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## CORRESPONDENCE

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# The Commencement of the Revolution in Russia (1905).

By V. I. Lenin.

The following article, which has not hitherto been published in English, was written by Lenin on 12th (25th) January 1905 when he received the first news of the march of the St. Petersburg Workers to the Tsar's palace, and of the blood bath which followed, that is, precisely 20 years ago. Ed.

Great historical events are taking place in Russia. The proletariat has risen against tsarism. The proletariat has been driven to revolt by the government. There can now be scarcely any doubt that the government allowed the strike movement to develop practically unhindered and a huge demonstration to begin, as it wished to bring the affair to the employment of military force. And this is what it has done! Thousands of killed and wounded — these are the results of the bloody Sunday of 9th of January in St. Petersburg. The military have defeated the unarmed workers, the women and children. The military have overcome the enemy by shooting down the workers as they lay on the ground. "We have taught them a good lesson", say with indescribable cynicism the tsarist hirelings and their European lackeys of the conservative bourgeoisie.

Yes, the lesson was a severe one! The Russian proletariat will not forget this lesson! The least prepared, the most backward sections of the working class, who naively believed in the Tsar and had sincerely desired peaceably to hand to their "little Father" the petitions of the suffering people, all these have received a lesson regarding the military forces which were led by the Tsar or by one of the Tsar's uncles, the Grand Duke Vladimir.

The working class has received a good lesson in civil war; the revolutionary education of the proletariat has advanced farther in one day than ever it could have advanced in months and years of prosaic, every-day, monotonous life. The slogan of the heroic St. Petersburg proletariat, "liberty or death", now finds an echo throughout the whole of Russia. Events are developing with startling rapidity. The general strike in St. Petersburg is growing. The whole industrial social and political life is paralysed. On Monday, 10th of January the collisions between the workers and troops became more embittered. Contrary to the lying government reports, blood is flowing in many parts of the capital. The workers of Kolpino are rising. The prole-

tariat is arming itself and arming the people. The workers are said to have taken possession of the arsenal of Sestrorjetzik. The workers provide themselves with revolvers, forge weapons from their work-tools, make bombs for the desperate fight for liberty. The general strike extends to the provinces. In Moscow, ten thousand workers have already downed tools. The general strike is announced to begin in Moscow to-morrow the 13th January. A mutiny has broken out in Riga. In Lodz the workers are arranging demonstrations. In Warsaw the revolt is being prepared. In Helsingfors demonstrations of the proletariat are taking place. In Baku, Odessa, Kiev, Charkov, Kovno, and Vilna the fermentation among the workers is growing and the strike is extending. In Sebastopol the stores and the arsenal of the army are in flames and the soldiers are refusing to shoot upon the insurgent sailors. Strikes in Reval and Saratov. Armed collisions between workers and reservists and the army in Radom.

The revolution is growing. The government is already beginning to twist and turn. It is attempting to turn from the policy of bloody repressions to economic concessions, and hopes to save itself by means of alms and the promise of a nine hour day. But the lessons of the bloody day must not pass unheeded. The demand of the insurgent St. Petersburg workers — immediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly upon the basis of universal, direct, equal franchise with a secret ballot — must become the demand of all striking workers. The immediate overthrow of the government — this is the slogan with which the workers who had believed in the Tsar replied through the mouth of their leader, father George Gapon, to the blood-bath of 9th January. They said: "We no longer have any tsar, a stream of blood divides the tsar from the people. Long live the fight for liberty".

Long live the revolutionary proletariat, we say. The general strike is bringing ever broader masses of the working class and of the poor people of the town to their feet and is mobilising them. The arming of the people is becoming one of the urgent tasks of the revolutionary moment.

Only the armed people can really be the defender of the freedom of the people. And the sooner the proletariat succeeds in arming itself, the longer it maintains its military position of the striking revolutionary, the more rapidly will the military be thrown into confusion and the more rapidly will people be found among the soldiers who finally understand what they ought to do, who will range themselves on the side of the people against the tyrants, against the murderers of unarmed workers and their wives and children. No matter how the present revolt in St. Petersburg itself may end, in any case it will unavoidably and inevitably become the first step to a broader, more conscious, better prepared revolt. The government will perhaps suc-

ceed in postponing the hour of reckoning. But the postponement will render the following step of the revolutionary attack more powerful. The postponement will be used by the social democracy in order to close more firmly the ranks of the organised fighters and spread the news of the action begun by the St. Petersburg workers. The proletariat will join the fight, will leave the factories and workshops and arm itself. The slogans of the fight for freedom will be brought to the poor of the towns, to the millions of peasants on an ever larger scale. Revolutionary committees will be formed in every factory, in every quarter of the town and in every large village. The insurgent people will overthrow each and every government institution of tsarist despotism and proclaim the immediate convening of the Constituent Assembly.

The rapid arming of the workers and of all citizens in general, the preparation and the organising of the revolutionary forces for the purpose of overcoming the government authorities and institutions — this is the practical basis upon which each and every revolutionary can and must unite for the common struggle. The proletariat must always proceed along its own independent way, and in doing so must not weaken its connection with the social democratic party, for the sake of its great final aim, the emancipation of the whole of humanity from all exploitation. But this independence of the social democratic, proletarian Party will never compel us to forget the importance of the common revolutionary attack in the present revolutionary moment. We social democrats can and must act independently from the revolutionaries of bourgeois democracy, preserving the class independence of the proletariat, but we must go hand in hand at the time of revolt, when we strike a direct blow at Tsarism, offer resistance to the military and attack the bastilles of the accursed enemy of the whole of the Russian people.

The proletariat of the whole world is looking with feverish impatience to the proletariat of the whole of Russia. The overthrow of Tsarism in Russia which has been heroically begun by our working class, is becoming a turning point in the history of all countries, a promotion of the work of all workers of all nations, in all states, in all parts of the globe. And may every social democrat, may every class-conscious worker keep in mind what enormous tasks of the struggle of the whole people are now resting upon his shoulders. May he not forget that he represents the requirements and the interests of the whole of the peasantry, of the whole mass of the workers and exploited, of the mass of the people against the enemy of the whole people. Before the eyes of all there now stands the example of the heroic proletarians of St. Petersburg.

Long live the revolution!

Long live the insurgent proletariat!

## Concerning our Revolution.

By V. I. Lenin.

The following article was written by Lenin during his severe illness — on the 16th and 17th January 1923. It has remained almost unknown. Nevertheless it belongs to the most brilliant things Lenin has written regarding the application of Marxist dialectics. Ed.

### I.

During the last day or so I have been perusing the writings of Suchanov\*) on revolution. What is most striking here is the pedantry of all our petty bourgeois democrats, as well as of all the heroes of the II. International. In addition to the fact of their being terribly cowardly, that even the best of them live on reservations — apart from this peculiarity of all petty bourgeois democrats which they have continually expressed during the whole revolution, is their slavish inclination to imitate the past.

They all call themselves Marxists, but conceive Marxism in an impossibly pedantic manner. They have completely failed to understand the decisive factor in Marxism, i. e. its revolutionary dialectics. They have even failed completely to grasp and even to notice the dictum of Marx that in the moment of revolution the

greatest possible elasticity is required. Thus, for instance, the remarks of Marx in his correspondence — I believe during the year 1865 — in which he expressed the hope of a connection of the peasants' war in Germany, which could give rise to a revolutionary situation, with the labour movement, — even this explicit statement they seek to evade, and go round and round it like a cat round a plate of hot soup.

In their whole attitude they openly appear as cowardly reformists who are afraid of turning their backs on, or even breaking with the bourgeoisie, and who at the same time seek to hide their cowardice with empty phrase-mongering and boasting. But even from a theoretical point of view their absolute incapability to grasp the tactics of Marxism, is most strikingly shown in the following:

Up to now they saw a definite way of development of capitalism and of bourgeois democracy in Western Europe, and cannot imagine that this way cannot be regarded as a model example, even with certain alterations (which, regarded from the point of view of world-history are of no importance whatever).

Firstly: — there is the question of a revolution which is connected with the first imperialist world war. With such a revolution, new or altered features must become apparent (these altered features being a result of the war, because there has never been before such a war under such conditions in history). Hitherto we have seen that the bourgeoisie of the richest countries could not restore "normal" bourgeois conditions after this war.

\*) N. Suchanov (N. Gimmer) former Narodnik, later Menshevik, author of several works on the agrarian question and "Observations on the Russian Revolution" to which comrade Lenin here refers.

But our reformist petty bourgeois, who pose as revolutionaries regarded and still regard normal bourgeois conditions as the final impassable limit, whereby they conceive this "normality" in an extremely stereotyped and narrow-minded manner.

Secondly — they are quite strangers to the idea that, with the prevalence of universal laws regarding the development of world-history, isolated phases of development, which constitute a peculiarity in the form or in the series of this development, are not excluded but on the contrary are highly probable. And it never even occurs to them that Russia, which lies between the civilised countries and those countries which for the first time have been dragged into civilisation by the war, the countries of the entire East, the ultra-European countries, was bound to reveal certain peculiarities which naturally lie upon the general line of world-development, but which distinguish the Russian revolution from all previous revolutions in West European countries, and to some extent introduce certain novel phenomena into it as a result of its contact with the Eastern countries.

The conclusions which they have learnt by rote during the development of Western European social democracy, and which consist in the assertion that we are not yet ripe enough for socialism, that with us — as various "learned" gentlemen among them have expressed it — there do not exist the objective economic premises for socialism, are, for example, fearfully stereotyped. And it never occurs to anybody to ask: could a people who were faced by such a revolutionary situation, a situation which arose in the first imperialist war, could this people, under the influence of the hopelessness of their situation, not plunge into such a struggle which would open to them at least some prospects of capturing more favourable conditions for the further growth of civilisation?

"Russia has not reached such a stage of development of the productive forces as would render socialism possible". This is the sentence with which all the heroes of the II. International, among them of course Suchanov, are strutting round, decorated with it like a peacock's feather. They repeat this indisputable statement in a thousand tones. But it seems to me that it is not decisive for the estimation of our revolution.

What now, if the peculiarity of the situation of Russia had first driven it into the imperialist world war, which involved all the more influential West European countries, if this peculiarity of the situation drove its development to the confines of the revolutions of the East which were beginning and had partly already begun, and had subjected it to such conditions as rendered it possible for us to realise that contact of the "peasants' war" with the labour movement, concerning which such a "Marxist" as Karl Marx wrote in 1865 of its being a possible prospect in regard to Prussia?

What now, if the complete hopelessness of the situation, which increased tenfold the forces of the workers and peasants, offered us the possibility of another means for the creation of the fundamental prerequisites of civilisation than was available in the other West-European states? Would the general line of development of world history be thereby altered? Would this change the fundamental relations of the most important classes in that state which had been and was being drawn into the general course of development of world history?

If the creation of socialism requires a definite level of culture (although nobody ventures to say of what nature this definite level of culture should be), why should we not begin beforehand with the revolutionary capturing of the pre-requisites for this definite level, and then proceed further upon the basis of the workers' and peasants' power and of the soviet regime to catch up to the other peoples?

## II.

You say that the creation of socialism requires civilisation. Very well, why could we not create beforehand such conditions for civilisation as the clearing out of the big landowners and the Russian capitalists and then begin to proceed towards socialism? In what books have you read that similar changes are not permissible or are impossible in an ordinary historical period?

I believe it was Napoleon who said: "On s'engage et puis on voit". Freely translated this means: "One must first plunge into a serious struggle, one will then see what is next to be done". We also in October 1917 have plunged into a serious

struggle and we have then seen such details of development (regarded from the world-historical point of view, they were undoubtedly details) as the Brest-Litovsk Peace, the New Economic Policy etc. And today there no longer exists any doubt that we have practically gained the victory.

Our Suchanovs, not to mention the social democrats who are still more to the Right, do not even dream that any revolution is possible at all. Our European petty bourgeois never dream that the further revolutions in the incomparably more densely populated countries of the East, in which incomparably more peculiar social conditions prevail, will offer them much greater peculiarities than the Russian revolution.

Nobody disputes that a text book written in the method of Kautsky was very useful in its time. But it is high time to give up the idea that such a text-book has foreseen all the forms of development of the further history of the world. It would be high time simply to declare those people who hold such an opinion as fools.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Bolshevising of the Parties of the Communist International.

By G. Zinoviev.

