting our Eastern policy. But history justifies the correctness of this policy more and more. The Second and the Vienna Internationals protested in vain against the peace of Versailles. And now the treaty of Sevres has been torn up. Levi now maintains that the victory of Kemal involves the victory of Poincaré. The conference at Lausanne proves, however, that the imperialists of the West form a united front of all capitalists for the financial control and subjugation of Turkey. We are aware that official bureaucrats, representatives of classes becoming extinct, are still at the head of the Eastern movement. Thus the Angora government persecutes the communists. Wu-Pei-Fü fights against workers on strike. These are the same elements who entered into a compromise with the Entente when it declared itself against the deposition of the Sultan. Should the Angora government now capitulate in Lausanne, it loses everything. If the Muschas and Paschas betray the peasantry, the Turkish masses will realize that the only true friends of the

people are the communists. The fact must be reckoned with that the dying feudalism of the East will endeavor to prolong its life by means of a thousand compromises and treacheries. But a compromise with Western imperialism is now impossible for the feudal elements. And though they may often betray us, still we hold to the united front against imperialism. These tactics must be decisive for the communists of the East. But we do not forget the class war in the East. We shall unite the workers of the West and the peasants of the East in the combat against capitalism.

In China our chief task consists in organizing the working class, and in forming a united front against imperialism with the aid of the really revolutionary elements of the bourgeoisie. The awakening working class of Japan must win democracy, must create good trade unions and a good communist party. The Indian party has already performed excellent spiritual work. All legal possibilities must be utilized in India. Here the path will also be long and difficult. The main watchwords for the Orient are: First the winning over of the working masses, then of the peasants and artisans. The Communist Parties in the East must become real parties of the people.

The congress then appoints a committee for Eastern questions. The congress protests against the shooting of four South African workers, and sends greetings to the proletariat of South Africa.

The Agrarian Question at the World Congress

(Radio to "Inprecorr.")

Moscow, November 24.

After the opening of the session *Varga* speaks to the following effect on the agrarian program of action: The communist parties must gain the aid of wide sections of the agrarian population, and neutralize the middle peasantry. The agrarian program does not suffice for this purpose, for these classes are filled with distrust towards the communists. In Europe the peasants are to a great extent under the influence of the large landowners. The varying conditions obtaining in the different countries render the task of the communists more difficult.

With regard to the agrarian program three different types of countries should be differentiated: colonial countries with an enslaved peasantry, countries with vestiges of feudalism, and new capitalist countries. The war altered the distribution of income in favor of agriculture, and accentuated the division of classes more sharply. The peasantry now begins to fall into debt again.

The most important factor in the agrarian movement is the country proletariat; the most faithful ally of the proletariat. The broad classes of semi-peasants and small peasants must be won over to communism by aiding them in their demands against the capitalists. The communist parties must criticize the deficiencies of bourgeois agrarian reform, and emphasize the advantages of an agrarian revolution as compared with these bourgeois agrarian reforms. The communist parties are not to become radical peasants' parties, but the fear of close connection with the peasantry, so often felt, is detrimental to the communist movement. In all organizations connected with the small peasants and the country proletariat the communists must form their own groups, and constantly insist on their own program. They must not however be satisfied with demonstrating the advantages of communism to the country population by means of words alone, there must be deeds also. The advantages for the peasants must be obtained at the expense of the capitalists, not at the expense of the proletariat. The communist parties must unite all working classes of the agrarian population with the city proletariat for the revolutionary struggle.

In conclusion the speaker recommends the acceptance of the program of action.

Daniel Renault (France) believes that there is a great possibility of winning the peasants for the revolution. In France the main question is what is to be done for the peasantry after we have seized power. The psychology of the peasants must be considered. The two hundred gold millions of farm rents now pocketed by the large agrarian owners must be spared to the peasants. This will win the peasantry for the revolution. The Bolsheviks were aware beforehand that production would diminish during the transition period. The new economic policy of Russia is a new form of alliance between peasantry and proletariat. Before the revolution the inhabitants of the Russian villages were poor people, living at a lower level than the villagers of the middle ages. A new epoch has now dawned. The new economic policy already shows excellent results in respect to equalization of prices, stability of the rouble, and extension of

cultivated area. The influx of the population into the towns brought about the development of the cooperatives, which establish the closest connection between village and city. The Russian peasants are content.

