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Discussions and Results of the Tenth Party Congress of the CP. of Germany.

By Ernst Schneller (Berlin).

The discussions of the last National Council (Zentralauschluß) of the CP. of Germany had been a surprise to the Communist International in that a fairly strong minority was opposed to the policy of the Central Committee. The ultra-Left elements had succeeded in spreading among the party members a temporary distrust in the Central Committee. This distrust had no other base than the gossip that the Central Committee intended to concern itself with a policy of coalition. The ultra-Left party members produced no theses, made no proposals, they came merely to warn, as comrades with serious doubts. In this way they knew how to meet the passivity of the members with radical speeches, and to turn the wave of discontent with the punjundrums against the Central Committee.

The fact that a large number of the delegates of the National Council had agreed to these uncouth methods, shows that the Party has still to cover a good deal of ground before it arrives at

Bolshevism; the fact however that the ultra-Left atmosphere was quickly dispersed, shows how sound at heart are the members of the Party (it was the superior functionaries who were infected by the ultra-Left germs!), and what possibilities are given for bolshevising the party.

The theses of the National Council of May formed the basis of the preparations for the Party Congress; they were the platform on which the delegates were elected. The whole Party was canvassed in the course of two months, and it then became evident that almost unanimously they took their stand on the basis of the resolutions of the National Council: among 170 delegates only 4 opponents of the theses have been elected.

In correspondence with this preparation, the Party Congress was thoroughly homogeneous in spirit and truly reflected the party membership which is determined with firm unanimity to build up a unified party. This by no means implies that the

party is beyond the period of more or less serious ups and downs. Fluctuations such as the last Party Congress showed, cannot be overcome so rapidly. The unanimity of the Party Congress after the serious convulsions in the party was rather a manifestation of their willingness than as yet a firm unity. Nevertheless the Party Congress contributed its share towards guaranteeing unity. It makes the following points the chief duties of the party:

a) A firm foundation of the Party on the principles of Marxism and Leninism, unrelenting fight against all deviations and fractionist tendencies.

b) A real establishment of conformity between theory and practice by firmly reconstructing the Party on the new basis of factory nuclei and utmost intensification of the work within the trade unions.

c) The formation of a solid core of trained forces.

All reports and discussions of the Party Congress were stamped with the emphasis which was persistently laid on these tasks — concentration on these three main duties gave the debates of the Party Congress a solidarity such as had never before existed.

What is the idea of the Party Congress with regard to the fulfilment of these tasks?

The firm foundation of the party on the principles of Marxism and Leninism cannot be achieved merely by combating deviations and fractionist tendencies! On the other hand, the fight against deviations can only be carried on successfully if the Party is relentless in training itself in the spirit of Leninism. The German Party still contains considerable remnants of Social Democracy; it still has many faults which are explained by the fundamental contrast between Luxemburgism and Leninism; it has as yet no uniform conception of the Party's past and no definitely clear analysis of the present time!

The debates on the tactics of the Party in its fight against the monarchist danger have shown that the party still lacks understanding of Lenin's theory of the State and Lenin's theory of imperialism. Both ultra-Left and Right thundered against the ideas of the Central Committee as being the expression of the most dangerous opportunism! The Central Committee could not base its standpoint on its authority as the elected guide, it had to carry on a debate on the Leninist theory of the State. The ultra-Leninists had to retreat step by step. The Right had been wiser; as soon as they saw that the Executive Committee was of the same opinion as the Central Committee, they turned away from the "united front" with the ultra-Left and proclaimed: "That is what we have always said."

Lenin's theory of the State and theory of imperialism must, as the foundation of Leninist strategics and tactics, be made in the party, a common possession of the party, by being put to the test through daily practice — not only in the analysis of the situation, but also in the setting itself tasks and in the tactics of the party. The work of training the party cannot be detached from the daily practical duties of the party, but must on the contrary be carried through in closest contact with them. At the Party Congress, the ultra-Left members were for the first time compelled openly to proclaim their views. They could not satisfy themselves with warnings only, they had to say what their plans are. The analysis of their ideas will be very wholesome for the party, in helping it to overcome the theoretical defects which still adhere to it, as remnants of the past. The debates will further help to bring about a homogeneous party tradition. As a matter of fact, the Party Congress in the theses referring to the political situation, has tried to give a short survey of the history of the party. The discussions on this section (which was not opposed at the Party Congress) will also help to clarify the party.

The second task, the establishment of real conformity between theory and practice, is the central task for any communist Party. The ultra-Left as have the Right, have a "passion" for lively discussion! They think that they can clarify the party by discussions. It will be clarified by putting party politics to a practical test — by a constant reciprocity between theory and practice! The proud ultra-Left, who declare: we cannot capture success in the present time of depression — are providing themselves with a theory which saves them the trouble of practice, a theory of passivity, a theory of spontaneity of the worst kind.

The Party should understand how to make the policy the concern of the masses, how to mobilise and guide the masses.

Unpleasant as this may be for the radical revolutionaries, the party must, in the questions of today, convince the masses of the correctness of the opinions and methods of the CP. If it must give the right answer to every question of the day, it must understand how to set free the maximum amount of mass energy, it must try steadily to increase its influence.

The ultra-Left say: "Good, trade union policy!" They want to confine themselves to economic questions: wages, hours of work, conditions of work, unemployment!

The workers in the factories do not make this distinction, they want an answer to every question, and it must make sense. It must really show the masses the way! Lenin gives the instruction: **Deeper into the masses!** Dare to manoeuvre against the bourgeoisie and their agents; dare to gather the masses together in a daily economic and political fight! Deeper into the masses; understand their questions, get in touch with the needs which most strongly affect the masses. Deeper into the masses, be able to guide them in every question!

A Communist party which wants to stir the masses down to the depth, must concentrate all its energies on the depth of the masses; the reconstruction of the Party on the basis of Factory Nuclei is the foundation for a real conformity between theory and practice; the party must transfer its policy to the factories. It must determine its policy from within the factories. At the Party Congress there was still great opposition to the energetic reconstruction of the party! It has still not been overcome in the party. But it is one of the most important results of the Party Congress, that the new statute, corresponding to the model statute of the Comintern, was passed unanimously.

"No factory nuclei work without trade union work!" "75% of our attention on the work of the trade unions!" Only a year ago, these admonitions would have met with violent opposition in the German party. At the Berlin Party Congress it met with hearty approval. This shows that the party has grown. The approval is still only theoretical! We believe however that it will also gain ground in practice. The elections of Shop Stewards in the Spring, the preparations for the first of May, for the ADGB Congress, the despatch of workers' delegations to Russia, the participation of the Communists in the trade union demonstrations against exorbitant customs, are signs of a real activation in the work of the trade unions.

The solution of the third task, the formation of a solid core in the party, cannot be separated from the other two tasks. It is inseparably bound up with them. Nevertheless it must be regarded separately, it cannot be left to chance. The German party has lost contact with the serious struggle of the proletariat and has lost a whole number of functionaries by the serious internal dissensions. These losses have not been compensated for; neither can they be compensated for by re-appointing the dismissed leaders in the districts and in the central institutions. Of course all forces must be made use of which really take their stand on the basis of the resolutions of the Party and of the Communist International (especially of the Fifth World Congress) and who help in carrying them out.

No doubt the party has gained success also by attracting these forces; it is however a vital question to gain new elements from the workers in the factories as leaders in the party — from the lowest to the highest party organs. Even before the Party Congress, great value was attached in the districts to training leaders who are really capable of work, and in touch with the work of the party in the factories, to remove any preponderance of the functionaries in office and to allow the representatives of the nuclei a direct voice in councils and decisions. Until the time of the Frankfurt Party Congress there was almost no control over the work of the leaders. The leadership lay to a large extent in the hands of the secretaries. With the exception of Berlin, no leaders of the party have a real tradition.

In the course of the last few years there has been much improvement. On the basis of these experiences, the Party Congress seriously concerned itself with providing capable, energetic leaders. The change in the statutes not only includes the reconstruction of the party on the basis of nuclei, it at the same time determines the changes in the leadership in such a way that the comrades from the factories are given the opportunity of training themselves to the leaders in directing the reconstruction. We must break with the tradition of first proving the value of an individual and then taking him into the leadership, because this tradition leaves the training of leaders to chance discovery and not their being put to the test.