In the next few weeks there will be held a session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International. Scarcely six months have past since the V. World Congress, but already numerous questions of the International Communist Movement are demanding an authoritative decision. Among the most important questions which will have to be discussed at the session are the questions of international trade union unity, the conclusions to be drawn from the rapid liquidation of the "democratic-pacifist" era and its replacement by the new era of world reaction, the discussions in the Russian C. P. etc. But the most important question will certainly be the question of bolshevising the Parties of the Comintern.

In the first period of the existence of the Comintern, whilst we all clearly perceived the importance of the rôle of the Party in the revolution, we nevertheless admitted the possibility of a rapid victory over capitalism, regardless of the fact that at that time we had not yet succeeded in creating Communist Parties in the most important states. This was the period which one could describe as the "*sturm und drang*" period of the Communist International. The hatred of the imperialist slaughter which had seized the broadest masses of the workers came to bursting point at the time of the most desperate economic exhaustion of the belligerent countries, and found expression in such a stormy elementary movement, that it seemed as if the sea would sweep over the shores and wash away the strongholds of capitalism.

The years from 1921 to 1924 marked the second period of the work of the Comintern. It had become clear that victory would not be so easy to achieve and that a number of years would have to be devoted to the building up of Communist Parties. This work was more or less successfully accomplished between the third and V. World Congresses of the Comintern.

We are now entering upon the third period. The V. World Congress will be regarded as marking the commencement of this period. The Communist Parties have been constructed in skeleton form. Now it is the question of bolshevising these Parties. The V. World Congress of the Communist International issued this slogan. The approaching session of the Enlarged Executive must concretise this slogan and clothe it with flesh and blood.

Bolshevising of the Parties! This slogan will now become a terrifying spectre for the whole world-bourgeoisie. It is this which constitutes the modern "spectre" which is "haunting" Europe. The world bourgeoisie, incited by the lackeys of the II. International, is desperately preparing for exceptional laws against the Parties of the Comintern which are undergoing bolshevising. World imperialism wishes to prepare exceptional laws against communists and to declare a "holy war" against bolshevism, perhaps in the same way as in the epoch of the I. International, but of course with still greater cruelty and ruthlessness.

Too late, my Lords!

You may perhaps succeed in driving this or that Communist Party into illegality and temporarily weakening it by repression, but this will not check the bolshevising of the Party concerned; in many cases it will even expedite it. Do you not yet understand that for some of our Parties it is necessary that they pass through prison, suffer under exceptional laws and experience an illegal period in order finally to become bolshevised?

The rapid transition of the European bourgeoisie from the "democratic-pacifist" era to the era of furious bourgeois reaction is one of the prerequisites for the true revolutionising of broad working masses, including workers' Parties. The bourgeoisie is doing everything possible in order to demonstrate to the broad masses of the people the impossibility of a peaceful way, the utopianism of the peaceable plans of the "left" wing of social democracy, and the bourgeoisie is thereby driving the working masses to bolshevism. In a word: the bourgeoisie is endeavouring on its part to create the necessary "prerequisites" for the bolshevising of the young Parties of the Comintern. There remains nothing for us to do but to see to it that the object lesson which the working class is receiving at the hands of world-imperialism shall bear fruit.

What then is the bolshevising of our Party?

Before all, a few words as to what bolshevising is not.

To bolshevise a Party in no way means the creating of a small organisation of "pure" bolsheviks, an organisation of the "elect" etc. A bolshevik is before all a man of the masses, that is, before all an opponent of sects.

Bolshevising is not vulgarising. The bolshevik is before all a true Marxist, that is, a convinced follower of the teachings of Marx and Lenin. The Bolshevik endeavours to become a leader of the broad masses of the people, and at the same time to remain on the level of Marxist teachings, of the real penetrating into the algebra of the proletarian revolution.

Bolshevising is not the mechanical transference of the experience of Russian bolshevism to the situation of other countries. The bolshevik tries before all to adapt himself to the concrete situation. The Bolshevik does not apply the teachings of Marx and Lenin "in general", but adapts them to the given conditions of place and time of the social environment, of economics and politics.

The bolshevising of the Parties of the Comintern is the making use of the experiences of the Bolshevik Party in the three Russian revolutions (as well as the experiences of the other best sections of the Comintern), and in applying them to the concrete situation of each particular country.

There are a number of tasks which are common to all Parties of the Comintern. These are, for example, as follows:

1. The correct approach of the Communist advance-guard to the non-Party working masses. In Europe this means before all the correct solution of the question of the relations to the trade unions, that is, the tactics of persevering work of the Communists within the trade unions.

2. The correct approach to the peasantry. Among the agricultural population of the whole world there are three sections which can and must be captured by us and converted into allies of the proletariat. There is another section of the peasantry which, at least, must be neutralised by us. (See resolution of Comrade Lenin on the peasant question adopted by the II. World Congress of the Comintern; this is one of the most important documents for the bolshevising of the Parties).

3. The correct solution of the national and the colonial question. This problem is closely connected with the correct solution of the peasant question; for the peoples living in the colonial and semi-colonial countries are peasants in their overwhelming majority.

4. The bolshevist, that is, the inflexible will to victory and the subordination of all tactical questions to this chief aim. Therefore the admissibility of compromises in the sense which Lenin has taught us in his "Infantile Sicknesses".

But all these tasks must be solved in every country according to their own resources. The Bolshevik is not one who confines himself to mere mechanical repetition of what he has learned from the history of Russian bolshevism. He only is a bolshevik who understands that the Alpha and Omega of bolshevism consists before all in the capacity of adapting Leninism to the concrete peculiarities of each particular country.

At the present moment the danger exists that some organisational principles of bolshevism will be regarded as the whole of bolshevism. The construction of the Parties upon the basis of

factory nuclei is, without doubt, one of the most important daily tasks of the young Parties of the Comintern. The Parties which are built according to the old social democratic pattern (not according to factory nuclei but according to electoral areas) cannot be seriously regarded as bolshevik Parties. All this is true. But in spite of this, this highly important organisational principle of bolshevism is not the whole of bolshevism. On the day after we have succeeded in building up a given Party upon the basis of production-nuclei, we are faced with the most important question: how is one to fill these production-nuclei with life? What policy must the Party conduct in order to become a true Bolshevik Party?

To Bolshevise a Party means to understand in the given moment how to concentrate attention in a given country upon those concrete main tasks which will provide the Party concerned with the possibility: 1. of becoming a Mass Party, 2. of becoming a Party of fighting Leninism.

In England, for example, this means to push two questions to the forefront: 1. The trade union question and 2. the colonial question. Here the chief task of the day consists in explaining to the mass of the members of the trade unions the connection between economics and politics, in a marxist-leninist manner. For not only simple members, but also some of the honestly mistaken "left" and semi-left leaders of the English trade unions are sincerely convinced that the Labour Party, with its MacDonald and Hendersons, is only a servant to execute the behests of the trade unions. These trade unionists have not yet recognised that the relations are precisely the reverse.

The upper section of the English workers is permeated by a peculiar "labour" imperialism. The English Party cannot become a bolshevik Party if it does not place the colonial question alongside the trade union question and the question of the approach to the Labour Party in the centre of its work.

In France, the bolshevising of the Party means at present the creation of a tradition of a revolutionary mass workers' Party. There is not such a tradition in France. The Communist Party has now thrown all its energies into this task. More Party members! It cannot be permitted that while almost the whole of the Paris proletariat sympathises with the French Communist Party our Paris organisation only has a few thousand members.

In Germany, the Bolshevising of the Party in the present moment means before all the correct solution of the trade union question. The C.P. of Germany in the past year afforded us an example of a Party which sincerely desired to become bolshevik, but in spite of this is capable of committing errors of a non-bolshevik character. Such an error was the error of the C.P. of Germany in the trade union question before the Frankfurt Party Conference. This error must be made good, not only in theory, not only in resolutions, in newspapers and placards, but in the everyday work of the Party, in its entire practical policy.

The C. P. of Germany, which quite rightly fought against the opportunism of Brandler which had almost ruined the German Party, must at the same time fight against the "left" abstraction which alienates the Party from the working masses. It must not underestimate the fact that in the last elections we lost a million votes, and what is most important, the German Social Democracy gained about one and a half million votes. The Party must learn how to carry on agitation in a new manner, so to conduct it that it "clings" to the every-day life, to the burning daily questions of the German workers. The German comrades must before all fight against the tendency to make the Party a "close circle", to make a virtue of necessity and to be content with a small organisation of "pure" bolsheviks, instead of working unwearily in order, at all cost, to wrest the masses from the influence of social democracy and to bring them into our ranks.

In the Soviet Union the bolshevising of the Party at present consists in the ideological fight against Trotskyism and the liquidation of Trotskyism as a "justifiable" tendency in the C. P. of Russia.

In Poland, the bolshevising of the Party means at present the adaption of Leninist ideas to the peasant question and the national question. The Polish comrades must now, to a certain extent, return to where they stood 20 years ago, for at that time they held another opinion regarding these questions to that of Comrade Lenin. The experience of the international revolu-

tionary movement has in these questions proved the complete correctness of Leninism as opposed to "Luxemburgianism".

We have only given a few examples. We are quite aware that these indications are not complete. This is only an illustration of the idea that bolshevism means before all, concretising and differentiating. Bolshevism does not mean measuring everything with a yard-stick. To the contrary, bolshevism means before all to know the social conditions in every country in which the Party concerned has to work. Bolshevism means to know the whole economy of the country, all the political peculiarities and the shades of the political and economic life of the respective country. Bolshevism means adapting the teachings of Lenin to the concrete situation in a given country.

The leaders of the white guardist Russian bourgeoisie who were vanquished by our revolution have the advantage over the leaders of the foreign bourgeoisie, which has not yet been vanquished by the working class, in that they have taken heed of some "lessons of October". Hence, the leaders of the vanquished white-guardist Russian bourgeoisie often give a by no means inaccurate account of what bolshevism is. For example. The well-known leader of the counter-revolutionary Russian bourgeoisie, P. Milyukow, writes a leading article in the "Possledniye Novosti" ("Latest News"), which is published by him in Paris, under the title "Bolshevism" as follows:

"On the 23rd November there took place the removal of the remains of Jaurès to the Pantheon. The French Communists selected this day in order to hold a review of their forces. In the capital town, which has returned nearly all of the communist deputies comprising the present communist fraction in the Chamber of Deputies, it was of course not a difficult matter to lead a hundred thousand followers of Communism in the streets. The striking comparison between this huge crowd — with its flags and communist slogans, which were equal to those of Moscow, and with the no less impressive singing and shouting — and the relatively miserable handful of participants in the official ceremony, could not fail to create the impression of a complete victory of the imitators of the bolshevist methods. Paris has snatched Jaurès from the bourgeoisie and the social traitors and restored him to the proletariat, was the communist commentary; and it was, of course, for this purpose that the whole street demonstration was arranged."

The procession of a hundred thousand (well-informed people state that there were not one hundred thousand, but two hundred thousand at least) Paris workers in the streets with slogans, "which were equal to those of Moscow", is quite correctly estimated by Milyukov as "bolshevism".

Yes, to bolshevise a Party means before all to rally behind the flag of our Party the mass of the workers, their advance-guard, their flower, hundreds of thousands of workers in the European capitals. The remainder will follow.

## Decision of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Russia Regarding the Attitude of Comrade Trotzky.

Moscow, 18th January 1925.

On the 17th January there took place a plenary session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Russia, with the participation of members of the Central Control Commission. The first item on the agenda was: "Decisions of the Party organisations regarding the attitude of comrade Trotzky".

Comrade Trotzky had sent a communication to the session in which he stated:

"Illness renders it impossible for me to take part in the session. I think, however, that I can facilitate the examination of the question by the following brief remarks:

1) I thought, and still think, that I could bring forward sufficient weighty principle and actual refutations to the charge that I had attempted a revision of Leninism and a depreciation of the rôle of Lenin. I refrain from going into particulars in this connection, as, regardless of their contents, character and tone, they could, in the given situation, serve as an occasion for extending and sharpening the discussion. My silence, therefore, in spite of the false and monstrous accusations directed against me during the discussion, was merely dictated by the interests of the Party.

2) I repudiate the charge that I cling to my own line; I myself consider Trotzkyism to be a tendency which has long since been liquidated. For me even the word Trotzkyism, which appeared during the discussion following the publication of my book on the "Lessons of October", was quite unexpected.