Joss (England): In England a return to the land is observable as a consequence of unemployment. The unemployed cannot however be occupied in agriculture. The English soldiers did not receive any land, for in England land serves for sport and hunting for the bourgeoisie. In England there is a country proletariat, but no peasantry.

Rieu (France): contests Renault's assertion that the French peasants incline to revolution. They are conservative. A one-sided anti-military propaganda is dangerous, as it is bound to have a paralyzing effect in civil war. The chief task of all communists is to unite the proletariat of town and country, and to render the peasant class neutral.

Pauker (Roumania) is in agreement with the theses presented. He is of the opinion that the communist parties cannot do more with the middle peasantry than neutralize them, but that the small peasants can be won over. The Roumanian agrarian reform only gave one half of the land to the peasants. The Communist Party must work for the confiscation of the other half.

Close of the Discussion on the Agrarian Question.
Youth Movement. — Negro Question. — Cooperative Question.

(Radio to "Inprecorr.")

Moscow, November 25.

After the sitting has been opened, the discussion on the agrarian question is continued.

Kostrzaeva (Poland) points out that the communist parties have hitherto devoted too little attention to the agrarian question. This is the reason why the alliance of the peasantry with the working class has not yet been realized. A definite break must be made with illusions and utopias. The agrarian question can be solved in most countries by distribution of the land.

Katayama (Japan) points out that in Japan eighty per cent of the population belong to the peasant class, which possesses no political rights. The land is in the possession of about one hundred families of the nobility. On the other hand there are five million landless peasants. The Japanese peasant class possesses revolutionary traditions. At present there is again a movement on foot under the slogan of nationalization of land. The union of the revolutionary peasantry with the working class will be realized.

Varga remarks, in his concluding words, that it is scarcely fair to put the question whether the peasant be revolutionary or antirevolutionary. The confused and varying situation of the peasant class renders the peasantry revolutionary at one time and antirevolutionary at another. Distrust towards the peasantry is not justified. What is required is a constant analysis of the situation of the peasant class, and a corresponding practical policy. Although Renault's agrarian policy shows many non-communist features, it has already accomplished much. The program of action must not be mechanically applied, but in each individual case the position must be properly analysed and practical measures adopted accordingly.

Schüller then speaks on the youth movement, to the following effect: The communist youth cannot limit its outlines as sharply as the party. The communist youth movement must change from the purely political organizations of war and post-war times to a broad mass organization. This new attitude gives rise to much discussion and has caused crises in Italy, France, and Czecho-Slovakia, which have however been overcome. Many parties, as the English, Czech, and French, have not estimated the youth movement rightly. The youth international has everywhere left political leadership to the communist parties. Good progress is to be reported in Western Europe. In Central Europe a slackening of educational and anti-military propaganda is to be observed, and we must endeavour to prevent this. Many improvements in organization have been accomplished, as for instance the strict centralization of the Youth International.

The capitalist offensive causes moral and physical deterioration of youth. The political persecution of the youth is greater than that of adults. The youth is frequently utilized as a weapon against the adults, and vice versa. This must cease. The united front of youth and adults must become a reality.

The Amsterdam international has constantly betrayed the interests of the youth. The social democratic Youth International sabotages the united front of the youth and the world youth congress.

Practical community of work between the youth and the communist parties will be bettered when the communist parties show more comprehension for the youth movement. The communist parties do not support the anti-military youth propaganda

sufficiently. The party press should devote more attention to the position of the youth. Communist education must be given in the children's groups.

The speaker recommends the acceptance of a number of practical suggestions.

The youth question is then passed on to the presidium to be dealt with.