The carrying out of the statute in this question, demands that the new party leadership should establish and permanently maintain the closest contact with the local, district and factory organisations. There is the danger that the party will limit itself to the old hands and try to attract them; it must not however overlook the other important solution, that of taking part in the leadership as a high school of politics, but on the contrary must carry it out deliberately. If this succeeds, a great defect in the policy of the Party will quickly be overcome. The Party does not understand how to make a good and immediate use of the concrete conditions in the nuclei, factories, towns, districts, countries. It has a certain mechanical centralism which becomes evident in the schematic carrying out of the resolutions of the party.

The Tenth Party Congress of the CP. of Germany should be studied by all the parties of the Communist International. The detailed resolutions have already been communicated to all parties. The brother parties will learn from this Party Congress that the German Party is a real Workers' party under the leadership of workers (out of 170 delegates 128 are in factories, all the delegates, with one exception, originate from the proletariat of industry or agriculture), which, on the basis of its bitter experience in the past, is determined to pursue the path of bolshevism according to the theses of the Enlarged Executive, and which will proceed with all energy against any attack on the unity of the Party and on the Communist International.

AGAINST THE ATTACKS ON THE SOVIET UNION

The Forged Documents.

A Declaration.

By G. Chicherin.

A few days ago, in the midst of very malicious attacks on the Soviet Union by the leading part of the international Press and of individual members of some governments, I made some statements with the intention of placing the policy of the Soviet Union in its true light and refuting a number of false assertions about us on the part of hostile elements. As my chief object at that time was to bring into relief the true nature of our policy, I omitted to mention one of those typical facts of to-day which are characteristic of the political camp which is opposed to us. I refer to the forgeries which have become general, which have already developed into a special profession. They form a component part of the campaign of lies and calumnies which our opponents are carrying on against the Soviet Union, and which at present have reached an extraordinary intensity.

Those who take part in this campaign, make ample use of forgeries and doubtless know very well the workshops in which they are prepared, some of which have been discovered quite recently. The Russian White Guardist Drushelovsky, a professional forger of such documents, which purported to have been issued by our government but the object of which is to compromise our government, was arrested in Berlin at the end of May, and the fact came to light that some official persons of foreign States were in close touch with him.

At the same time another professional forger of the same type, called Gumansky was discovered in Berlin. In London, as early as last autumn, Comrade Rakovsky learned of the existence of an important collection of forged documents which had been intentionally prepared with the object of promoting conflicts between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. Comrade Rakovsky sent a copy of this collection of documents to MacDonald, at that time Prime Minister, with the note of November 3rd.

A few days ago the news was telegraphed from Vienna that a similar workshop of such forgeries had been discovered, belonging to a certain Yakubovitch. We also know of forgeries, emanating from other sources than those already mentioned. That such undertakings can exist and can work without loss, shows that there must be a demand for their products.

I cannot refrain from mentioning that Drushelovsky, in whose possession were found an enormous collection of forgeries and also a quantity of forged rubber-stamps, headed

stationary etc., and who openly admitted that he had forged documents and sold them to the Bulgarian and Polish Governments, was released by the German police after a short detention, although experts had shown that the writing on the forged documents was the work of Drushelovsky. A few days ago he was again arrested. Yakubovitch in Vienna was released from prison, acquitted and in no way punished.

A similar forged documents was made use of by our opponents when Dosser, the representative of the Naphtha Syndicate, was arrested on an English steamer in Chinese waters. This gross forgery which mentions two non-existent organisations of the Communist Party of Russia and appears in circumstances which point clearly to its provocative origin, figures nevertheless as the chief piece of evidence before the Shanghai Mixed Court, before which the British Colonial Police have, in an illegal way, brought an action against Comrade Dosser.

We have in our possession a considerable number of such forgeries. After the well-known forged Zinoviev letter, a whole series of similar forgeries appeared: the alleged treaty between the Comintern and the Croatian Peasant party, the alleged letter of Comrade Zinoviev to Comrade Cachin, regarding the North African affair, which was published in the "Liberté", the alleged letters of the Peasant International to the Roumanian Peasant party etc. I must mention these forgeries ascribed to the Comintern and the Peasant International, as our opponents use them in the fight against the Soviet Union and connect them with our Government.

Many will still recall the remarkable case of a Berlin printing works having got the order for thousands of sheets of note paper with the heading: "Executive Committee of the Comintern" and underneath "Central Section of the Department for Foreign Relations" (also a non-existent institution), and of how after a short time the Bulgarian papers published a "Comintern document" which was said to have been seized by the Bulgarian Government, and which, according to the facsimile printed in the papers, was written on exactly the same forms as, according to previous reports, had been published in Berlin.

Although the person who ordered these formulas was unmasked and the Press gave detailed reports about him, this professional forger, the well-known Drushelovsky, calmly continued his forgeries. As was revealed later, he received definite orders from this or that person or from officials of some government. Thus he received an order from the Polish intelligence service to prepare alleged instructions with the use of which it could be proved that the railway disaster in the Polish Corridor had been arranged by the Communists. He also received an order from agents of the Catholic Community in Berlin to prepare an alleged order from the Comintern with regard to preparations for blowing up St. Peter's in Rome and an attempt on the life of the Pope.

From among the forged documents which have become known to us and which have been revealed quite recently, I consider it necessary to enumerate the following. (The forgeries enumerated are from various workshops.)

1. "Scheme for the organisation of the Comintern."
2. "Scheme of the central institutions of the Executive of the Comintern with explanations."
3. "Guiding lines of the Comintern for party work in the provinces."
4. "Communication to Stetzenky from the representative of the Consular Department re permit to enter the Soviet Union."
5. "Communication of the delegation of the ECCI. to the plenipotentiaries of the GPU. in Berlin."
6. "Letter from the Foreign Department of the GPU. to Comrades Blumenfeld and Marshin."
7. "Communication from the ECCI. to the president of the Foreign Delegation in Germany."
8. "Communication from the Communist Youth League of Russia to the president of the Foreign Delegation in Germany."
9. "Report of a member of the ECCI. to the president of the ECCI."
10. "A letter from Bondarevsky in Rome to the representative agent in Germany."
11. "Communication from the People's Commissariat for Nationalities to the representative agents in Germany."
12. "Communication from the representative agents in Nationalities to the representative agents in Germany."

13. "A letter of Krakovetzky re the relations between Japan and the Soviet Union."

14. "Letter from Comrade Balabanova to the President of the Foreign Delegation of the CP. of Russia in Germany."

15. "Communication from the Central Executive Committee to the representative agent in Germany."

16. "Communication from the trade delegation in Germany to the Financial Department of the ECCI."

17. "Communication from the Supreme Economic Council to the Consular Department of the representative agency in Berlin, addressed to Comrade Alexandrov."

18. "Forged note paper of the ECCI."

19. "Forged forms with the coat of arms of the Soviet."

20. "The instructions of the ECCI." which were published in the Bulgarian papers:

There exists also a group of forgeries in English, which refer to the alleged activity of a non-existent organisation — called the "British Revolution Committee", — and of which Comrade Rakovsky managed to get possession last year in London. The forgeries enumerated seem, in the literal sense of the word, with signs of the greatest **political ignorance**: they are attributed to non-existent institutions, addressed to non-existent persons and signed by such. It must be acknowledged that the preparation of such gross forgeries is very easy work, and it is therefore not astonishing that their price was so low: the total cost was 150 American dollars per document, the middle-man receiving 100 marks. As regards their contents, these forgeries were connected with those numerous legends as to the policy of the Soviet Union, which were circulated by the Statesmen and Press which are hostile to us. The publication of such forgeries as representing genuine documents has always the purpose of creating a great sensation, and they were always re-printed by numerous papers. But when it was revealed that these documents were really provocative forgeries, very few papers even mentioned the fact.