3) I absolutely repudiate the idea that the theory of the permanent revolution determined my under-estimation of the peasantry in the Soviet revolution. I only reverted to the theory of the permanent revolution in the sense of the history of the Party, but in no way regarded it as a method for the elucidation of present-day problems. I likewise repudiate the statements as to my alleged pessimistic attitude towards the development of socialist construction, in the case of a slow development of the revolution in the West. In spite of the difficulties which are due to capitalist encirclement, the economic, and political resources of the Soviet Union are very great.

4) With regard to the questions decided by the XIII. Party Congress, I never at any time brought forward proposals which would have opened up the questions which had once been decided.

5) I repudiate the accusations that my book on the Lessons of October was printed behind the backs of the Central Committee. I had no intention of infringing the control of the Party.

6) The Preface to the Lessons of October constituted a further development of ideas which I have often submitted in recent times. The lectures and articles relating thereto appeared in the "Pravda" and in the "Izvestia" without meeting with any objection on the part of members of the Central Committee or of the redaction of the "Pravda". I did not regard the preface as a platform, and could not foresee that it would be regarded as a platform.

7) As other works of mine, especially "1905", have been made use of as material for accusation, I must point out that these have gone through several editions without meeting with any objection on the part of the Political Bureau or of the members of the C. C.

8) The sole purpose of the above remarks is to facilitate the solution of this question by the Plenum. With regard to the assertions that I strove to occupy a special position in the Party, that I did not submit to the discipline of the Party, and refused to carry out its orders, I categorically declare that I am ready to fulfil work in any suitable position or without position and under control of the Party. It would, however, be superfluous to point out that after the recent discussion the interests of the Cause demand my promptest removal from the function of president of the Revolutionary Military Council. I must add that I have remained in Moscow up to the time of the session of the Plenum of the C. C. in order, if necessary, to reply to questions and to give the necessary explanations."

After considering the question the following

### Resolution

was submitted:

The fundamental pre-requisite of all the successes of the Bolshevik Party has always been the steel unity, the iron discipline and true uniformity of opinion upon the basis of Leninism. The continued attacks of Trotzky confront the Party with the necessity of either renouncing this prerequisite, or putting an end once and for all to these attacks. On an international scale the bourgeoisie and the social democracy looks upon these attacks as precursors of a split in the Party. Imperialism draws from them practical conclusions regarding the Soviet Union, although the latter's position never was so strong as it is at the present time. The anti-proletarian elements of the state apparatus are endeavouring to free themselves from the Party leadership and their hopes are roused by Trotzky's fight against the Party. In the Party Trotzky's name has become the standard for all unbolshevik, uncommunist and non-proletarian deviations.

Trotzky is striving to create a modernised Bolshevism, without Leninism, as the ideology of the C. P. of Russia. This is a revision of Leninism, an attempt to replace Leninism by Trotzkyism, which is paramount to a falsification of Communism in the spirit of European democracy.

In all the discussions aroused by Trotzky, as those over the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, over the question of the trade



unions, of the Party apparatus, Trotzky was the mouth-piece of petty bourgeois deviations. The reason for his attitude against the Party line since 1918 is to be seen in a semi-menshevist misunderstanding of the rôle of the proletariat towards the non-proletarian and semi-proletarian working elements, as well as the depreciation of the rôle of the Party in the revolution and during socialist construction, and further, his failure to understand that the Bolshevik Party can only fulfil its historical mission if it enjoys real unity and uniformity.

In the present discussion Trotzky conducted a fight against the Bolshevik world-outlook in that: 1) he completely rejects Lenin's teachings regarding the driving forces of the Russian Revolution. 2) He opposes to the Bolshevik estimation of the driving forces of the Russian revolution and Lenin's teachings regarding the proletarian revolution his theory of the permanent revolution, which has suffered bankruptcy in the three Russian revolutions, in Poland and in Germany. 3) He attempted to prove that Bolshevism from the October victory followed the way of Trotzkyism. 4) He distinguishes a pre-October period of Bolshevism, which he represents as of minor importance, and a post-October period, which he represents as Trotzkyist. 5) He distorts the revolution of October by placing the rôle of Trotzky in the forefront. 6) He considers the rôle of Lenin to be ambiguous by attributing conspiratory tendencies to him. 7) He distorts the relations between Lenin and the Central Committee. 8) He falsely describes the rôle of the C. C. in order to arouse mistrust against the C. C. 9) He distorts the history of the revolution from February to October 1917. 10. He distorts the tactics of the E. C. C. I. by attempting to make the kernel of the E. C. C. I. responsible for the failures in Germany, Bulgaria et., whereby he creates mistrust of the C. C. of the C. P. R. and of the E. C. C. I.

The incorrect anti-Leninist estimation of the rôle of the peasantry is especially dangerous at present, when the Party is striving for the alliance of the town industry with the peasant undertakings, as well as to attract the peasant masses into the work of the Soviets.

In the fundamental questions of the international political rôle of fascism and of social democracy, of the rôle of America, imperialism and of the duration of the pacifist era, Trotzky adopted another attitude than the C. P. of Russia and the Comintern at the V. World Congress, whereby he did not attempt to submit his standpoint to the C. C. of the R. C. P. and to the E. C. C. I. The delegation of the R. C. P. at the V. World Congress of the Comintern proposed that Trotzky should submit his opinions to the Congress. Trotzky refused to do this at the V. World Congress, but did so soon afterwards at a meeting of the employees of the Public Health Service.

In recent times Trotzky has in no important question acted in unison with the Party, but always against the Party. The chief task of the Party now is to overcome those elements which endanger the alliance of the town with the village; this means reduction of prices, raising of agriculture and the agricultural co-operatives, reduction of taxes, revival of the Soviets. This Leninist policy also demands the nationalised industry, its promotion and, along with it, the growth of the social power of the industrial proletariat. The prerequisite for this policy is the absolute preservation of the leading rôle of the Party. This relation between the Party, the working class and the peasantry is not understood by Trotzky. The result is that all non-bolshevik and anti-bolshevik elements in the country, as well as abroad, supported Trotzky, whilst on the other hand the R. C. P. and the Comintern condemned him. All enemies of the Party see in Trotzky a personality who is shaking the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The II. International makes use of Trotzky against Leninism, against the Russian revolution and against the Communist International. The renegade Paul Levi publishes Trotzky's Preface to "1917", and the German Social democracy spreads it. Souvarine who has been expelled, spreads nursery tales regarding the C. P. of Russia in order to split the C. P. of France. Angelica Balabanov, Hoeglund and the other renegades do the same. The "Avanti" the "Vorwärts" and the "Quoditien" are solid with Trotzky in his fight against the C. P. of Russia and against the Comintern.

The non-Party workers see how Trotzky shakes the unity of the Party with impunity. The peasantry must perceive a firm policy for the alliance of the peasantry and the proletariat. Trotzky disturbs this and thereby endangers the workers' and

peasants' bloc. The youth see how Trotzky provokes a struggle between the old and young guard. Trotzky should have been a model of discipline and an embodiment of the alliance of the proletariat for the Red Army and the Red Fleet with the peasantry. But they have seen the contrary. The Party sees the unity and uniformity of the Bolshevist strongholds threatened. The Lenin recruitment demands complete clearness as to whether it is permissible to substitute Leninism by Trotzkyism. The Comintern sees how one of the most prominent members of the C. P. R. hinders the Bolshevizing of the sections of the Comintern and affords ideological and political support to the enemies of Bolshevism.

The Plenary Sitting of the C. C. and of the Central Commission would regard a continuance of this state of affairs as the commencement of debolshevizing, as a shaking of the strongholds of Leninism, as a danger to the unity of the Party. The Plenary Sitting takes note of the readiness of Comrade Trotzky to fulfil work entrusted to him under the control of the Party. It declares that Trotzky in his declaration does not admit by a single word his own errors; he maintains the anti-bolshevist platform and confines himself to a formal statement of loyalty. As Trotzky, in spite of the decisions of the III. Party Conference, raises the question of a radical alteration of the Party leadership and propagates views which contradict the decisions of the Party Conference, the Plenary sitting of the C. C. and of the Central Control Commission decides:

1. To give Comrade Trotzky a categorical warning in the sense that membership of the Bolshevik Party demands submission to Party discipline, not only in words but also in deed, and complete unconditional renunciation of every struggle against Leninism.

2. In view of the fact that the leadership of the army is incompatible without the support of this leadership by the authority of the whole Party, that without such support there arises the danger of an undermining of the iron discipline in the Army, and as the Conference of political functionaries on the one side, and the Communist fraction of the revolutionary Military Council on the other side, have advocated the removal of Trotzky from military work, and in view of the fact that Trotzky himself in his declaration acknowledges that the interests of the cause demand his promptest removal from the function of President of the Revolutionary Military Council, the plenary sitting of the C. C. and of the Central Control Commission consider the continued work of Trotzky in the Revolutionary Military Council as impossible.

3. To postpone the question of the continued work of comrade Trotzky in the C. C. until the next Party Conference, with the reservation that in the event of Trotzky making new attempts to violate or of his failing to carry out the decisions of the Party, the C. C. will be compelled, without waiting for the Party Conference, to regard the further membership of Trotzky of the Political Bureau as impossible and to bring the question of his removal from work in the C. C. before the joint sitting of the C. C. and the Central Control Commission.

4. To consider the discussion as ended.

5. To continue the work of the Party in explaining the anti-bolshevik character of Trotzkyism from top to bottom, beginning from 1903 to the lessons of October, and to instruct the Political Bureau to submit to all propaganda organs appropriate explanations in this connection and to add to the programme of political education the explanation of the petty bourgeois character of Trotzkyism.

6. Parallel with the work of enlightenment within the Party and the Youth Leagues, it is absolutely necessary to explain to the Party Comrades, and the working and peasant masses the deviations of Trotzkyism; its incorrect paths which would lead to the destruction of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

The above resolution was first voted on by the members of the C. C. The resolution was adopted by all votes with the exception of comrades Pjatakov and Rakovski. The resolution was adopted unanimously by the members of the Central Control Commission with two abstentions.

## The Session of the National Council of the C. P. of Germany.

By Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

On the 10th and 11th January a session of the National Council of the C. P. of Germany was held in Berlin. It stated its attitude to the situation resulting from the December elections. The National Council was again characterised by a complete bolshevist unity. There was no hesitation as to the political line to be followed. The very exhaustive Theses which were submitted by the Central along with the Programme of Action found unanimous acceptance. The most urgent practical task of the Party was outlined by detailed instructions for the factory council elections. A whole number of other tactical decisions relating to political and organisatory questions completed the work of the session.

The National Council, which for the greater part again comprised the workers from the factories, displayed the firm will to get a clear insight into the actual strength and achievements of the Party, and at the same time into the weaknesses in our ranks which have to be overcome.

The National Council was able to state that the line of the Frankfurt Party Congress and of the V. World Congress was still regarded by the overwhelming majority of the Party as the only possible one. The Session did not fail to take notice of the undermining work of certain right cliques, as well as the fact that a group of Stuttgart functionaries represented points of view which are more social democratic than communist. The National Council likewise stated its attitude to the Party crisis in the Saar district. A thorough Party discussion will contribute to the freeing of the Württemberg Party members of the remnants of social democratic ideology. The group which had severed from the Saar district sent a telegram to the National Council in which it claimed to be standing on the basis of the III. International and requested a mediation by the National Council. An attempt must be made to separate the honest, misguided workers within this split-off Saar group from the open Party enemies. As a whole, the National Council decidedly refused to place these right errors and deviations in the central point of its work. The C. P. of Germany is today so firm and united, that it does not need to waste its time upon Brandler or Thalheimer. What was demanded was not polemical discussions with the last remnants of the right fraction, but an energetic attitude to the tasks of the day.

The basis for the political attitude of the National Council is the sentence: The C. P. of Germany is the only workers' Party in Germany. The Party has successfully passed through the election campaign. It has, under the most difficult circumstances, united the core of the great-industrial proletariat, as well as a certain section of the enlightened peasants. In spite of this, the National Council could not overlook the fact that on the 7th December we lost a million votes, while the Social Democratic Party won 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  million votes. The political theses point out that the Social Democratic Party, in spite of its increased vote, possesses no power to attack. In the present confused transition period the Social Democratic Party was able to rally such masses of workers who believed in the swindle of stabilisation and peace. The motley crowd comprising the social democratic electors is not to be compared with the steadfast cohort comprising the supporters of the C. P. of Germany. Nevertheless, it is our task to win back the masses of workers who have temporarily fallen away from us and to increase our influence among the masses.