On the negro question, *Billins*, speaks as follows: The Second International was an international of the white workers only. The Communist International, on the contrary, comprises the workers of every race. The negro question is difficult to solve, hindered as it is by mutual prejudices. Out of 150 millions of negroes 52 millions live in America. Here the masses of backward negroes form the reserves of a revolution. In North America the negro is exploited and used as a blackleg. Slavery is only legally abolished, not actually. The rights of the negro are on paper only, they have never been given the opportunity of exercising them. The capitalists have been agitating among the negroes for a long time in favor of the white capitalists and against the white workers. But up to now the working class has taken no steps in the negro question. The capitalists are able to point out that the trade unions do not admit negroes as members.

The speaker gives a survey of the negro organizations now existing, and remarks that in America alone 450 papers are published for the negroes. He suggests that the economic prerequisites for the solution of the negro question be studied, and a congress convened in Moscow of all revolutionary negro organizations for the realization of the united front against capitalism and imperialism. The communist parties must support the negro movement everywhere.

The famous negro author *Matzky*, points out that Marx had already emphasized that without the emancipation of the negroes the emancipation of America from capitalism is unthinkable. He describes the situation of the negroes in North America, where the negroes are treated under exceptional rules, as an inferior race. In South America the position is even worse, as there is no right of organization for the negroes. The more radical negro newspapers of North America are prohibited. Mixed workers' organizations are only able to work illegally, and lynch justice is the order of the day. The capitalists endeavour to prevent the development of the class war by inciting the race war. Although himself no communist, says the speaker — still he asks the Comintern to aid his race.

President *Kolarov* emphasizes the importance of the moment in which the negro question has first appeared on the agenda of the Comintern. He proposes the passing of a corresponding resolution.

The debate on the work to be done by the communists in the cooperatives follows.

The report is given by *Mestsheryakov* (Russia), who points out that along with the political and the trade union movement, the cooperative movement is also of importance for the emancipation of the proletariat. At the present time the social traitors rule the cooperative societies, where they are supporting the bourgeoisie under the guise of neutrality. The communists must conquer the cooperative societies too. The party press has devoted but little attention to this question up to now. Many communist parties, as for instance the French, the Dutch, and the Swedish, have not carried out the resolutions of the 3. congress. The German party, on the other hand, has had excellent results. One important task of the cooperative societies is to assist strikers, and to support the proletariat in its struggle against high prices. The speaker describes the results of the congress of communist cooperative members, and proposes that the theses of the 3. congress be repeated and elaborated.

Lauridan (France) says that the cooperative societies can only help the party. The communists are opposed to the political neutrality of the cooperative societies. The speaker regrets that *Mestsheryakov* has said nothing about the productive cooperative societies of the peasantry. The congress must adopt a definite attitude towards guild socialism.

Henriet (France) declares himself to be against the productive cooperative societies as these render a part of the working class neutral with regard to the revolutionary struggle. He is also an opponent of guild socialism, which can become dangerous to the trade unions in times of economic crises. The French socialists make use of the cooperative societies for supporting the social democratic party. Under capitalism the cooperative societies can be the means of nurturing dangerous illusions among the workers, but they are of great importance at the moment of realization of the proletarian dictatorship. A development of the cooperative societies in Russia might have made the new economic policy superfluous.

Hintchuk (Russia) observes in his concluding words that it is too early to broach the question of the attitude to be adopted

towards productive co-operative societies and guild socialism, as experience must first be gained on these subjects. It is a mistake to suppose that a development of the co-operative societies in Russia would have rendered the new economic policy unnecessary. We do not desire a split in the co-operative societies but the communist parties must have the right of influencing them in their direction. It is of importance to bring the youth and the women into the co-operative movement.

Report of the Women's Secretariat Comrade Zetkin's report

(Radio to "Inprecorr".)

After the sitting has been opened, comrade Zetkin delivers her report on the work to be done in the women's question.

She points out that the International Women's Secretariat is working under the immediate leadership of the executive. Women must take part in all the struggles of the communist parties. Communist work among women is not a women's matter, but a party matter. The fact must be taken into consideration that women live under special conditions, which have created a special psychology in women.

The speaker criticizes the activity of the various parties, and emphasizes the exemplary and directive activity of the Russian Communist Party. She regrets that no women's secretariat exists in England or Poland. That the French women's secretariat was done away with by the Paris congress was a grave error. In Sweden and Norway there are special women's organizations. This must not be permitted. It is of enormous importance to support the women's movement among the peoples of the East.