All this illustrates in a telling way the conspiracy of lies, calumnies and inventions which represent an integral part of the aggressive plans of the elements which are hostile to us. In the same way as the systematic work of forgery and the systematic calumnies have for their object the leading astray of public opinion and of the broad masses in other countries with regard to our policy, the silence observed as to the discovery of these hot-beds of forgery, serve the same purpose.

I therefore consider it extremely important to fill up this gap in my last statements. It is necessary to enlighten public opinion and the broad masses in other countries as to the fact that the documents published by our opponents, the object of which is to give a basis to the accusations raised against the Soviet Government, are the continuous product of a malicious forgery business, and that special workshops exist for this purpose.

I would remind that, when our Government proposed to the English Government that the question of the genuineness of the so-called "Zinoviev letter" should be enquired into by a Court of Arbitration, the English Government shirked this proposal.

The forgeries directed against us have, so to speak, become marketable goods. The offices which are connected with various governments, make use of these documents, to a certain extent deliberately, and pay for them. At the present critical moment, when the most extreme of the elements which are hostile to us in various States, have raised their voices and demanded a crusade against the Soviet Union, we have every reason to expect that these elements will publish new sensational forged documents with the object of justifying a war against the Soviet Union.

All adherents of a peaceful settlement of international conflicts, all adherents of the frustration of bellicose plans which might produce new world crises, should learn that similar documents which have the object of promoting the preparation of a united front against the Soviet Union, originate in special workshops of provocative agents and are produced by professional forgers. This warning is necessary.

England and the „Border States“.

By I. Ivanov (Moscow).

England's policy towards the weak peoples has always been determined from the point of view of the material advantage of the English ruling class. Behind the endless talk about morality and justice, **greed for gain** was the one and only impulse.

In the "Border States" which are **nominally** independent countries, England's "attentive care" for the working peoples of Esthonia and Latvia only finds indirect expression. The all-powerful English imperialism pulls the wires, and the marionette governments obediently do with their peoples, whatever pleases English capital.

What interests have the ruling classes of England in the "Border States?"

We must bear in mind that the "Border States" represent for the Soviet Union a first class economic and military point of junction. A considerable part of our exports and imports pass through the Baltic ports. On the other hand the long coast-line and the convenient harbours, if they are hospitably thrown open to a strong fleet, may become a danger to the security of the adjacent frontiers of the Soviet Union, but especially for the safety of Leningrad. We know however England's weakness for any kind of "strategic points".

Furthermore English capital has "vital interests" in the "Border States". Thus Latvia and Esthonia alone owe England 24 million roubles in war debts (for help in armaments and naval equipment for the purpose of suppressing the revolutionary movement in 1919). For such small countries this means a very considerable sum.

The attentive care of English capitalists for the Latvian people is further expressed in the obstinate demands of British firms with regard to the payments of the debts which were incurred by the Czarist Government. These debts amount to 30 million roubles in round figures. Obedient to British capital, the Latvian Government has hastened to meet these extortions and in order to pay the interest alone, has raised the railway rates by 25%, and also the direct and indirect taxes. The burden of all this of course, weighs chiefly on the shoulders of the labouring population.

In Esthonia, the English capitalists have laid their hand on the biggest industrial undertakings: the Russian Baltic ship-building yards, the linen mills of Narva, the textile factories of Kregholm, the big paper mills etc. In Esthonia, where the petty bourgeois government divided up the large landed property of the barons, England took up the position of an **advocate of the discarded Czarist conditions with regard to property**. In this country, the "guardian angel of the small peoples" brought an action against the Esthonian Government for compensation for the losses inflicted on Barons and Baronesses Stakelberg, Engelhart, von Schubert and others, by the confiscation of their property.

The English Government and the capitalists cherish no serious hopes that the debts will be discharged. Nevertheless they remind their debtors of them from time to time in order to emphasise the dependence of the "Border States" on England.

The English who are well informed as to the actual state of affairs take a very pessimistic view as to the economic position of the "Border States", and the prospect of their development. They point out the enormously wide-spread system of corruption among the State officials and emphasise the fact that one of the most important sources of income of the Esthonian Republic is the **smuggling of spirits**.

The English Conservatives nevertheless regard the "Border States" as a barrier against Bolshevism and, in this respect, find the petty bourgeois governments of the States in question, quite ready to meet their advances. Consequently they are actively co-operating with these governments in the interest of **creating armed forces for an attack on the Soviet Union**.

As a matter of form, the English lords deny their co-operation with Latvia and Esthonia. The representatives of the government always give a completely negative answer to delicate Parliamentary interpellations with regard to these questions on the part of Labour Members. In the meantime we have **exact information with regard to the military mission of the English General Burt in Latvia for the reorganisation of the Latvian army**.

The transition of the Latvian army to the English system of armaments is no mere coincidence; it indicates that they reckon with being permanently supplied by English capital.

In spite of the strong French influence, the Estonian army is going over to the English system of armaments; the organisation of its air-force is under the direction of English instructors with Lieutenant Emery at their head.

The visit of the English Brigadier General was therefore no mere pleasure trip but pursued the aim of regulating the question of the supply of the Estonian and Latvian armies with English war materials and the co-ordination of the activities of their General Staffs in case of an attack on the Soviet Union.

For very serious reasons we are inclined to regard the summer visit of the English fleet to the Estonian and Latvian waters, which the English charge d'affaires Mr. Hodgson, estimates, as a mere proof of friendship, from a very different point of view. As we are assured on good authority, the English Admiralty, which is watching the development of our Red Fleet with careful attention, did not send its squadron into the Baltic for the purpose of a friendly visit, but in order to maintain the "balance of power".

In the total scheme of the hostile policy towards the Soviet Union, England regards the Border States as a section of the active front developed against the Soviet Union. The policy of the political and military consolidation of the Border States is based on a careful policy for the strengthening of outposts by local forces, independently of any direct treaties which might bind the chief forces of England.

It is necessary to be closely on the watch. The activities of the English military incendiaries of the Border States must be unmasked, in order to prevent the working class of England and the labouring population of Estonia and Latvia being taken in by any provocation.

The Soviet Union will calmly continue the work of reconstructing its political economy and will, without any nervousness, bid the workers follow with the greatest attention every step of the crafty enemy.

HANDS OFF CHINA

Appeal of the RILU. to the Chinese Trade Unions.

To the industrial proletariat of China!
Workers of China!

Your difficult struggle against international imperialism is lasting a long time. Ever increasing numbers of workers and oppressed are being drawn into this great struggle, which is opening the way for the emancipation of a people of 400 million souls, and which is shaking the foundations of capitalist rule all over the world.

The young working class of China, and your still younger trade union organisations, affiliated to the Red International of Labour Unions at their Second Congress on 1. May of this year, are the vanguard of the revolutionary movement of the East.

The main results of this struggle depend upon your endurance, tenacity and insight. It depends on you whether the many millions of the toilers of China, oppressed and ruined by imperialism, will unite under your leadership.

It is thus not to be wondered at that in this struggle the main blows are directed against you, and the forces of imperialism concentrated against you.

Besides the thousand tasks set you in connection with this mighty movement among the workers of China, a movement unique in extent and importance, a further task of the utmost importance is the further concentration and mustering of your own ranks in Red trade unions.

You should not lose a single day before starting on this work, and should develop a widespread agitation for winning over the whole of the industrial proletariat, for inducing them to enter the trade unions, and for strengthening the unions and their firmly established organisation on a national scale.

The lessons taught by the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, and by the brief but rich experience which you have gained during the past year, show that mighty revolutionary waves and extensive movements among the people create far-reaching possibilities for the development and strengthening of young trade unions, possibilities which should on no account be missed.

You will not emancipate yourselves from the enslaving working conditions or from the monstrous exploitation and suppression, nor will you obtain the eight hour day and wages worthy of human beings, until your trade unions have become a power able to command respect, a power which both foreign and Chinese capitalists are forced to take into account.

Enter the unions in your hundreds of thousands! Force the recognition of the perfect legality of the unions!