This task, according to the opinion of the National Council, is to be achieved by a thorough, practical, serious labour policy. Our comrades must learn better than hitherto to win the confidence of the workers in every little daily question and to lead the masses. The same eagerness which is always present when it is a question of revolutionary action, must be aroused for the fight for the Eight Hour Day and for wage increases. The fight for partial demands is never opportunist, when the C. P. of Germany strictly distinguishes itself from Social Democracy. Practical labour politics, but with the fiercest fight against the Social Democratic Party — that is the present slogan. The united front from below is to be formed along with the social democratic and non-party workers in the factory and trade unions, but never by means of bargaining with the Social Democratic leaders, whether they pose as right or left leaders.

The most important practical application of the united front from below is provided for the Party on the occasion of the factory council elections. The National Council pledged the Party comrades to exert all energy so that the factory council elections which are expected in the coming months will result in a complete victory for the Party. It is a question of uniting all class-conscious workers in the factories on the basis of the Gotha demands.

In the same way the National Council renewed the obligation of the Party members to undertake zealous trade union work, and to carry on the campaign in Germany for international trade union unity with increased energy. The rapprochement of the Russian and English workers is of enormous importance — especially at the present time, when the Conservative government plays the rôle of the leader of world reaction against the Soviet power.

The National Council regards the pacifist era in Europe as completely liquidated. The sharpening of the antagonisms between the imperialist powers, as well as the dangers of new wars, demonstrate the hopelessness of the attempt, under the rule of Morgan, to restore capitalist peace in Europe. The failure to evacuate the Cologne area and the Franco-German tariff-war which is beginning, show that, in spite of the Dawes Plan, Germany has found no political stability. The enormous difficulties experienced in forming the German government, the birth-pangs with which the bourgeois bloc is coming into the world, show how far from consolidated are German conditions. The Social Democratic Party is preparing for a cowardly, sham opposition. The bourgeois bloc will attempt to unite the policy of capitulation to Entente capital with an intensified terror and greater exploitation of the proletariat. Against this the C. P. of Germany will, in accordance with the decisions of the National Council, place itself at the head of the working masses for the fight for the Eight Hour Day and for a living wage, for the amnesty for political prisoners and against white terror. The Party will rally the masses round it by its practical daily work in the factories and trade unions, it will oppose to the bourgeois bloc government the demand for a proletarian government, which by means of dictatorial force will settle accounts with the capitalists and profiteers.

The Session of the National Council was a further step forwards on the road to the Bolshevising of the C. P. of Germany.

## The Executive Meeting of the C. P. of Great Britain.

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain held an open session in the Brassworkers' Hall, Birmingham on January 10th, 1925. This is the third of these experiments conducted by our Party in holding its meetings in the presence of the Party membership of the district, along with sympathisers of the Party. Previous meetings have been held in Manchester and London; they have attracted much attention in the districts and given excellent facilities for great propaganda drives into the surrounding districts during the week-end.

Under the chairmanship of comrade Gallacher the session dealt with the question of international trade union unity, protested against the proposed militarisation of railway workers as the first steps towards the military conscription of the whole trade union movement in order to force down the workers' standard of living. In introducing a resolution dealing with the I.L.P. and the rôle it is playing in the labour movement at the present time, Comrade Jackson pointed out that the I.L.P. was primarily responsible for the policy of the Labour Government, in spite of its professions of socialism. It was due to a majority of the I.L.P. in the parliamentary Labour Party that MacDonald was the leader of the Labour Party, while the Labour Government itself was dominated by the I.L.P. In the discussion which followed, Comrade Southall, stated on behalf of a number of sympathisers from the I.L.P. who were present, that they had opposed the policy of MacDonald at I. L. P. Conferences, but had been defeated and they had now set up an oppositional group in Birmingham which was definitely working against the leadership of MacDonald and against MacDonaldisim.

Comrade J. R. Campbell introduced a resolution on the immediate political tasks for the creation of a mass Communist Party. He dealt with the need for: 1) stimulation of a spirit of struggle; 2) an intensive campaign for unity of the workers,

politically and industrially, on the basis of the Party Council Resolution for the All-in-Conference; 3) to work with all Left-wing movements while retaining the liberty of criticism. 4) to oppose the idea that the emancipation of the workers was possible without a revolutionary Party.

Among the further items dealt with by the meeting was the question, of prisoners of capitalism and imperialism, the work of the Party in the co-operatives, and the parliamentary situation, while the meeting sent messages of greetings to the peoples of Egypt and India respectively\*).

## Discussion in the American Party.

By I. Amter.

We print the following article by comrade Amter as representing the Minority view in the present discussion in the Workers Party of America. We hope to publish shortly an article by a representative of the Majority section. Ed.

A violent discussion is taking place in the American Party — a discussion dealing with the application of the united front on the political field, opportunism in the Party and the industrial work. The struggle for a time was confined chiefly to the Central Executive Committee of the Party, but has now been taken down into the ranks, owing to the fact that the Central Executive Committee called a Party convention, and therefore issued its theses on the problems facing the Party.

The struggle arose far earlier than the date of the issuance of the theses. In fact it is now more than 1½ years old — owing to a fundamental difference of opinion on what constitutes Communist work.

On July 3, 1923, there was formed the Federated Farmer Labour Party, a party that proved to be an abortion owing to the fact that no efforts were made to organise the Party, because of the opposition of the Foster-Cannon group, then the minority of the Central Executive Committee, but in charge of the industrial work. It was furthermore an abortion because it was purely a **united front at the top**. The united front was made with Fitzpatrick and Nockels, leaders of the Chicago Federation of Labour, and when these gentlemen decided to break with the Communists, they took with them the **entire mass of the workers belonging to the Chicago Federation of Labour**.

On June 17, 1924, another attempt was made to form a farmer-labour party, this time the negotiations being conducted with Mahoney, leader of the Minnesota Farmer-Labour Party. Mahoney was a typical La Follette man and was easily frightened by the anathema issued by La Follette against the June 17th convention and against the Communists in particular. Hence, when La Follette's convention was called on July 6th and put up La Follette as candidate for president, Mahoney went over to his camp. In leaving the farmer-labour party, he took with him the whole Minnesota Farmer-Labour Party. The Communists, therefore, decided to put up Communist candidates in place of the candidates who had been nominated at the June 17th convention and secured the endorsement of the committee elected at the June 17th convention for the Communist candidates.

The Communist ticket secured 33,000 votes, La Follette who conducted a broad campaign, enlisting the sympathy of the workers, poor and rich farmers, the small business men and liberals generally, procured nearly 5,000,000 votes.

Gompers had been forced to endorse the candidacy of La Follette; still, some of the bodies affiliated to the American Federation of Labour, as for instance, the New York Central Trades and Labour Council, at the eleventh hour, withdrew its endorsement and supported Davis, the Democratic candidate.

At the convention of the American Federation of Labour on November 16, Gompers conducted a vicious campaign against the very idea of a farmer-labour Party. In this attack, he was supported by the entire capitalist press, which recognized that even a moderate farmer-labour party would ultimately be a danger to the capitalist class.

The Executive Committee of the Progressive Political Action met on December 12, at which the railroad brotherhoods, (Organizations of the railways workers) decided not to participate

in the formation of a progressive party, only the socialists being insistent upon the formation of a party. La Follette did not give his consent to the formation of a party — and later stated that he would not associate himself with the socialist party, but would be willing to admit them only individually.

The Minnesota Farmer-Labour Party had two Communists as candidates during the recent campaign. One of them received 13,000 votes, more than twice as many as Foster and Gitlow on the Workers Party ticket. The two comrades on the F.L.P. ticket conducted a Communist campaign and were a credit to the Party. Another comrade is still a member of the Farmer-Labour Party of Minnesota, and attempts have been made to remove him, but his union retains him as their delegate to the St. Paul Trades and Labour Assembly, which is part of the F.L.P. of Minnesota.

In the States of Washington, South Dakota, Massachusetts, Colorado, Montana, there are farmer-labour parties. The F.L.P. of Colorado refused to be swallowed up by the progressive party of La Follette, running a separate ticket, with La Follette as their presidential candidate. In the city of Buffalo, there is a movement for a farmer-labour party. The same is true of the miners of Pennsylvania. In the Massachusetts there is a move for a "third" party, made up of organised workers.

The most significant thing, however, is the fact that the convention of the American Federation of Labour after all the ranting and violent talk of the Gompers machine, had to make a compromise with the rank and file demand for a "new policy". The convention decided that **local committees for independent political action may be formed, despite the non-partisan policy of the A. F. of L.** This is very important, and indicates the trend within the organised labour bodies.

The elections revealed that La Follette received support not only in the agricultural states, where the crisis was most keenly felt, but also in the industrial states, such as Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey. They demonstrated that a large number of workers and poor farmers are ready for a "new policy". They also indicate that the prediction of Comrade Foster in the month of May before the Executive Committee of the Communist International was correct, viz., that if the Workers Party refuses to support La Follette, the farmer-labour movement will pass into the hands of La Follette. These masses of workers and farmers assumed that that for which the farmer-labour parties stood was embodied in the La Follette progressive party, and that they would be able to attain their ends through the progressive party. Hence the swallowing up of the farmer-labour party by the La Follette movement.

The conditions that gave rise to the progressive movement of La Follette have not materially changed. Although there has been a slight rise in the prosperity of the farmers, it is only temporary. An industrial crisis is bound to come in the near future. The trade unions are weaker than they have been for 20 years, today only 2,829,000 workers being organised in the A. F. of L. The reactionary bureaucracy will refuse to lead the workers in the coming struggles. The capitalist government will use force to an ever greater extent. During such periods, the workers and poor farmers are bound to be driven to political action.

The majority of the Central Executive Committee of the American Party, led by Foster and Cannon, declare that there is **no soil for the propagation of the idea of a farmer-labour party**, since the whole movement has been "absorbed" by the La Follette movement. They have therefore dropped the slogan. This, however, occurred far earlier than the date of the elections, November 4. In July, after the La Follette convention, when it was decided to drop the Farmer-Labour Party candidates and to carry on the campaign under the banner of the Workers Party, the majority stated that in dropping the candidates, they **dropped the idea of the farmer-labour party**.

The minority, led by Ruthenberg, declares that the conditions that made for a farmer-labour party continue to exist: in fact, that they will be emphasized in the near future. The coming crisis will force the workers to think politically and to undertake the formation of a farmer-labour party. But irrespective of whether a farmer-labour party is formed or not, the minority maintains that the continuance of the use of the slogan of a farmer-labour party, based upon a united front with the rank and file of the workers and the poor farmers, brings us politically into contact with the mass of American workers, who are politically very backward. Before the presidium last May, Comrade Zinoviev compared the state of the American worker to that of the

\*) These last two, as well as the resolution on Trade Union Unity appear elsewhere in the present number. Ed.



European workers of the year 1848. The minority states that results have proved that our campaign for the farmer-labour party has developed our Party into a political force in the country (this is also admitted in an official pamphlet issued by the C. E. C.). This is also demonstrated by the fact that during the months of March, April, May and June of the past year, when the Party was carrying on a campaign for a farmer-labour party, it secured 2782 members for the Workers Party, whereas, during the months of July, August, September, October, when the election campaign was at its height and the Workers Party was sailing under its own banner, it secured only 2442 members.

The most significant factor of all, however, is whether the Communists are to be the leaders in this separation of the masses from the control of the capitalist parties and of the progressive party that is to be formed under the leadership of La Follette; or whether they are to wait for the movement "spontaneously" to form. That would be, in the words of Stalin, sheerest opportunism. The minority recognises as the Executive Committee of the Comintern recognized last May, that "the main task of the Workers Party is to become a mass Communist Party of workers. It can fulfil this task only by most actively participating in the establishment of a labour party which will embrace all elements of the working class willing to conduct a policy independent of the capitalist class and by establishing a bond with the farmers who are at present in a state of strong fermentation." The resolution then states that this bond takes the form of a common party of workers and poor farmers. The resolution of the R. I. L. U. states that a labour party "teaches the workers their first lesson in class political action". This is obvious, for although all action led by the Communists are political actions, through participation in a farmer-labour party, the workers and farmers for the first time conceive of gaining political power by the workers and farmer.