The International Women's Secretariat carried out the women's conference and Russian relief successfully, as a political action against bourgeois society.

The chief work to be done by women is in the trade unions and co-operative societies. We must win the proletarianized women of the middle class. As an excellent example to be followed the speaker cites the creation of such sympathizing women's organizations which have been called into being by the Bulgarian communist party. Women do excellent service in illegal work, as is well proved by the action of the women of Lurin, who carried out an armed demonstration after the Fascist victory. More educational work must be done among the women. We must create women's organizations in the capitalist states for carrying on the fight, while these organizations in the Soviet states do work for further development. For women too the main slogan must be: Go to the masses! The world revolution is to be attained by courage, clearness, and action—a world revolution which is not merely the annihilation of world capitalism, but the world creation of socialism.

The second speaker, *Herta Sturm*, criticizes in detail the women's organizations of the various countries. Everywhere in every organization, women's committees should be formed. The women's organizations are still too weak to carry on the great international struggle. Women's groups are required in the factories, workshops, etc., and in the trade unions. The co-operative societies must also be won over by the proletarian housewives. Every party paper should devote one page to women's questions. The prospects of the women's movement are most favorable.

Smidovitch (Russia) describes the past and present of the Russian women's movement. The connection between the Russian Communist Party and the non-partisan masses of women is good. Almost 30,000 women are members of the party, one and a half millions are organized in trade unions. The speaker gives a survey of the work done by women in the party, in the trade unions and guilds, for the famine relief, and in propaganda and school work. The Russian Communist Party realized the united front of the working men with the working women and peasant women. This is worthy of imitation by the parties of the western countries.

Kasparova describes the position of the women's movement in the Eastern countries, in Japan, India and Egypt, where the development of industry has drawn great masses of women into production. In other countries of the East, women also take an important part in industry and agriculture. Women have already taken part in strikes in Japan, China and India. The economic situation of the women of the East is extremely bad. The women of the East are taking part with ever increasing activity in the economic and political movements. Agriculture among the women should be adapted to the conditions obtaining in the different countries of the East.

The resolution on the women's question is then passed unanimously.

The Program of the International and of the Communist Parties

Radio to "Inprecorr".

Moscow, Nov. 18.

The sitting is opened at half past eleven. *Bucharin* speaks on the program of the International and of the Communist Parties:

The question of the creation of a program of the Communist International is a very difficult problem. That we venture on the attempt to solve it is a sign that we are growing.

The 2. and 2½ Internationals suffer from complete theoretical impotence.

In Marxism we differentiate three main phases: 1. revolutionary Marxism, as understood by Marx and Engels; 2. as taught by the epigones of the Second International; 3. as the Bolsheviks understand it.

Marxism is a child of the revolution. The phase of capitalism following the revolution of 48 brought about a betterment of the position of the continental proletariat at the expense of the colonial peoples. This is the sociological basis of Social Democratic Marxism. The fight set up by Kautsky-Marxism against revisionism had already ended in complete capitulation to revisionism before the war, Marxism embraces the whole of capitalist society, including the colonial peoples. Kautsky's theory of relative impoverishment refers to the position of the continental proletariat only; Kautsky weakens the theory of collapse. The revolutionary advancement of the proletariat is abandoned. All this was the case before the world war. Now Kautsky's theory is consciously based on the aristocratic stratum of the working class, and thus signifies an aid rendered to bourgeois society.

In the age of the utmost impoverishment of the proletariat, Kautsky does not say a word on impoverishment. He declares that the crisis does not play any great part, and that the Russian Revolution is not a real revolution. On the other hand even bourgeois politicians recognize the fact that capitalism is bankrupt. Kautsky declares, however, that capitalism emerges from the war stronger than before. The state theory of the Second International is an apology for the bourgeois republic.

According to Kautsky force is reactionary. Barricades are a purely bourgeois institution. There is now only a difference of degree between Kautsky's science and bourgeois science.