Do not cease your efforts towards schooling the members of the trade unions in the spirit of revolutionary readiness to fight, of proletarian discipline, and of insight. The hearts of millions of proletarians all over the world are beating for you, for your heroic struggle, which might well be emulated by the old and experienced unions of Europe.

Long live the Trade Unions of China, the brave reinforcements for the world army of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement!

Long live the Chinese proletariat!

The Executive Bureau of the
Red International of Labour Unions.

WORKERS' DELEGATIONS IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Franco-Belgian Trade Union Delegation on the Soviet Union.

The Franco-Belgian Trade Union Delegation, composed of eleven functionaries from the French and Belgian reformist Trade Unions, after having concluded their tour through the Soviet Union, where they studied the works and factories, trade unions, cultural institutions, etc., have forwarded the following Declaration, signed by all the members of the delegation, to comrade Tomsky, chairman of the All Russian Trade Union Council:

The Franco-Belgian Trade Union Delegation has concluded its investigations, after having visited various republics of the Soviet Union. The delegation met with a fraternal reception everywhere, and everywhere it was received with enthusiasm.

The Franco-Belgian Delegation cannot here give the names of all the functionaries who made it their endeavour that our journey should prove really instructive. There where very many of these. We express to all our sincerest thanks and our warmest sympathy. The comrades commissioned to aid us as interpreters, or to accompany us from town to town, assisted us in our mission with a devotion, sincerity, and true comradeship, which we shall never forget.

The functionaries and members of the trade unions of the great Soviet Union will realise that in a brief survey we can only record our general impressions and conclusions, which are not yet to be regarded as final. We are however anxious that our views on certain points should be made known.

We have ascertained that the trade union structure in the Soviet Union is based upon logically thought out and just foundations. The mass of the trade union members decide their own fate, they themselves direct the course of trade union development, and they themselves solve all the questions arising in the trade union movement.

Various trade union organisations which we visited, employ working methods which in our opinion could be applied with advantage in the majority of the organisations in our countries. Order rules everywhere; any desired information can be given at once, thanks to the excellent methods of classification

in every part of the apparatus, and thanks to the punctuality with which the functionaries and employees fulfil their duties.

The wall placards, the diagrams, drawings, statistics, and pamphlets, represent documents which even the less experienced visitors, and those unfamiliar with your language, can use as valuable sources of information. They form fulcrums enabling us, without doubt or reflection, to confirm the fact of the solidity of your trade union organisation, and to declare confidently that the development of your trade unions will progress systematically in the future.

We hope heartily that the raising of the moral level of the workers will speedily enable you to do away with the inequalities (inheritance of the old regime) still visible here and there, and still imposing their burden upon you. We are perfectly convinced that your efforts are leading you towards this goal, and that you will here bear away the victory.

In various works and factories which we visited, we were able to observe that **maximum results** are frequently being obtained in spite of backward productive technics.

Although you are bound hand and foot by the inadequate development of your railways, and although you are the victims of the brutality of the world's capital, you have accomplished a miracle, and have rebuilt your national industry in spite of the partisans' and civil war, and in spite of the blockade.

We have the impression that you should devote your main endeavours towards the **industrialisation of agriculture**, this being the means by which you will be enabled to create the means required for securing your great industrial achievements.

Your workers, your engineers and your technicians have rendered invaluable service to the revolution, and the proletariat of all countries is deeply grateful to them.

Is the inspection of your **trade unionist and social institutions**, the pride of the Soviet revolution, and the inspection of your various industrial and agricultural centres not bound to stimulate us to fight still more determinedly than ever for **Trade Union Unity all over the World?**

This is the most important question for us. **We do not want to continue to share the responsibility incurred by those who commit the great crime of the split policy.** There have been mistakes on both sides. Great psychological errors have been committed. And still greater mistakes will be made, if the hate against imperialism does not restore fraternal unity among all proletarians. All quarreling must cease, all the daily petty strife and insult. **The Unity of the Workers' Front** demands this. Capitalism supports the strife which is of advantage to it.

We believe that those comrades who have been the means of overthrowing a capitalist regime, will best comprehend the tremendous importance of this question: We thus hope that we shall be understood. Unity demands much enduring organisation work, great efforts, for the civil war raged also along this line, and between brothers belonging in reality to the same class. Nevertheless the effort must be made towards mutual understanding, towards the undertaking of mutual steps. This is possible. The workers must be freed from the influence and suppression of capitalism, the whole degradation involved in the sale of human labour power must be abolished. We must reach out our hands to one another, unite on a **Minimum Programme**, strive together towards the common goal of **World Revolution, disappearance of Capitalism, and triumph of almighty Labour.**

Tomorrow we shall work for these great causes and ideals. Tomorrow we shall return to our countries as apostles of sincere and final Unity.

Russian comrades! Help us with your utmost forces, with your whole heart, in the spirit of infinite patience and justice. And woe to those who then seek to bar our way to Unity, whoever these may be and wherever they may be. The history of the working class will condemn them utterly and sweep them aside at one stroke.

Long live the Workers' Russia!

Long live almighty Labour!

Long live the Emancipation of the World Proletariat, the Cessation of Wage Work and the Extermination of Capitalism!

POLITICS

The Situation in France.

By Albert Treint (Paris).

The Caillaux Laws.

The financial situation in France has, during the last few months, become extremely acute. Confidence in the State is evaporating. 150 milliard consolidated debts and 150 milliard current debts at home, 150 milliard abroad — all this weighs heavily on the finances of the bourgeois State. The latter cannot meet the amounts which become due, with the usual means; 22 milliard must be repaid by the end of the year.

The **Painlevé-Briand-Caillaux** Government has just taken refuge in various measures of legislation in order to cope with the most urgent needs. Ten milliard in new bank-notes have just been put into circulation. This means inflation, i. e. distress for the wage-earners and the expropriation of the middle class. A permanent loan in dollars is to be issued. The owners of certificates for short period loans will be in the position to change their short period promissory notes, made out in bad francs, in dollar values. Thus, at the moment when inflation is developing, there will be owners of securities who receive their dividends in dollars, whilst the wage-earners receive their wages in steadily depreciating francs.

For the budget of 1926, taxes amounting to four milliard are provided for, which will, directly or indirectly, fall on the shoulders of the workers.

This is the picture offered to us by the present and the immediate future.

The Government, according to the statement made by **Caillaux** on June 11th to the Finance Commission, is providing for a reconstruction loan in the United States. But, as **Caillaux** says, this enormous loan cannot be contracted until the interallied debts have been regulated. America put the question straight out. England followed in the footsteps of the United States, so that France is faced in the near future by a regime of enslavement similar to that of the Dawes plan.

Morocco.

At the moment when the financial situation seems so desperate, the Government has thrown itself headlong into the Morocco expedition against the Riff Republic.

A hundred thousand men, chiefly native troops and mercenaries, are fighting. Behind the front the tribes are rising. The French army which indisputably was the first to attack, has to retreat more than 30 kilometers. Taza is threatened. The dead and wounded already number thousands.

French capitalism is already preparing to extend operations: a sea blockade of the Riff and the despatch of reinforcement to the number of 200,000 men. It is a case of a great modern war. In 1923 and 1924, Spain spent more than two milliard francs for operations on a much shorter front. How many human lives will be sacrificed?

The Morocco affair contains the seeds of international complications which might lead to a new imperialist war. Groups of English and French capitalists supported the Riff against Spain by supplying it with arms. Now that Spain has been driven back, it is a question whether England or France will subjugate the Riff, exploit its mines and instal itself opposite Gibraltar. Italy demands, as the price of its neutrality, a free hand in Tunis, where the Italian population is more numerous than the French.

The Attitude of the Working Masses.

At the elections for the Chamber on April 11th 1924 and the municipal elections on May 3rd 1925, the Left bloc promised to establish and maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union, to make the rich pay up and to carry through peace. It has broken all its promises.

The workers, peasants and working petty bourgeois are beginning to awake to the truth. The more clearly the masses see, the more they turn away from the cartel and the socialist leaders.