The majority misunderstands Communist tactics in stating that there is no demand for a farmer-labour party and therefore it would be unprofitable for the Workers Party to waste energy and money on attempting to form a farmer-labour party. They do not understand that we do not subscribe to every mass demand, but emphasize all needs of the working class. And as the Communist International recognised the backward state of the American workers, due to the economic conditions, it therefore laid down the fundamental tactics — and almost a policy — for the Workers Party to "create a labour party", a farmer-labour party, as far as possible under Communist leadership to be used for furthering the class struggle.

To raise the issue of a genuine farmer-labour party against the leadership of La Follette is to bring the Workers Party to the fore as the sole leader of the workers — against the capitalists and the trade union bureaucrats who are militantly fighting against the farmer-labour party.

To contend that the Workers Party can become a mass Communist Party in a country like the United States, where the workers and poor farmers have little consciousness, is utopian. To awaken their consciousness is the duty of the Communists. They must create a slogan — and the Farmer-Labour Party slogan furnishes this means. The masses must be prepared; the rank and file of the labour movement, of the unorganised and unemployed must be won for the idea. The time for actually creating the party on a national scale will be during the economic crisis, when the broad masses of the Workers and of the farmers will be so oppressed that they will turn to political action for relief.

A movement of this nature — by the use of the slogan — brings the Communists into close contact with the masses. It naturally will be based upon the daily needs of the workers, embodied in the immediate demands. It draws the workers close to the Workers Party, brings them under Communist influence and prepares them for joining the Workers Communist Party.

The insufficiency of the industrial work of the Party, and the failure to carry out the primitive political aspects of Communist industrial work, are further subjects of heated discussion in the American Party. The failure of the majority of the C. E. C. to carry on an ideological campaign against the opportunism represented in the Party by Comrade Lore, member of the C. E. C. and editor of the German organ of the Party, is a further cause of dissension. On the contrary, the organisational alliance which existed at the time that the Communist International branded Comrade Lore and his tendency as "remnants

of the 2½ International in the American Party" has been maintained to date. This alliance has been used to carry on a campaign against the minority and was further solidified only two weeks after Comrade Foster's return to the United States, after the decision of the Comintern was rendered, by a conference between the Foster group and the Lore group, at which it was determined to fight the other (Ruthenberg) group "to the point of extermination". The situation in the American Party is such that the majority not only is not carrying on a campaign to extirpate the social democratic tendency in the Party, but, on the contrary, is itself succumbing to the influence of this 2½ International group.

The minority of the C. E. C. upholds the policy laid down in the resolution of the Communist International. It maintains that the slogan for a farmer-labour party is "the most effective weapon we have for drawing the workers close to our Party and for building the Workers Party". It demands that the Party conduct a Communist policy on the industrial field. It demands that the majority break its alliance with the social-democratic opportunistic tendency in the Party. It demands that the alliance, which is best manifested by the fact that the 2½ Internationalists in the C. E. C. have consistently supported the majority in the C. E. C. — even to the extent of unanimously adopting the majority thesis on the present situation and the tasks of the Party — be ended. Only in this way can the bolshevisation of the Party, after placing it upon the revolutionary basis of shop nuclei and conducting Marxian-Leninist education of our membership, be achieved.

## THE BALKANS

### The Balkan Communist Federation on the Dissolution of the Independent Workers Party of Yugoslavia and the Croattan Republican Peasant Party.

In the name of the working and peasant masses and suppressed nationalities in the Balkans who are fighting for their social and national emancipation, the Balkan Communist Federation raises its voice in protest against the violent dissolution of the Independent Workers Party and of the Croatian Republican Peasant Party in Yugoslavia, against the prohibition of their press, against the arrest of their leaders and the persecutions of their members and followers, against the brutal robbery of the political liberties and election rights of hundreds of thousands of working electors in Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Vojvodina, Montenegro and Serbia, as well as against all the misdeeds of the bloody exceptional regime of the Servian bourgeois monarchist clique.

The invented pretexts and the crudely forged documents with which the government of Pasic-Pribicevic seeks to justify its acts of brutality against the workers and peasant masses and suppressed nationalities in Yugoslavia, only increase the scandalous and criminal character of this ruling clique and show even more clearly that this clique — which has the mass of the people and all honest elements against it — can only maintain itself in power by acts of violence, forgeries, lies and deceptions.

The desperate efforts of the Pasic-Pribicevic government to obtain a docile majority in the future parliament, by forcibly preventing the mass of the people from participating in the elections and by converting the country into a military camp and a gigantic prison of the people, also prove that the government itself perceives the abyss yawning at its feet, and is prepared to plunge the country into civil war and drown in blood the movement of the mass of the people who are fighting for freedom, political rights and the possibility of a human existence.

In this time of severe testing the B. C. F. once again points it is wholly and entirely on the side of the just cause of the workers and peasants and of the nationally suppressed Croattans, Slovenians, Macedonians etc., and it supports with all its forces their sacred struggle of self-defence against the bloody acts of terror and for emancipation from the yoke of unbearable tyranny.

The Federation calls upon them to join hands in a common fight, to create the unshakable alliance of workers and peasants and suppressed nations throughout Yugoslavia, and not for a moment to lose faith in their victory over the suppressors and usurpers.

In this time of severe testing the B. C. F. once again points out that the way to their salvation lies in the united and relentless fight of the working masses of Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Macedonians, Montenegrins, etc. against the bourgeois-monarchist Serbian clique, which is supported by the imperialist robbers in the Balkans, in the struggle for the setting up of a real peoples' power, the power of the workers and peasants, and in uniting with the other Balkan peoples in a free and independent Balkan Federation.

The Balkan Communist Federation also calls upon the workers and peasants of the other Balkan countries, as well as upon all workers and peasants and the really advanced organisations in France, England, Italy and in the other European states to support morally and politically the mass of the people in Yugoslavia who are fighting for their rights and liberties.

The Balkan Communist Federation stigmatises before the whole world the shameful, brutal and bloody work of the Serbian bourgeois-monarchist clique of Pasic-Pribicevic, and sends warm greetings to the fighters of the Independent Workers Party of Yugoslavia and the C. R. P. P. who have been cast in prison and persecuted and wishes them steadfastness and endurance for the victory of the work of emancipation of the toiling masses. It hopes that the C. R. P. P., which up to now has rejected the proposal of a united front on the part of the Independent Workers Party, will understand that the rejection of the united front was a political blunder and that the united front of the working and peasant masses is all the more necessary today.

Finally, the B. C. F. addresses an urgent appeal to the workers and peasants in uniform, never to forget that they are a part of the fighting working and peasant masses, and that they must not allow themselves to be made use of in ill-treating their brothers of the town and country.

The way to freedom is difficult. It will be reached through suffering and sacrifice. But there is no other way to emancipation.

Bravely forwards, in close ranks, without distinction of nationality, religion and political Party, for the conquest of liberty and the possibility of a decent human life, to the winning of workers and peasants' republics in Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Montenegro etc., and for their voluntary union with each other and with the other free Balkan peoples in one Balkan Federation.

Moscow, 8. January 1925.

For the Executive of the Balkan Communist Federation

(Signed) G. Dimitrov.

## A New "Zinoviev Letter".

The "Treaty" between the Communist International and the Croatian Republican Peasant Party which has been published by the government press in Yugoslavia is a crude provocatory forgery. The Communist International has never carried on negotiations with this Party or with Raditch. The President of the Communist International has never signed any Treaty whatever with Raditch or with any other representative of his Party; neither is there in any organ of the Communist International nor in its apparatus a representative or collaborator of the name of Smirov or Smirnov.

The contents of the published document appear to us to be a copy of the 21 conditions of the II. Congress, a copy which has been slovenly made out by an illiterate police-agent.

Moscow, 5th January 1925.

The Secretariat of the E. C. C. I.

## Declaration of the International Peasant Council.

The fabrication of forged documents and their employment as a weapon against the peasants and workers is becoming more and more the practice of the capitalist governments and bourgeois Parties. The concoction of forged documents, which has been commenced in a country with a highly developed technic — in England — is now being practised in countries with a more backward technic. The new forgeries are becoming rapidly worse in their quality. The imitations are becoming more crude and stupid.

Such new forgery is the Treaty published some days ago in the Belgrade newspaper "Rjetschi" and which is alleged

to have been concluded between the Communist International and the Croatian Republican Peasant Party, at the head of which is Stefan Raditch.

The Party of Raditch belongs to the International Peasant Council (I. P. C.), which is usually called the Peasant International (Krestintern). Therefore, we are familiar with everything which concerns this Party. Upon the basis of this expert knowledge the I. P. C. is able categorically to declare that there exists no treaty whatever between the Communist International and this Party, nor could there exist such a treaty. The Communist International is an organisation which unites only communist Parties, and the Raditch Party was never such a Party. It was able to affiliate to the I. P. C. and did so, as the latter unites non-communist, peasant organisations and only submits to its members as condition of acceptance the recognition of those resolutions which were adopted by the first International Peasants' Conference: the recognition of the necessity of the fight for the land and the right to self-determination of the peoples, for the workers' and peasants' government and the fight against war.

But in a number of countries the peasant movement has recently begun to free itself very rapidly from the control of the bourgeois Parties. The urge among them towards the I. P. C. is becoming more and more energetic. But at the same time, with equal rapidity, there grows the fear of the bourgeois governments of this movement. One must at all cost intimidate the peasantry who are beginning to raise their heads and follow the path of independent politics. For the capitalist governments, all means are good and permissible in order to fight the peasants and workers. And thus forged documents are circulated.

The forged document recently fabricated by the Pasic government is signed by someone of the name of Smirnov "for the Comintern". As far as we are aware there is nobody of this name in the Comintern. Probably the half-educated scamp who invented the non-existent Treaty has confused Smirov with comrade A. Z. Smirnov, member of the Presidium and General Secretary of the International Peasant Council. But Comrade Smirnov has no connection with the Comintern, and could not therefore sign "for the Comintern". Between the Comintern and the International Peasant Council there exist no relations of dependence or organisatory bond. These are two completely independent and separately working organisations. It is not necessary to say that neither Comrade Smirnov can conclude and sign treaties for the Comintern nor can Comrade Zinoviev do this "for the I. P. C." Such an absurd forgery can only be explained as due to the stupidity and ignorance of the forger and his patrons in the Pasic government.

The Croatian Republican Peasant Party (C. R. P. P) affiliated to the Peasant International in the Summer of 1924. Neither the I. P. C. nor Raditch nor his Party have made any secret of this fact. A communication regarding this affiliation was published at the time. But no agreement was concluded between the I. P. C. and Raditch. The C. R. P. P. was accepted in the Peasant International upon the basis of a resolution which was adopted by the presidium of the Council. But no conditions were submitted to the C. R. P. P. on the part of the I. P. C. It was simply stated that the C. R. P. P. was in agreement with the resolution of the first International Peasant Conference, which has been published and with which everybody is familiar.

The Belgrade forgers are working in a stupid and ignorant manner. But the Yugoslavian government is quite unpretentious. It is prepared for any baseness, if it can only throttle the independent movement of the peasantry. On the strength of this silly forgery it has dissolved the C. R. P. P., arrested its leaders and cancelled the list of candidates which had been put forward by this party for the elections to the Skupchtina (Yugoslavian parliament), which means that it has robbed the Croatian peasantry of the right to participate in the elections.

So much the worse for the Yugoslavian government. Not only the Croatian peasantry, but also the peasants of the whole world will appreciate such acts of brutal violence at their worth and perceive more clearly than ever the necessity of all peasants uniting more closely together within the ranks of the Peasant International.

The General Secretariat of the International Peasant Council.

## The White Terror against the Communist Youth Organisations of the Balkans.

By Robert.

The terror and the persecution of the whole Communist movement in the Balkans have developed especially in the last year into a system of refined cruelty. All Communist Youth Leagues in the Balkans, with the exception of the Greek one, are declared illegal, though, as a matter of fact, even the Greek organisation works under the same difficult conditions. The Balkan Communist Parties have made innumerable sacrifices for the revolution and for Communism, especially during and since the September insurrection in Bulgaria. At the present moment a new wave of terror is beginning to rage in the Balkans, which is already leading to pogroms against the Communist organisations of juvenile workers.