The whole process of capitalist development must be regarded from the standpoint of the enlarged reproduction of capitalist contradictions. Further: formerly the chief competitive weapon was—cheaper prices. This was followed by the struggle of the syndicates. The states are now only gigantic trust combinations, which fight out the competitive struggle with military power.

The monopoly of education held by the ruling class must be emphasized in the program.

The question of the seed of Socialism being matured in the old order of society must be dealt with. Capitalism is actually already contained in feudalism. Its administrators, its functionaries, its economic apparatus,—all, already existed in feudal times. Socialism can however only mature under a dictatorship.

The new economic policy is not only a question of tactics, but an economic adaptation to purpose. It represents relations held between those branches of economy which we can ourselves take over, and those which we cannot yet undertake. If we abolish the small producers, we bring certain branches of production to a standstill. The result is an unnecessary growth of officialdom. The correct solution of this question is a problem in social economy. On the other hand it is true that economic suitability to purpose does not invariably coincide with fighting suitability. If it is necessary, small undertakings forming ram-

parts for the counter-revolution must be confiscated, but not to a greater extent than is necessary.

In the program we must also deal with the question of the colonies and the question of defence of the country. *The Proletarian State is not the old State. It has not alone the right to defend itself, but it has to defend the proletariat of other countries, and has to go to war for this purpose if necessary.* Questions of a fluctuating nature, such as the question of the United Front, the Workers' Government, the seizure of real values, cannot be programmatically fixed. These questions adapt themselves to the particular defensive constellation of the proletarian position. To lay down rules for these questions in the program implies giving way to the offensive. Varga reproaches me with cowardice, because I do not wish to lay down programmatic rules for questions of the day. My cowardice is fear of opportunism, Varga, on the other hand, has no fears; he is an open opportunist. The program of the German Communist Party is brilliant in places, and well founded theoretically, but it is too long, too learned, in short, too German. The Bulgarian is much too Bulgarian. I propose that the program be not yet passed upon, but should be regarded as an introduction to a discussion on the program. The acceptance of the program should be reserved for the Fifth World Congress.

Thalheimer, as second speaker, asks that the German program be regarded as a draft. The real program can only be the result of collective work. The theoretical collapse of the Second International is complete. Kautsky has fallen to the level of Bernstein. It is necessary that the Communist Program establish the historical rôle played by imperialism. The Austro-Marxists around Kautsky regard imperialism as an error of the world's history. They are of the opinion that a better way would have been for capitalism to follow the peaceful path of free trade and disarmament. History has proved them to be wrong. Rosa Luxemburg's theory emphasizes that imperialism is an economic necessity, and cannot be substituted by peaceful capitalism. Socialism alone offers escape from the present situation. Even to-day the Social Democracy keeps allegiance to Austro-Marxism. I am not in agreement with *Bucharin* regarding the question of partial demands; they form the transition to the most important stretch on the road to revolution. The Communist International must not fail here. It is not only permissible to include the fundamentals upon which the partial demands are based, the inclusion of the partial demands themselves in the program is also in principle permissible. There are partial demands which are common to all countries, as for instance control of production, standards for taxation policy, etc. Shortly before the October Revolution Lenin declared himself most decisively in favor of a minimum program. We must have it programmatically established that political considerations go before economic considerations.

Kabaktchieff (Bulgaria) points out that the program of the Second International was adapted to peaceful evolution. The imperialist war, the Russian Revolution, and the economic crisis, rendered class opposition more acute, and created the Comintern, which fights for the dictatorship of the proletariat with the weapons of mass action, general strikes, and armed risings. The Comintern must set up new standards based on the experiences of the Russian Revolution, as Marx had learned from the experiences of the Paris Commune. The speaker desires a maximum program only, and a clear division between principles and partial demands. The crisis of capitalism is so far-reaching that the maximum program must always be held in view. The program of the Russian Communist Party is a suitable foundation, when adapted to the conditions of the various countries. The speaker defends the Bulgarian program draft against *Bucharin's* judgment of its. In the present revolutionary period the creation of a maximum program is most important of all.

This closed the sitting. The congress will decide on Tuesday whether the program discussion is to be continued, or adjourned till the V. Congress.