The opposition to **Caillaux'** laws and to the Morocco war increases from day to day and stirs up the working strata of the population, revolutionary agitation reverberates more and

more. The soldiers are unwilling to go to Morocco to fight for the bankers and industrialists who make profits out of the dead. At the front, two battalions have fraternised with the Rifis and made common cause with them. Four garrisons, those of Courbet, Strasburg, Paris and the Provence have mutinied and refused to take part in the blockade of the Rif. Throughout the whole of France Committees for opposing the War and the Caillaux Laws are multiplying.

The Workers' Congress of the Paris District.

A Central Executive Committee has been formed by co-operation between the Communist Party, the CGTU, the Revolutionary Association of ex-Combatants (ARAC) and the Young Communist League. The Executive Committee resolved to call a number of Workers' Congresses in the chief industrial districts of France.

The Congress of the Paris District took place on July 5th, that of the Northern District on the 12th of July, other congresses were convoked in Lyons and in the South of France.

The Congress of the Paris District was unusually successful; a large number of factories employing altogether 1,200,000 workers, were represented. All the proletarian organisations, parties, trade unions, co-operatives etc. which are resolved to fight against misery and war, were able to participate. The CGT, and the Socialist Party not only declined to take part, but the Central Committees of these organisations directly forbade their organisations and their members to take part in the Congress. Hundreds of socialist workers and members of the trade unions of the CGT, disobeyed this prohibition and turned up, so as to be able to express their determination to establish the unity of the working class in the fight against French imperialism. They were the first to pillory the treachery of their Reformist leaders.

Libaers, the secretary of the Reformist Belgian trade union of the clothing trade, came in the name of the group of "Unite", in order to emphasise its solidarity with the French working class and with the Executive Committee. A member of the Reformist Central Committee of the metal workers of Belgium came in the name of the strikers of his country in order to accuse the Social Democratic leaders of being an obstacle in the fight against the bourgeoisie.

The 250 delegates, representing the factories, the Communist districts, the Red trade unions, the local groups, the A. R. A. C., the socialist local groups and the trade unions affiliated to the C. G. T., unanimously voted for the resolutions of the Committee.

Wages on a gold basis, the levies on capital and large income under the regime of Workers' control, fraternisation on the Morocco front, the boycott of the transport of arms and munitions, preparations for a general protest strike, were announced as necessary, and the Executive Committee, enlarged by the participation of Socialist and Reformist workers affiliated to the C. G. T., received the mandate to prepare for this first action.

The pressure of the masses is so strong, that the Socialist leaders who voted for the war credits for Morocco and refrained from voting at the division with regard to the Caillaux laws, have entered the Parliamentary Opposition. Even there they will still serve the bourgeoisie in that they will try to entrap the will to fight of the proletariat and peasantry in the swamp of mere verbal opposition in Parliament.

But the masses are beginning to understand that it is only possible to fight against war and misery through the Executive Committee which is open to all organisations which are prepared to join actively in the class war.

The Question of Workers' Control.

The rise of the Rifis is the symbol of the world-wide efforts of Islam and of the colonial peoples to free themselves. Since 1918 it is the first time that a great capitalist country, such as France, has plunged directly and deeply into an imperialist war. For this reason the attitude of the Communist Party of France is of deep significance, and the whole International shares their responsibility.

There are two questions which must increasingly come into the foreground and on which full light should be thrown. These are the questions of Workers' Control and the defeatist agitation. All fiscal measures directed against the capitalists, are ineffectual unless the working class itself exercises control over private and State production in every factory. Without the shop stewards, who exercise control, it is impossible to know where the money

is, it is impossible to get hold of it. Without the Workers' Control it is impossible to force the capitalists to pay. And if they do not pay, the proletariat, the peasants and the working petty bourgeois will have to pay.

Every solution of the whole of the economic and financial questions, which does not include Workers' Control, is a solution favourable to the bourgeoisie, is an opportunist solution. A failure to place Workers' Control in the foreground of the agitation and the struggle, means encouraging Social Democratic solutions being accepted by the masses; this means assisting in opportunism by encouraging the opportunism of others. The struggle for Workers' Control must be crowned by an agitation in favour of a Workers' and Peasants' Government, regarded as the tool of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat over the large bourgeoisie.

The Necessity of Defeatism.

The most important question of all however is the question of the defeatist agitation among the masses.

We are not in favour of the Rifis because, as a matter of form, the French army was the first to attack. This is a subordinate argument, which can indeed be used, but only in the second place. Placing the question of who fired the first shot, in the foreground, is begging the most important question.

The question to be placed in the foreground is: who is the oppressor and exploiter? Who is oppressed and exploited?

We are on the side of the Rifis, because the same oppressor, the same exploiter is working against them as against the working class and against the peasantry of the mother-country, i. e. French imperialism. French imperialism is the enemy who must be defeated and against whom all our forces must be combined and united under the leadership of the proletariat.

The working class can only be victorious if, during the war, it works towards the defeat of imperialism in its own country. For this the proletariat requires allies. It finds them among the peasants, the soldiers and the sailors of France and among the Rifis who are under arms.

The defeat of French imperialism by no means involves the death of French soldiers under fire from the Rifis. The French soldiers must fraternise with the Rifis and all together must cast Marshall Lyautey's General Staff into the sea.

Propaganda should be made amongst the masses in favour of defeatism and the necessity of a military defeat of French imperialism. Those who in small circles called themselves defeatists but refused, under the pretext of tactics, to spread the defeatist agitation among the masses, were always mercilessly opposed by Lenin as opportunists. Unless the necessity of the military defeat of the imperialists becomes clear to the working classes during the war, it is impossible that an imperialist war should ever be turned into a civil war. These are the lessons of the Left of Zimmerwald and Kienthal. These are the lessons of the revolution of October 1917. They are written in the blood of the millions of victims of the world war and in the blood of the victorious Russian proletariat. The Communist Party of France which is the leader of the proletariat in the struggle against the Morocco war, will never forget these lessons.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Manifesto of the ECCI. on the Occasion of the Fifth Anniversary of the RILU.

In celebration of the Fifth anniversary of the Red International of Labour Unions, the Executive Committee of the Comintern has published the following address of congratulation to the RILU:

On the day of the Fifth Anniversary of the Red International of Labour Unions the Communist International sends its warmest greetings to the millions of fighters in the revolutionary trade union movement throughout the world.

In spite of the cruel terror of the bourgeoisie, in spite of lies and treachery on the part of the leaders of social reformism, the growth of the revolutionary trade union movement is proceeding uninterruptedly throughout the world, no less in the countries of the oppressors than in the countries where the oppressed are beginning to awake.

In the countries of the oppressors, where capital is trying to postpone the collapse of its economic position by intensified

predatory exploitation of the work, the health and the lives of millions and millions, the working class must work with all its power to consolidate its organisations for mass warfare, i. e. the trade unions. In the East, the working masses must proceed to engage in an organised systematic fight, and above all, to build up and strengthen the trade unions. Wherever concentration, mobilisation and organisation of the forces of the working class are being achieved, it is to be attributed to the activities and the help of the trade unions.

In the course of the five years, the Red International of Labour Unions has consistently carried on a mass struggle with great self-sacrifice, directed against capital, against the policy of separation of its accomplices who are in power in the reformist trade unions, against the attempts to split the forces of the proletariat and its trade union organisations. The Red International of Labour Unions has not only won over new strata of the workers to the idea of communism and of the organisation of the revolutionary Red Trade Union movement, but it has also introduced into the mind of the masses who are under the disintegrating influence of the Amsterdam separatists, the consciousness of the necessity of an alliance of all our forces in order to combat and overthrow capital.

The RILU. has throughout the world raised the slogan of the conquest of Trade Union Unity, and it will realise this slogan whatever serious obstacles the reformist leaders may place in the way of unity. The Anglo-Russian Unity Committee and the Workers' Congresses in France are the first concrete results which the workers have obtained on the path towards unity.

The workers' delegations to the Soviet Union are messengers sent by the broad masses to consolidate a fraternal fighting alliance with the proletariat of the Soviet Union, and they witness to the force of the tendency towards unity which is always embracing further and further masses of the workers.