Reports from Roumania speak of further wholesale arrests and unprecedented atrocities and deeds of horror against the victims of the White Terror. The number of juveniles arrested during the second half of December 1924, exceeds 200, while including the Party comrades, more than 430 persons were arrested. Dozens of juvenile workers of both sexes were arrested in the towns of Barlad, Turn-Severin, Craiova, Arad, Timisoara, Oradea-Mare, Sibiu, Bucharest and in the Schil valley. Among the juveniles arrested are the wellknown functionaries of the Youth movement, who have already been arrested several times and are now arrested once more, merely as "suspects". Arrests and persecutions are still continuing and are spreading through the whole country.

The cause of these wholesale arrests is the political activity of the Roumanian Communist Youth in recent times, and its increasing influence over the juvenile workers of the country. As early as September of last year, several active comrades were arrested on the occasion of the Tenth International Youth Day. The present wholesale arrests, however, are to be regarded as the result of a provocation on broad lines, which was intended to develop into a pogrom against the Communist Youth organisation and to annihilate it. The immediate pretext for this persecution were the intensive preparations of the League, in common with the Party, for the action on December 13th, the anniversary of the Labour demonstration in 1918, at which 50 workers were killed. To celebrate this event, the League was preparing to issue the first number of its illegal journal "The young Bolshevik". The demonstration was to take place on December 13th. The wholesale arrests in the whole country began on the 12th, i. e. only one day previously! The intentions of the reactionary party are thus perfectly clear.

The Government Press and the whole bourgeois Press are stirring up the public with all their might against the arrested and persecuted victims; they are afraid, however, to speak of them as Communists but call them Terrorists and spies, in order in this way, to conceal their own crimes and to hand over the victims directly to the executioners of the military court. The confiscated material belonging to the arrested persons cannot serve as evidence for a crime, for it only proves the connection of the Roumanian Leagues with the Leagues in the Balkans and in foreign countries, a fact which cannot be regarded as a crime. The arrested juveniles are therefore most cruelly tortured in order to extract from them the "confessions", which the police desire.

In Yugoslavia the White Terror has been constantly intensified since the return of the Pasic-Pribicevic regime. The persecution of the revolutionary organisations of workers, peasants and juveniles, and of the national organisations and the arrests of their members are recommencing with renewed energy. In Zagreb, Skoplj and other towns there are numerous juveniles among the arrested workers, including functionaries of the legal Young Workers League of Yugoslavia. (SROJ). In Belgrade, the central premises of the SROJ. were searched, their papers confiscated, the organ of the League "Mlada Garda" (Young Guard) interdicted and the dissolution of the organisation announced — for the second time. In this case also, the police are trying to use as "evidence", documents which merely prove the connection of the Yugoslavian youthful workers with other leagues of Balkan youth, in order to justify their crimes and misdeeds.

In Bulgaria, the land of the blood-thirsty Zankow regime, the wave of the White Terror sweeps forward with undiminished force; Massacres of the arrested persons in the prisons or during their "flight", or in broad daylight on the streets or on the

fields, are the order of the day. In the last few days, the mutilated corpse of a 17 year old girl, a worker, was found near the capital city Sofia, with a piece of paper, bearing the inscription: "This is what happens to traitors to their country." Cruel political murders of this kind have become ordinary events in the country of the Zankow regime.

Since the last wholesale arrests of juveniles in the Autumn of 1924, when hundreds of juveniles were arrested in the towns of Ruscuk, Varna, Vidinsko, Pleven, Sofia, Piodiv, Burgas etc., for illegal activities and formation of "groups of five", wholesale arrests have again in recent times been made in some towns, and these single and wholesale arrests of juveniles continue almost uninterruptedly. Thus, for instance, in Schumen a few dozens schoolboys were arrested and brutally beaten on the accusation of having taken part in an illegal organisation. The wave of strikes amongst boys in the upper schools in recent times had also led to arrests.

In Greece also, the Fascist reaction is advancing against the workers and Communist organisations of youth. The CC. of the C. Y. L. of Greece is being persecuted by the law on account of the antimilitarist activities of the league. Comrade Kolosaw, member of the CC. of the league, was banished to a desert island in the Aegean Sea; many other comrades of the Party and the league of youth have been banished or interned. The persecution of the Communist youth organisations in Salomiki and in Macedonia in general are particularly cruel. Juvenile workers were also the first victims of the sanguinary encounters with Fascists in Drama and Kavalla.

The last counter-revolutionary campaign in Albania, which turned into a sanguinary war, also forms part of the picture of the White Terror in the Balkans. The return to power of the fallen feudal regime of Achmed Zogu inaugurates in Albania a period of bloody terror against all workers. A special danger threatens the national revolutionary youth organisation "Basch-kimi" (Unity), whose fight will be directed against the regime of Achmed Zogu.

The reaction in the Balkans, supported by the international counter-revolution, has, in recent times, made great efforts to create the so-called anti-Bolschevist united front in the whole of the Balkans. The last visits of Premier Zankow to Bucharest and Belgrade were devoted to this purpose, as his public speeches prove. In this difficult situation it is the duty of the working and peasant Youth of the Balkans, to carry out with all the more energy the completion of their united revolutionary Balkan front. It is the duty of the juvenile workers of the whole world, to bring immediate support to the persecuted juvenile workers and peasants of the Balkans, to bring about as quickly as possible an organised international fight against the raging terror, and to do all in their power to arrest the fury of Fascism in the Balkans.

## Seven Years of Murder in Bessarabia.

Enough of murder and bloodshed in Bessarabia! This is the appeal we issue to the workers and peasants of all countries. But to the Roumania of the predatory Boyars we say: Hands off Bessarabia!

Workers and Peasants of all countries! On the 26th January 1925 it will be seven years since the troops of the Roumanian Boyars, their hands dripping with the blood of their own workers and peasants, invaded our native country of Bessarabia and in violation of all promises, and with the aid of brute force and unlimited terror, wrested it from Soviet Russia. Seven years have passed and still in all parts of Bessarabia the blood of our best is being shed and hundreds of dungeons are echoing to the cries of anguish of the tortured Bessarabian prisoners.

For the whole of the Bessarabian population only bears with the greatest unwillingness the horrible yoke of the Roumanian bandits who have invaded the country. From the first moment of the seizure of Bessarabia by Roumania, all nationalities and all sections of the Bessarabian population, but especially the workers, have made attempts to throw off this yoke. Up to now the Roumanian rulers have succeeded in drowning these attempts in a sea of blood and holding down the insurgents with the aid of bullets and bayonets.

The present government of Roumania possesses the unexampled cynicism to speak openly of a "spiritual alliance" of

Bessarabia with Roumania. What is this "spiritual alliance" like in reality? For every three persons of the population of Bessarabia there is at present an agent of the Roumanian Siguranza (secret police). The bourgeois press of Roumania itself admits that since the occupation of the country by the Roumanian officials there have been murdered in the year:

1918	3,000	members	of	the	civil	population	(mostly	peasants).
1919	11,000	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1920	80	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1921	30	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1922	55	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1923	40	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
1924	1300	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

In all 15,505 members of the civil population among a total population of scarcely 2 million.

These figures do not for the greater part relate to people who have fallen in open fighting on the occasion of a revolt, but to those who were the victims of mass executions or have been foully murdered. This does not include the hundreds of prisoners who are tortured to death in prison. At a victory celebration held after the suppression of the recent peasants' revolt in Southern Bessarabia, the Minister of War, Madarescu, declared: "In this revolt we have only had a 1000 peasants shot!"

Workers and peasants of all countries! The Bessarabians living abroad who are organised in the "Hands off Bessarabia" League, appeal to you: "You cannot and must not longer tolerate this state of affairs. You must not remain silent while the population of a whole country is being slaughtered. Raise your voices in protest against this cruelty! Stigmatise everywhere and on every occasion the crimes of the Roumanian Boyars in Bessarabia. Stand by us in our fight for emancipation by clearly demonstrating to the representatives of this gang of murderers your indignation and your contempt! Use the 26th of January next to cry into the ears of these people that the workers and peasants of all countries are with us in this struggle. Proclaim aloud in your meetings, demonstrations and in newspapers to the Roumania of robber-Boyars:

**Hands off Bessarabia!**

Long live the free and united Moldavian Soviet government!

The Executive Bureau of the "Hands off Bessarabia" organisation of Bessarabians abroad.

## FOR THE UNITY OF THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

### The Dutch Trade Union Bureaucrats against Trade Union Unity.

By M. H. (Amsterdam).

The reformist petty bourgeois trade union bureaucrats in Holland are carrying on a vicious campaign against Fimmen, Purcell, Ben Tillet, etc. But especially against Purcell, because the latter is the chairman of the I. F. T. U. — a fact which does not permit Stenhuis and Oudegeest to sleep at nights. Stenhuis, the chairman of the reformist Federation of Modern Trade Unions in Holland (N. V. V.), writes in "Het Volk" the organ of the Social Democratic Party in Holland, that the English labour movement has been receiving great attention of late, especially as a result of the statements of Purcell and Thomas. He says:

"These two extremists in the English labour movement, the one the chairman, the other the late chairman of the International Federation of trade unions, have caused us surprise, the first with a declaration of love for the Communists, the second with a repudiation of the class struggle".

As both statements, according to Stenhuis' opinion, are typical of the lack of theoretical training of the English trade union movement and of its leaders, and because the statement of Purcell, in particular, can have practical results, he wishes to examine them more closely. This examination, however, clearly shows that Stenhuis, although he is alleged to be against both extremists, uses insolent and hostile language against Purcell, whilst he clothes his criticism of Thomas in politeness and flattery. With regard to Purcell, Stenhuis writes:

"In his fiery speech at the Russian Trade Union Congress, Purcell — who had only been two days in Russia — declared that since 1920 the situation of the workers in Russia had wonderfully changed. That this man could make such a statement after only being in Russia for two days, shows that he is either a common tool in the hands of the Communists, or is a superficial gossip".

"Het Volk", it is true, rejected the article of Fimmen, who had seen things with his own eyes in Russia, as being prejudiced, but in its place prints columns of anti-bolshevik articles by a Russian counter-revolutionary living in Amsterdam, who derives his information from the anti-soviet press appearing outside of Russia.

Stenhuis is indignant that Purcell wishes to establish unity at an international trade union congress, "without unnecessary formalities and previous conditions". He further reproaches Purcell that the latter was present in Russia in 1921 at the founding of the R. I. L. U. which attempted to annihilate the I. F. T. U. and which now, the original attempt not having succeeded, intends to "poison the trade union movement from within with mutual strife and distrust". After these absurd assertions Stenhuis sharpens his attacks:

"Mr. Purcell, who previously slept under the same blanket with the Communists, was not prevented by this from later becoming the chairman of the I. F. T. U. His chairmanship is on a par with his conduct... As chairman he had to adopt the standpoint of the I. F. T. U., he is now, however, beginning to throw this overboard... Mr. Purcell desires an international trade union congress and not the I. F. T. U."

This is clear and plain. The Dutch trade union bureaucrats here unmask themselves as the close allies of Leipart, Sassenbach and Co. Stenhuis then threatens that the session of the Enlarged Executive of the I. F. T. U. in February "will have something or other to say with regard to the statements of its chairman, for Mr. Purcell is not a dictator but a servant of the I. F. T. U."

After this unheard-of attack upon Purcell, Stenhuis makes a very friendly criticism of Thomas, which is nothing else than a sham criticism. "Thomas is without doubt one of our best heads in the labour movement."

Stenhuis then proceeds to speak of Holland: "The Dutch labour movement also has its extremists like Purcell and Thomas... Our movement also has its members and leaders (unfortunately he does not mention names) who are not far removed from Thomas... We oppose both; left as well as the right extremism is, according to our opinion, incorrect."

Stenhuis finally proposes the unity with the I. F. T. U. as follows: The Russians, if accepted in the International, can maintain their tactics in their own country, but they must not impose them upon the others. But the Russians desire affiliation simply and solely for the purpose of discussing our and their tactics within the I. F. T. U. This discussion, however, must remain outside.

Stenhuis, who prevented every revolutionary struggle, who betrayed the textile workers in Twente to the employers, who sabotaged the 24 hours protest-strike of the dock workers, who crushed the common action of the municipal and state employees by rejecting the common action proposed by the Federation (N. A. S.), comes forward quite openly as the enemy of the trade union united front. This is all too clearly shown when he says:

"We can tell the Russians that the Russian trade unions can affiliate to the I. F. T. U. in the same way as other trade unions have done. But the question what is to happen in those countries where two trade union movements exist must be decided by these countries on the basis of their own motives and interests. The I. F. T. U. has, for instance, nothing to say with regard to the attitude of the N. V. V."

By this Stenhuis means that in Holland, even if the Russians are accepted in the I. F. T. U., the N. V. V. will be against national unity with the revolutionary trade union movement, and that also in the other countries the trade union federations of which are affiliated to the Amsterdam International, as for example the German General Federation of Trade Unions (A. D. G. B.) shall have a free hand to oppose unity with the revolutionary trade unions affiliated to the R. I. L. U.

Of further interest in the article of Stenhuis is the threat that because Purcell has become a member of a propaganda commi-



tee for Unity, he can no longer be chairman of the I. F. T. U., for "we want a chairman who represents our movement, and not a man who belongs at the same time to the enemies of our movement". In this way Stenhuis incites against Purcell. Stenhuis sends the following threat and warning to the English trade union movement:

"If the English trade union movement cannot provide an all-round suitable chairman whose views and opinions are in accordance with the middle course of our movement, then the Trade Union federations will have to take a chairman from another country."

Thomas was the right extremist, Purcell the left, and now it is desired to choose a chairman from the centre. Stenhuis is fighting against "both extremes". He pictures himself in his imagination as the successor of Purcell.

The workers must not allow themselves to be confused by the phrases of the "men of the centre who fight against both extremes". Stenhuis, in spite of his radical phraseology, belongs to those people who are very near to Thomas. He wants to have as little to do with the united front with the revolutionary trade unions and workers as Thomas, Leipart etc. He is a concealed protector of the bourgeoisie, an advocate of class-collaboration with capital and of the Dawes Plan, which is enslaving the German and international proletariat and delivering it over to American finance capital. And the working class must therefore fight such leaders as Stenhuis just as strenuously as Leipart and Co. and must establish the unity of the international trade union movement over their heads.

## The C. P. of Great Britain on Trade Union Unity.

(Resolution adopted by the Executive Committee at its meeting of 10th January last.)

The British Labour Movement stands on the eve of new battles. The sharpening of the class struggle and the ever-increasing burden imposed by Capitalism is reflected in the economic demands now being put forward by the Trade Unions.

But what a spectacle of sectionalism and disunity it all presents! The workers everywhere clamouring for increased wages, the existing leadership totally incapable of welding all this discontent into one common movement, sweeping forward in united ranks to secure the demands of the workers, however modest they may be. The Miners with no policy as yet, but confronted with a certain attack on the seven-hour day; the Engineers demanding a one pound a week increase; the Shipbuilders a ten-shilling a week increase; the General Workers and the Postal Workers both demanding wage increases; the N. U. R. with an All-grades programme introducing wage increases, hours adjustments and general working conditions—here are millions of workers, and not the slightest attempt to unite them in the common struggle.

A terrible responsibility rests upon the existing leadership of the unions. The capitalist offensive is going to be sharper in character than ever before. Already the plans are laid for an attack upon the political rights of the Trade Unions. The whole resources of the State will be used to crush the workers. Yet the various sections are facing this struggle in separate armies, with different demands, leaders and organisational methods.

Only the Communist Party has shown what is required to be done in this situation. The division in the workers' own ranks can only be overcome by the abolition of craft unionism and sectionalism. The workers forces can only be united by the formation of Workshop and Factory Committees which will unite all workers without distinction of craft or occupation, and by the calling by the E. C. of the Labour Party and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress of an All-in Conference which will formulate a programme of action and take steps to unite the workers in the struggle against capitalism.

The capitalist offensive also compels the workers to unite their forces internationally. The weakness of international organisation in the past has been responsible for inflicting many heavy defeats on the workers. The effects of the Dawes Plan are now being felt by the workers in every capitalist country; armaments and militarism are imposing greater burdens than ever upon the workers; new attacks are being prepared on Soviet Russia and a

more brutal and repressive policy carried out in all the colonies of the Imperialists.

The Communist Party therefore welcomes the news that the General Council of the Trades Union Congress has endorsed the proposals of its recent delegation to the Russian Trades Union Congress. These proposals which will lead to the formation of an Anglo-Russian Unity Committee, and the demanding by the General Council that the Amsterdam International shall call an unconditional conference at which the Russian Trade Unions shall be represented are the first steps taken to unite our forces internationally.

The Communist Party will support this policy of the General Council against the attacks of the reactionaries, at home and abroad. But it points out to the workers that International Unity can only be achieved if the Labour Movement of all countries, and particularly our own, succeeds in forcing the Amsterdam International to agree to convening, together with the R. I. L. U., of a world Trade Union Congress. At this Congress representatives of all the Trade Union organisations affiliated both to Amsterdam and the R. I. L. U., as well as those Trade Unions outside any international organisation shall be present.

Only at such a world congress as this will it be possible to unify our forces. We must break with the policy of class peace and with the League of Nations, that powerful instrument of capitalism, and create an international leadership fit and willing to lead the battles of the whole working class against the capitalists, under the banner of one Trade Union International.

In order to achieve international unity, it is necessary for the working class of Britain to rally round the National Minority Movement, and support it in its effort to unite the workers nationally and internationally. The Communist Party therefore urges all active trade unionists and co-operators to press their branch or society to send delegates to the Unity Conference being held in London on January 25th, in order that the campaign for International Unity shall receive the necessary impetus.

## IN THE COLONIES

### The Revolutionary Movement in the Dutch East Indies.

By P. Bergsma (Amsterdam).

The revolutionary movement in the island of Java has assumed such a form that the bourgeoisie and the government regard it as the greatest present danger for the colonial power. In the "Volksraad" — a surrogate parliament — a great part of the time at its disposal was devoted to the discussion of measures for the bridling of communist activity. Despite the brutal persecutions on the part of the authorities, communism in Java has made real progress. The political life of the suppressed masses is dominated by the communists. This was made possible by the shameful treatment of the interests of the population at the hands of the government.

Apart from this, the Right leaders of the white Sarekat Islam have so often betrayed the workers that the masses have now only confidence in the leadership of the communists. In the years 1917 and 1918, the people's League Sarekat Islam numbered hundreds of thousands of members. With the exception of the Europeans all communists were members of this league and formed their nuclei within it. The general leadership was in the hands of Tjokro Aminoto of Java and August Salim, a priest of Sumatra. Despite the great mistakes of these leaders, our comrades have often attempted to work together with them. However, when the decision was adopted at a congress of the Sarekat Islam in February 1923 to expel the communists, a mutual rather strong Red Sarekat Islam, and the best elements from the old Sarekat Islam went with the communists. Tjokro and Salim fought the communists with the assertion that the communists wished to destroy the religion of Islam.

Tjokro wished to give the Sarekat Islam a democratic-religious character and to isolate it completely from other tendencies. The League was at the same time changed into a Party. Even before the split, the Sarekat Islam had become internally weaker, so that the blow which the leaders Tjokro and Salim directed against their own organisation made this people's or-



ganisation for a long time, perhaps permanently, an unimportant factor in the struggle against Dutch imperialists.

Because the government is conscious of the fact that the Left elements are becoming ever stronger and the Right ever weaker, it is doing its utmost to make it possible for Tjokro and Salim to struggle against the communists, and for this reason it supports the old and broken Sarekat Islam with money for a newspaper, the chief aim of which is to persuade the masses that the communists are anti-Islamites.

Up to the moment the government has achieved nothing by this.

On the contrary, the formation of a Red Sarekat Islam took place at the correct moment. In a very few months it was possible to oust completely the organisation of Tjokro in the most important towns and villages and to bring the leadership of the people's movement into the hands of the communists.

This fact became most clear on the 31st of August 1924, the birthday of the Queen of Holland, when in many towns and villages there were great demonstrations in which, in a few towns, six to seven thousand workers and peasants took part.

Later the communists gave the Red Sarekat Islam the name "Sarekat Raja't" (People's League). It remained, however, organisationally connected with the Communist Party. The Organisation was improved in a communist spirit and a stronger discipline was also introduced. With this the Communist Party and the Sarekat Raja't became the only militant mass organisation in the Dutch colonies. In recent times the people's movement has come completely under the lead of the communists, a fact which even the bourgeoisie must admit.

In the Dutch East Indies there are several political parties, for instance, "Boedi Oetomo", "Persarekat Ambon", "Persarekat Minahasa", "Indo-Europeesch Verbond", "Sociala Democratische Partei". The "National indische Partei" has voluntarily disbanded as its leaders were of the opinion that no parliamentary action was possible under the present reaction, and the semi-bourgeois leadership only wanted parliamentary action.

The "Politik-ökonomische Bund" consists only of Europeans and was opposed to the communists. In the same way, the social democrats whose influence amongst the population is of no importance (they are only a few imported European intellectuals), only employ their time in criticising the communists. The other parties have all a more or less bourgeois character with nationalist tendencies. These parties will not be successful in winning any considerable sympathy amongst the masses.

"Boedi Oetomo", which chiefly represents the interests of the native intellectuals, has in the last period been undermined by internal differences.

Many of those who were members of the before-mentioned parties have gone over to the Communist Party, after recognising that it alone worked with the masses in their daily struggle. In this way the other parties lost good leaders while the Communist Party was strengthened. For instance, Hadji Misbah, a priest of the National-indische party, came over to us and constituted a counterpoise to the religious propaganda of the White Sarekat Islam. The government also recognised this and Hadji Misbah was therefore deported to the island of New Guinea, being falsely accused of having taken part in the bomb attempts which took place in Java in 1923.

The bourgeois press is carrying on a campaign against the "Asiatic-bolshevist" danger. The government disperses our meetings with armed force, and arrests and persecutes our active comrades.

The government attributes the growth of communist influence to the fact that on the occasion of the unsuccessful railway strike, the deportation and arrest of the leaders, and the increase of economic pressure upon the population bound up with the helplessness and disintegration of the other parties, the communists were regarded as the only honest fighters and martyrs for the cause of the people.

That the economic pressure upon the population, in particular upon the native population, has increased, is certain. We only need point to the reduction of the sliding scale of wages, the increase of taxation, the decline in trade and manufacture, by which the possibilities of work and income were reduced, whilst at the same time the school fees, railway tariff and other expenses increased.

As many thousands of children received no education, the communists have themselves established schools, and in this way they have won great sympathy amongst the population which

willingly sends its children to these schools. The government wishes to destroy that which the communists construct. This is also the case with these schools. The communist schools receive no money from the the government. Despite this, however, they are controlled by the government in order to ascertain if communist propaganda is carried on in them. Many of the teachers have been deprived of the right to teach. By this it is hoped that the schools will close on account of the lack of teachers. Although this educational work is being rendered difficult for us, we have always been able to continue it.

Apart from the island of Java, communist groups have been formed in the islands of Sumatra, Borneo and Celebes, which are fought as strongly by the government as those on the island of Java. Many comrades are under arrest or have been deported to other islands.

The communists and revolutionary nationalists have to carry on a heavy struggle with the Dutch bourgeoisie which conducts a policy of terror. Nevertheless, the revolutionary movement is advancing step by step. The reaction has not discouraged our comrades. On the contrary, after the police barbarously attacked a meeting in Preanger a few weeks ago, our comrades answered by holding on one day — 1st January 1925 — fifty meetings at the same time in the town of Bandoeng, so that the police with the forces at their disposal were not able to disperse them.

The Chinese in the Islands (of these in 1921 there were 513,355 men and 291,292 women there), amongst whom there are many industrial workers, are very sympathetic to the communists and there are Chinese newspapers which sharply criticise the Dutch government.

The revolutionary movement, above all the communist movement, has made progress in the Dutch colonies, and the depression in trade, the reduction in wages, the unemployment and the reactionary policy of the government, suggest that the struggle between the population and the Dutch bourgeoisie will take on ever sharpening forms.

And to this must be added that the population must bear heavy financial burdens for the strengthening of the fleet. The government is undertaking preparations for this under the pressure of the great imperialist states, Great Britain and America, which long ago commenced to strengthen their naval bases in the Pacific ocean in order to be able to continue their imperialist policy.