Under the slogan of unity, the working class is already carrying on a fight against the ever-approaching danger of a universal carnage, against preparations for it in the form of action against the Soviet Union, against the ever increasing economic attacks of capital on the working class. As Lenin said, five years ago, at the congress for the foundation of the RILU., no power in the world can prevent the collapse of capitalism and the victory of the working class over the bourgeoisie.

Long live the Red International of Labour Unions!

Long live the unity of the working class in the fight for communism!

Long live the first stronghold of the proletariat in this fight, the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics!

Long live the social world revolution!

The Executive Committee.
of the Communist International.

IN THE SOVIET UNION

The Georgian Mensheviki before the Court.

By A. Dimant.

Some days ago there began at Tiflis the trial of the so-called "Joint Committee", which for years has occupied itself with the organisation of attacks in gangs, plundering and the preparation of an armed insurrection against the Soviet power. This Joint Committee (it is also called the Committee for the Independence of Georgia) — a pet child of the Georgian Mensheviki Noe Jordania, Tsereteli, Tcheidse, Ramishvili etc. — was founded by them in foreign countries with the object of fighting against the Georgian workers and peasants who, in March 1921, overthrew the Menshevist Government.

The "Joint Committee".

In 1922, the Jordania Government and the Menshevist C. C. resolved to place the cause of the fight against the Soviet power in Georgia on a "solid" basis. With this object in view they founded the so-called "Joint Committee", among the members of which, apart from the Mensheviki, there are representatives of the National Democrats, the Social Federalists, the Zkhivisti (Georgian Independent Social Democrats) and the SR. The "Joint Committee" undertook on the one hand systematic preparations

for an armed insurrection in Georgia, and on the other hand bargained with the representatives of foreign States and offered them the riches of the Caucasus in return for their help in overthrowing the Bolsheviki.

The Czarist ex-officer Prince Tchelokayev placed himself at the head of those who had been "insulted and humiliated" by the Soviet Union, and began to organise fighting groups which were to have played the part of the vanguard of the insurgent army. The military commission which had been formed within the "Joint Committee", worked out the whole plan of insurrection, went abroad to Jordania and other members of the fugitive government in order to ask for instructions, informed the representatives of foreign States as to their plans, etc.

The insurrection failed. Jordania & Co. however continued their criminal activities. The actual instigator of the insurrection, Ramishvili, wrote to his Georgian adherents after the suppression of the insurrection, as follows:

"I received Noe's (Jordania's) letter yesterday. He sends us the following communication: the fight is to be continued as long as possible. When all possibilities of carrying it on are exhausted, the fighters must separate into groups and hide themselves. In Noe's opinion, the members of the fighting unit should regard it as their chief task to destroy the railways and harbours, as this will give Europe the best opportunity of hearing about it. As regards small fights and battles in the mountains, not much importance is attached to them here."

Thus the remaining bandits are given the following orders: to destroy the railways and harbours, and they are enjoined not to "occupy themselves with small fights and battles in the mountains, to which no importance is attached here" (in Europe).

What have the Georgian workers and peasants, who would be the first to suffer from the destruction of the railways and harbours, to do with these fugitive bandits? The latter are only concerned that the European imperialists by whom they are kept, should see that they are not eating bread which they have not earned.

In 1924, Jordania, in the name of the "Government of the Georgian Democratic Republic" approached the "Georgian people" with an appeal in which he thanks them for the insurrection and points out that "none of the small nations is worthy of such sympathy (on the part of the West European Democracy)".

* * *

The trial on the Georgian Joint Committee is a trial on the Menshevist counter-revolution. It was the Mensheviki who incited the Joint Committee to deeds of murder, attacks on railway trains and the destruction of the railways and harbours of Georgia. It was the Mensheviki who organised and led the August insurrection which caused so much harm to the Georgian people.

The Menshevist diplomats were also wide awake. Thus for instance Tchkhenskeli carried on negotiations with Loucheur and promised him all the wealth of the Caucasus and advantages for the French industrialists, if the Menshevist democracy should triumph in Georgia. The beginning of the Anglo-Russian negotiations (February 1924) was fixed as the date of the insurrection.

Their plans however were wrecked. The conspiracy was discovered. The Georgian Cheka arrested some of the leaders of the conspiracy and the insurrection was postponed until summer 1924.

The Insurrection in August 1924.

In the last days of August 1924, the "Joint Committee" considered that the time had come for the insurrection. At this time it received the last instructions from Jordania who had developed its plan of action. Jordania promised the Committee the support of the foreign States. The Menshevist "army", with Kote Andronikashvili, the Chairman of the CC. of the Georgian Mensheviki, at its head, rushed into the fight.

"On what and on whom did they set their hopes when they organised an armed insurrection?" — asks Karibi, the former vice-Minister of the Georgian Menshevist Government, in his brochure. And he gives the answer: "These dreamers were convinced that the whole of Georgia was discontented with the present regime."

In our opinion this is not the correct answer. These adventurers were by no means so naive as to believe that "the whole of Georgia was discontented with the existing govern-

ment." They know perfectly well that the living conditions of the workers and peasants of Georgia are improving from day to day, that the Soviet power is restoring national peace in the Caucasus, that Georgia has only become a really free and independent country under the Soviet power. They take no notice of this however. They need adventures in order to prove to their protectors, by whom they are maintained, that unrest is rampant in Georgia, that the people is in revolt against the Bolsheviks, and that in consequence the cost of their keep is not thrown away. As soon as the Soviet power is overthrown, they will pay back a hundred-fold.

The trial on the Joint Committee is at the same time a trial on the Second International, which supported and gave its blessing to all Menshevik adventures. For this reason the Tiflis trial should be followed with close attention not only by the workers and peasants of Georgia and the Soviet Union, but by the workers and peasants of the whole world.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Comrade Trotsky's Declaration with regard to Eastman's Book: „Since Lenin's Death.“

During my sojourn in Sukhum I received from one of my friends, a publisher of my books, the manuscript of a book by an American journalist, M. Eastman, entitled: "Leo Trotsky, a youthful portrait." My friend informed me in his accompanying letter that the manuscript, which had been sent to the State Publishing Office by the writer, for the purpose of being printed in the Russian language, had made a strange and unusual impression among us on account of the sentimentality permeating it.

I replied as follows in my letter of 3. April 1925:

"Even without being familiar with the contents of Eastman's manuscript, I am perfectly in agreement with you that the publication of the book is inopportune. Although you have been kind enough to send me this manuscript, I cannot read it. I have absolutely no inclination to do so. I readily believe that it does not suit our taste, especially our Russian and Communist taste.

Eastman has been endeavouring for a long time to convince me that it is very difficult to interest the Americans in Communism, but possible to interest them in the Communists. His arguments have been fairly convincing. For this reason I gave him a certain help of a limited nature; the letter which sent him, shows these limits*). I did not know that he had the intention of publishing this book in Russia, or I should probably have advised him at that time not to do so. I cannot prevent Eastman from publishing this work abroad; he is a "free writer"; he has lived in Russia, collected material; at present he is in France, if not in America. Shall I beg him so to speak as a private favour not to publish this book? I am not sufficiently intimate with him to do this. And it would be out of place."

I repeat that this letter consisted of a biographical sketch, the story of my youth up to about 1902. At that time there was no thought of Eastman's second work: "Since Lenin's Death." At least I had not heard it spoken of. I first heard of its existence after my return to Moscow, through the agency of a telegraphic inquiry from comrade Jackson, editor of the "Sunday Worker", London. Although my reply to Jackson was published by the press, it will be perhaps suitable to repeat the first part of it here:

"The book by Eastman which you mention, is unknown to me. The bourgeois newspapers quoting the book have not reached me. It need not be said that I categorically reject in

*) On 22. May 1925 I sent the following reply to Eastman's repeated requests:

"I shall do my utmost to assist you by means of conscientious information. But I cannot agree to read your manuscript, for this would make me responsible not only for the facts, but for the characterisations and estimates as well. This is impossible. I am prepared to undertake the responsibility — a weakened one however — for the information on the facts which I send you in reply to your request. For everything else you alone bear the responsibility."

advance any commentary directed against the Communist Party of Russia."