On the one hand we see, therefore, the danger of war, and on the other the growing and approaching revolution amongst the Eastern peoples.

## FOR LENINISM

### Trotsky completely Isolated in the C. P. of Russia and in the Comintern.

Moscow, 17th January 1925.

All organisations of the Russian Communist Party have declared their attitude to Trotskyism. The question has been widely discussed in the meetings of the Party members. From the local committees, to the district committees, right up to the members meetings of the districts and provinces, all Party Conferences of the districts and provinces unanimously adopted an attitude against Trotskyism as an ideological deviation from Leninism, as an underestimation of the rôle of the peasantry, as a failure to understand the driving forces of the Revolution, as a menshevist conception of the rôle of the Party, as a distortion of the history of the Party and of the October Revolution and as an attempt to revive the discussion of last year. Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, the Urals, Siberia, White Russia and the Caucasus Federation, Tula, the industrial centres and provinces, unanimously condemned Trotsky's action.

At the time of the discussion of last year a number of organisations, even in Moscow, still supported the opposition carried on by Trotsky against the Bolshevik Central Committee. To-day, not a single organisation has raised its voice for Trotsky. Even the most decided supporters of Trotsky last year have made no attempt to support or to justify Trotsky's attitude. Since Brest-Litovsk to the trade union discussion up to last year's discussion, Trotskyism has become completely isolated in the C. P. of Russia.

At present it is possible to weigh and estimate the effects of Trotzky in the Comintern. With the exception of isolated attempts in France and Norway, nowhere has a voice been raised in the Comintern for Trotzkyism. Last year hesitation was still to be seen. More or less important groups in Germany, France, Poland and Sweden supported the opposition in the C. P. of Russia. At present, Trotzkyism is completely isolated in the Comintern. The Communist Parties of Germany, France, Italy, England, America, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Poland, Portugal, Argentina, Finland and Lithuania, as well as the Scandinavian and Balkan Communist Federations, have adopted an attitude against Trotzky. The isolation of Trotzkyism in the C. P. R. and in the Comintern is an indisputable fact.

## RED RELIEF

### The "Right of Asylum" in Austria.

By G. M. (Vienna).

Dr. Ramek's Christian Socialist Government has prohibited the "International Red Relief" in Austria.

In this way the Austrian bourgeoisie has made its contribution to the daily increasing international communist-baiting which was introduced by the English Baldwin Government. As the formal pretext for this interdiction, the Austrian Government made use of the statutes of the Austrian section of the IRR., which had been presented to the Ministry of the Interior some time ago.

With this interdiction, the Austrian bourgeoisie has aimed a serious blow at the proletariat. Here it is not a case, as with previous prohibitions, of a simple suppression of some section of the proletarian Red Relief Organisation, but it is one of the most significant challenges which has ever been made to the IRR. since it came into existence. Austria has up to the present been a country which offered a certain tolerable right of asylum to revolutionary refugees. And it is the object of the Austrian Government through this interdiction of the IRR. to withdraw the right of asylum from the revolutionary workers and peasants of the Balkan States, Germany, Italy, Hungary etc. In connection with Herriot's persecution of the revolutionary refugees in France, and in connection with the formation of the anti-Bolshevist Balkan State League, under the leadership of Zankov, the murderer of proletarians, the attack of the Austrian Christian Socialist Government on the Red Relief is nothing less than an infamous attempt, deliberately to deliver thousands of revolutionaries into the hands of the executioners in the service of Horthy, Mussolini, Zankov, Ebert etc.

At the moment when the Balkan States are once more resorting to ferocious reprisals against all revolutionary and oppositional elements, when Mussolini threatens a bloody fight against all parties who will not submit themselves to his Fascist dictation, at the moment when the most cruel terror is raging in Poland, Hungary and Germany, the Austrian Government of "Christian love of one's neighbour" takes it upon itself to deprive the hunted and persecuted subjects of these countries the shelter from their pursuers which they believed they had found in Austria.

The suspension of the Austrian right of asylum — that is the object of the prohibition of the Austrian section of the IRR., admitted by the Ramek Government itself — is an assault on and the destruction of an important point of support of the international Labour movement.

The Austrian Social Democracy met the attack of the Ramek government with a weak-kneed reply as to the law regarding the Constitution. It declared the prohibition to be contrary to the Constitution and referred to the Court of Law which decides questions of the Constitution; as if the Austrian, or better expressed, the Entente bourgeoisie, which has the Austrian bourgeoisie in its hands, had the least consideration for the Constitution. The Austro-Marxist Social Democracy, of course, knows this just as well as we do. Its object in appealing to the constitution is merely to divert the attention of the workers from the true significance of the attack of the Ramek Government and to mask the international connections. Thus it is playing, in a refined manner, favoured by the specific objective conditions in Austria, exactly the same game as the German Ebert party. In view of the position of the

Austrian Social Democracy, which is still a dominating one, the Christian Socialist priest-ridden government of Dr. Ramek will only be forced to withdraw the prohibition of the "Red Relief" if the workers and peasants of Germany, the Balkan States, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Italy etc. unanimously raise their voices, stigmatize the infamous intentions of the Austrian bourgeoisie before the whole world and, in common with the Austrian workers, throw their forces into the balance.

The fight against the prohibition of the "Red Relief" in Austria should bring the workers of all countries into the arena for the reason that the Austrian right of asylum is the concern of the whole international proletariat.

## APPEALS

### The E. C. of the C. P. of Great Britain to the Peoples of Egypt and India.

The Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain at its meeting of 10th January last sent the following greetings:

#### To the People of Egypt.

We, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain assembled at an Open Session together with our members and sympathisers, are sending you in this hour of trial and distress our heartiest greetings. At the very first moment, when your ancestors came into touch with British Imperialism, they understood the nature of the rulers of the empire and they were quite correct when they said that "the British Lion has a ferocious appetite, but it does not kill its prey, it lets them live to relish their blood and flesh bit by bit". That is exactly the way British Imperialism acts. It likes to wrap itself in the mantle of constitutionalism and democracy. In sending you, brothers and sisters, suffering under the iron heel of imperialism, our greetings, we wish to assure you that the honest workers of this country are heart and soul with you in your noble and gallant fight, in spite of the fact that many of the so-called labour leaders have practically participated in putting the chains upon you. MacDonald and Thomas do not express the wishes of the working masses of this country, just as your government has nothing to do with the toiling masses of your country. We beg you not to mistake the utterances of some of the Labour Leaders for the sentiments of the working masses. Continue your fight! Let us work together for the creation of a real commonwealth, to emancipate the workers upon the principle of equality without any distinction of race, colour, or creed.

Yours, for the emancipation of all exploited peasants and workers.

The E. C. of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

#### To the Peoples of India.

We, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain assembled at an open session together with our members and sympathisers, are sending first of all our greetings to those thousands and thousands of prisoners who are suffering now in the prisons of India, because they do not want to bear silently the yoke of Imperialism. The rulers of Great Britain have succeeded in converting a large portion of the world into one great prison, where millions and millions are working for the huge profits of a small portion of exploiters and speculators. Furthermore, the successful British Tories are trying their best to consolidate all the affairs of the world-reaction for a general offensive against the workers and peasants. Greeting you, the victims of British Imperialism, we wish to assure you that here in the home country we make all effort possible to create a strong mass Communist Party which will be in a position to fight successfully for the full liberation of all the exploited and oppressed. Your cause is our cause. We have the same enemy, we are fighting for the same goal; let us join in our efforts for the common fight which must be successfully fulfilled, despite the fact that the Tories are boasting now of their success and are drunk with the victories which they have had at home and abroad.

Yours for the emancipation of exploited peasants and workers.  
The E. C. of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

## THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

### Proletarian and Peasant Women.

Remember Lenin's Legacy and Continue his Work!

When a year ago the great Leader and Teacher of the workers, our Lenin, departed from us for ever, he had shown us by his work the way which we have to follow in order to arrive at the final victory of Communism. Proletarian and Peasant Women! let us carry on his work further to its victorious end! Educate your children in the spirit of Lenin. Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the slogan: all forces for the consolidation of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. Strengthen this alliance Proletarian and Peasant Women!

Comrade Lenin taught all workers to support the working class in its fight against the home and foreign bourgeoisie. Remember this teaching, Proletarian and Peasant Women! Support the power of the working class which is building up a new life!

Comrades! Lenin has taught us to hold aloft the flag of the Communist Party, the leader of all the oppressed. Close more firmly the ranks of this Party. Proletarian and Peasant Women it is your Party!

On the anniversary of Lenin's death let the Party raise the cry: Make way for the Proletarian and Peasant Women who, along with the Communist Party, along with the Communist International, are building up a new life.

5th January 1925.

I. Stalin.

## WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

### Resolution of the Conference of the Worker Correspondents of the Berlin "Rote Fahne".

The following resolution was adopted by the first Conference of worker correspondents of the Berlin "Rote Fahne" on the 28th of December 1924, which was attended by 62 comrades from the workshops and factories. Ed.

1. The task of the Communist Press is, according to Lenin, to be not only the collective propagandist and agitator, but also the **collective organisator** of the movement for the emancipation of the proletariat.

2. The communist newspaper can only prove itself equal to this task, if, on the one hand, it is most closely united with the revolutionary party of the proletariat and is subordinated to it, and on the other hand, is in the closest contact with the masses.

3. The **Worker Correspondent**, who lives and works with the working class, whose voice rings forth from the heart of the masses of the working people, is the best link between the Paper and the mass of the workers.

4. The activity of the **Worker Correspondents** consists mainly in **reporting** as to the conditions in work places, on the life of the working people and on the bourgeois State; but of course no limit should be placed on the literary activities of the worker. On the contrary, the proletarian journalist and proletarian author can only arise from the soil of the Communist Press.

5. The activity of the **Worker Correspondents** is Party work. The proletarian reporter does not write to satisfy his dilettantism or for his own amusement, but as a class-conscious fighter who places himself and his pen at the service of the fight for the emancipation of the proletariat. This is particularly important at the time when our party Press is illegal.

6. It is the duty of the **Worker correspondents** of the "Rote Fahne", to **support and strengthen the Party struggle**. The more the Party advances towards becoming a true Bolshevik party, the more will the movement of the Worker correspondents within the C. P. of Germany grow.

7. The recent election campaign has shown that the part played by the **Worker correspondents** must on no account be under rated. In the coming fights and campaigns for an amnesty, in the elections of workers' representatives, for the unity of the trade union movement etc., the **Worker correspondents** must become important auxiliaries of our Party.

8. It is the duty of the Party organisation in common with the editorial staff to **develop the present organisation** of the district and workshop reporters in such a way that no important event can happen in the life of the workers, in the workshops, in the trade unions or elsewhere in public life, without the **Worker Correspondents** of the "Rote Fahne" reporting upon it. The **Worker Correspondents** should work towards the end that every working man and every working woman acts as a **Worker Correspondent**. Only in this way can the "Rote Fahne" be developed into a real workers' paper.

9. One of the most important tasks of the **Worker Correspondents** is not only to collaborate in the "Rote Fahne" but also in the nuclei and workshop papers. The **Worker Correspondent** who uses his pen as one of his weapons against capitalism, contributes not only to the columns of the "Rote Fahne" but also to all organs which are in the service of the proletariat.

10. It is absolutely necessary to interest **women and juveniles** in the work of reporting to the "Rote Fahne". Not only women employed in factories and offices but also the wives of the workers may, by their reports, depict many problems of the workers' life and put them in the right light.

11. Connection with **Worker Correspondents of other countries** is necessary in view of the international character of our fight. This connection can and must be made through the "Rote Fahne".

12. The establishing of connections with the **Worker Correspondents of Soviet Russia** is of extreme importance, because Soviet Russia is the country in which the working class of the whole world is interested, and as to which, therefore, the working class should principally be informed. Further, Russia has the oldest **Workers' correspondence movement** of all communist parties. In the same way as the C. P. of Russia was our instructor in revolution, so we learn from the Bolshevik Press of Lenin's Party to prepare the revolution and carry it to a victorious end.

### To Our Readers.

Owing to an error on the part of the Printers, a mistake occurred in the numbering of the issue and the pages of our last Special Number (20th January 1925). This should be regarded as No. 6, not No. 5, while the pages require to be corrected accordingly, i. e. 51—60 instead of 39—48. The present issue is numbered in accordance with its correct order in the series. No. 7, pages 61—76.