I afterwards received the pamphlet in question ("Since Lenin's Death") from comrade Inkpin, Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain. After looking through this little book for half an hour, I came to the conclusion that the work is of no importance, either theoretically or politically. I had no intention of reading it, and less intention still of reacting upon it, as I assumed that my telegramme to comrade Jackson was entirely sufficient. But comrades in the Party with a knowledge of the book expressed the opinion that my silence might be the indirect means of supporting the book. This forced me to read it. My first impression was strengthened in principle.

Eastman's book bare of any political value. The writer approaches the events of the inner life of our Party without a serious political criterion, in a purely psychological manner, and thus effects a subjective arbitrariness in the estimates, substantiations, and conclusions.

We shall first deal with a question which is certainly of historical importance, and at the same time a most vital actuality: The Red Army. Eastman maintains that since changes have taken place among its leaders, the Red Army is divided, that it has lost its fighting capabilities, etc. I do not know where Eastman has learnt this. But its absurdity is obvious. He does not see that in thus characterising the Red Army, he is nourishing the Menshevik legend on the Bonapartist character, the Pretorian guard character of our Army, etc. For it is clear that an Army which is capable of "dividing" because its commander is changed is neither communist nor proletarian.

During the course of the whole work the author quotes a large number of documents, and a certain number of incidents which to place long ago. Thus this little book contains a goodly quantity of erroneous and untruthful general assertions.

In several places Eastman states that the Central Committee of the Party has "secreted" a large number of documents of extraordinary importance, written by Lenin during the last period of his life. (These are letters on the national question, the famous "will", etc.). This implies that Lenin wrote these letters, referring to the inner organisations of the Soviets, with the intention of their publication. This is not the case.

The letters were intended for the Party Congresses, and the members of the 12. and 13. Congresses were enabled to take cognisance of their contents in the manner determined upon by the representatives of the congresses, that is, all the delegations were permitted to read the letters.

Another equally false assertion made by Eastman is that the Central Committee wanted to secret (that is, not to publish) Lenin's article on the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. The differences of opinion arising on this point in the Central Committee, if "differences of opinion" can here be spoken of at all, were of very secondary significance, referring solely to the date and method of publication. And this purely technical question was unanimously agreed upon at the same meeting. How wrongly Eastman characterised the differences of view which he represents as having existed with reference to the purport of Lenin's article on the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, may be estimated by the fact that the whole of the members of the Political and Organisation Bureaus of the Central Committee decided unanimously, at the same meeting, to send a letter to the Party organisations. This letter contained the following passage:

"Without dealing, in this purely informative letter, with the criticism of the historically possible dangers so opportunely dealt with by Lenin in his article, the members of the Political and Organisation Bureaus consider it necessary, in order to avoid possible misunderstandings, to declare unanimously that there is nothing in the inner activity of the Central Committee which gives occasion to fear the dangers of a split."

Not only does my signature figure among the ten footing this document, but the wording itself was edited by me. (27. January 1923.)

In view of the fact that this letter, expressing the unanimous opinion of the Central Committee on Lenin's proposal to introduce the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, also bears the signature of comrade Kuybyshev, we have here at the same time the confutation of Eastman's assertion that comrade Kuybyshev was placed at the head of the Workers' Peasants' Inspection as "opponent" of Lenin's plan of organisation.

Eastman's quotation from the wording of the "will" is equally wrong. This was published in the "Socialist Messenger" (Berlin

menshevik paper. Ed.) and was stolen from the Party archives, so to speak by counter revolutionists. In reality the wording as published in the "Socialist Messenger" passed through many hands before its appearance in this paper. It was "freshened up" again and again, and distorted to such an extent that it is absolutely impossible to restore its original import. It is possible that the alterations were made by the editorial staff of this paper.

Eastman's assertions that the Central Committee confiscated pamphlets or articles of mine in 1923 or 1924, or at any time, are untrue, and are based on imaginative rumours.

Another false assertion is that Lenin offered me the post of Chairman to the Council of People's Commissaries.

An attentive perusal of Eastman's pamphlet would doubtless afford me further opportunity of pointing out other errors and inaccuracies.

It seems to me, however, that the attentive and thoughtful reader will not require an accumulation of documents — which in any case does not appeal to everyone's understanding — to arrive at the conclusion that Eastman's literary structure is built up on very inadequate and shaky foundations. It will therefore suffice if the conclusions drawn by the author are subjected to examination, conclusions placing our Party and its leaders in such a light that the same attentive and thoughtful reader is inevitably forced to the question: What bonds can unite Eastman and this Party, or Eastman and the revolution led by this Party? What has Eastman to oppose to this Party?

If we were to assume for even one moment that the views formulated by Eastman on the leading personalities in our Party are correct, we should ask: How could this Party emerge from long years of secret struggle? How could it accomplish the greatest of revolutions? How could it carry millions of human beings along with it, and contribute to the formation of revolutionary parties in other countries? Eastman shatters and crushes the elementary political relations, because he employs an arbitrary and psychological criterion, and not a political Marxist one.

In this case a revolutionary would only have the right to write politically, as Eastman does, if he were to oppose another party to ours. Eastman does not think for a moment of this side of the political question. The book teaches nothing. It may be exploited by the enemies of Communism — which is not such a serious matter — or it may sow the seed of scepticism in the minds of young and still unconscious friends of Communism, which is very much more serious. For this reason it deserves energetic condemnation.

Resolution of the CC. of the CP. of France regarding Comrade Trotzky's Declaration.

** The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France takes cognisance of the book "Since Lenin's Death" by Eastman, also of Comrade Trotzky's reply to it, and adopts the following standpoint with regard to this question:

Eastman's book "Since Lenin's Death" is nothing more nor less than a vulgar counter revolutionary work, an accumulation of crass lies, slanders and base calumnies, written with the obvious intention of discrediting the leaders of the Communist Party of Russia and the Soviet Government.

Eastman, in representing the leaders of the proletarian revolution as "a handful of irresponsibles, usurpaters, and falsifiers", has attained the aim which he pursues: The supplying of the bourgeois press and all the enemies of communism, who quote lavishly from this book, and employ it against the Communist International and proletarian Russia, with the material they seek.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France is surprised that comrade Trotzky's reply to this vile book is so indefinite, so little categorical, so almost ambiguous. It is the more surprised at this that Eastman, in an attempt to impart more weight and prestige to his dirty work refers, like the people of the "Proletarian Revolution", to his friendship with Trotzky and a number of his adherents, and to conversations which he has held with them. And more than this: He represents comrade Trotzky as the victim of a band of slanderers, who persecute him and endeavour to crush him to the earth.

* * *

Comrade Trotzky ascribes no political value to the work. He says expressly:

"Eastman's book is bare of any political value. The writer approaches the events of the inner life of our Party without a serious political criterion, in a purely psychological manner, and thus effects a subjective arbitrariness in the estimates, substantiations, and conclusions."

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France is however of the contrary opinion, and considers this book, written by a man professing to be a member of the Communist Party of America, whilst in reality he left the ranks of the Communist International long ago, at a time when all that is counter-revolutionary in the world has been striving to form an alliance against the Union of Soviet Republics, to be a political work of the first water.

The bourgeois press has for its part well comprehended the far-reaching utility of this book for its purposes.

The tone adopted by Trotzky in addressing Eastman is not the tone suitable with reference to a counter revolutionary enemy of the type of the author of the book: "Since Lenin's Death". It is the tone customarily employed in a discussion between friends. Comrade Trotzky states further:

"An attentive perusal of Eastman's pamphlet would doubtless afford me further opportunity of pointing out other inaccuracies, other errors and misrepresentations."

This leads to the assumption that many other things in the book are accurate and true.

In another place Trotzky says:

"In this case a revolutionary would only have the right to write politically as Eastman does, if he were to oppose another party to ours."

Thus comrade Trotzky admits that a revolutionary might write as Eastman has written. Consequently he regards him as a revolutionary. He only denies him to write as he does, because he does not supplement the representations of his book by a proposal to substitute the Communist Party of Russia by another party.

It would thus seem that comrade Trotzky indicates that under present circumstances a revolutionary Party and a revolutionary International can exist outside of the Communist Party and the Communist International. It seems as if he reproaches Eastman for having written his book, before this revolutionary party was formed.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France considers such a declaration to be extremely dangerous, for it places a tool in the hands of those anxious to disintegrate the communist movement.

* * *

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France considers the ambiguity of comrade Trotzky's reply to be even more dangerous than Eastman's book itself.

The Communist Party of France has asked comrade Trotzky, through its delegation to the Enlarged Executive and through its representatives in the E. C. C. I., if he declares himself at one with the people of the "Proletarian Revolution", who resemble Eastman in making use of his name and his alleged friendship for the purpose of calumniating and discrediting the Communist Party of Russia, the Soviet government, and the whole Communist International.

Up to the present the French Party has received no reply from comrade Trotzky, so that Souvarine, Rosmer, Monatte and Co. are still enabled to continue their utilisation of his name and their combat against the Communist Party of France, precisely at a moment when the C. P. of France is in the midst of its struggle against the war in Morocco and is exposed to the full force of the blows of the suppression policy of the government.

The C. C. of the C. P. of France begs comrade Trotzky to put an end to a situation which is exceedingly dangerous for the Communist International by reason of its disintegrating influence upon the young Parties in course of formation.

The C. C. of the C. P. of France is of the opinion that comrade Trotzky cannot remain any longer in this ambiguous position between the bitterest enemies of Communism and the Communist International, and that the matter demands an immediate, definite, and unequivocal reply to every point.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.

The Situation in the Communist Party of Italy.

By Gramsci (Rome).

Comrade Gramsci recently gave a detailed report before the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy, on the inner situation in the Italian Party. We give below the most essential parts of this report. Ed.

The conditions under which the CP. of Italy has to fight, are extremely difficult. It has to fight on two fronts against the Fascist terror and against the reformist terror exercised by the trade unions of the D'Aragona type. The regime of terror has considerably weakened the powers of the Italian trade unions. The reformist leaders exploit this state of affairs for their own ends, and undermine the action of the revolutionary minority in the trade unions. The masses are anxious for unity, and to carry on the fight within the "Confederazione Generale del Lavoro" (Federation of Free Trade Unions). The reformist leaders thus find themselves obliged to oppose the organisation of the masses. At the last congress of the Trade Union Federation D'Aragona proclaimed that the number of members in the Trade Union Federation must not be permitted to exceed one million. This means that the leaders of the free trade unions only want 5.5% out of 15 million Italian workers to be organised. As adherents of the Social Democratic policy of joint action with the bourgeois parties, they do not want to organise the peasantry, since this would weaken the basis of the bourgeois democratic parties.

How is reformism to be combatted and yet a split in the trade union movement to be avoided? We see one possibility only: the organisation of factory nuclei. Since the reformists oppose the concentration of revolutionary forces, it is the task of the factory nuclei to gather all the factory workers around the Party, and to strengthen the "Inner Factory Committees" or, where these do not exist, to form Propaganda Committees. These last should be mass organisations adapted to developing the trade union movement, and to participating in the general struggles against capitalism and against the ruling regime.

In this respect the Italian communists are in a much more difficult position than the Russian Bolsheviks before the war, for they have to hold their own simultaneously against Fascist reaction and against reformist reaction. But the more difficult the situation, the firmer must be the establishment of the communist factory nuclei, both with regard to ideology and to organisation.

In these questions there is no disagreement in the standpoints held by the Communist Party of Italy and the Communist International. The Italian Commission of the Enlarged Executive was occupied solely and exclusively with the inner Bolshevisation of the Italian Communist Party.

Comrade Bordiga, who was called upon to take part in the work of the Enlarged Executive, has declined to do so, although he agreed, at the V. World Congress, to form one of the Executive of the Communist International. His attitude is the more regrettable that in the Trotsky question he adopted a standpoint not only acutely antagonistic to that of the Executive, but even antagonistic to that of Trotsky himself. It is to be regretted that comrade Bordiga would not take part in the discussion on the Trotsky question; if he had gone to Moscow for this purpose, he would have had the opportunity of hearing the views and proclamations of the Executive and the opinions of the Parties, and could at the same time have expressed his own views.

The Commission which should have discussed this question with comrade Bordiga has continued to pursue the policy which the Party must pursue if the Bolshevik idea is to be helped to victory. It has examined the general conditions ruling in the Communist Party of Italy with reference to the five fundamental characteristics demanded by Lenin of every really revolutionary Communist Party. These five points are as follows:

1. Every communist must be a Marxist. (Today we say: Marxist-Leninist.)

2. Every communist must take his place in the front ranks of proletarian action.

3. Every communist must abhor mere revolutionary pharaseology, he must be at the same time a revolutionary and a real politician.

4. Every communist must submit his will to that of his Party, and judge everything from the standpoint of his Party. (He must be a truly disciplined member of the Party, in the highest sense of the word.)

5. Every communist must be an internationalist.

We may say that the CP. of Italy fulfils the second condition, but none of the other four.

The CP. of Italy lacks a thorough Marxist-Leninist teaching. In this lack we observe the remains of the traditions of the Socialist movement in Italy, which avoided those theoretical discussions which might have aroused the interest of the masses, and contributed to their ideological education. This state of affairs is extremely regrettable, and comrade Bordiga contributes to its continuance by confusing the tendency, peculiar to reformists, of substituting general "cultural work" for revolutionary political action, with the endeavours of the Communist Party to so raise the intellectual level of its members that they are able to grasp the immediate and distant goals of the revolutionary movement.

The Party has succeeded in developing a feeling for discipline in its ranks. But a lack of international spirit is still observable in its relations to the Communist International. The Bordiga group, which thinks to ennoble itself with the designation of "Italian Left" has created a sort of local patriotism inconsistent with the discipline of a world organisation. The situation created by comrade Bordiga is similar to that created by comrade Serrati after the II. Congress in Moscow, and that situation led to the expulsion of the Maximalists from the Communist International.

The greatest weakness of the Party lies however in its love for the revolutionary phrase so often stigmatised by Lenin. If this does not characterise Bordiga himself, it characterises the elements grouping themselves around him. The extremism of Bordiga is the result of the special conditions of life obtaining among the Italian working class. But the Italian working class forms only a minority of the working population. It is concentrated for the most part to one part of the country. Under these circumstances their Party falls easily under the influence of those middle strata who are capable to a certain extent of steering the workers into a course actually opposed to their interests. On the other hand the situation in the Socialist Party up to the time of the Leghorn Congress was calculated to develop Bordiga's ideology.

Lenin, in his "Infantile Diseases of 'Radicalism' in Communism", defines this situation in the following sentences:

"In a Party where there is a Turati and a Serrati who does not combat Turati, there must inevitably be a Bordiga as well."

But it is less naturally inevitable that comrade Bordiga should have preserved his ideology in our Communist Party. The struggle against opportunism has rendered Bordiga so pessimistic that he is sceptical as to the possibility of saving the proletariat and its Party from the intrusion of petty bourgeois ideology, except by the employment of extremely setlike tactics, which would however contradict the two leading principles of Bolshevism: The unification of the workers with the peasants, and the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement.

Are there still other tendencies in the Communist Party of Italy? What is their nature, and what dangers do they represent? An examination into the inner situation in the Party convinces us that it has not yet attained that degree of revolutionary maturity characteristic of a really Bolshevik Party, and that it has not even succeeded as yet in amalgamating into a whole the various groups of which it is composed. The CP. of Italy has been formed out of three groups.

1. Bordiga's antiparliamentary fraction (fraction abstaining from voting).

2. The group of the "Ordine Nuovo" ("New Order") and of the "Avanti" ("Forward") in Turin.

3. The Gennari-Marabini group.

Bordiga's fraction was formed as national organisation before the Leghorn Congress, but it occupied itself solely with the inner life of the Socialist party, without possessing the political experience imperative for mass action.

The "Ordine Nuovo" group formed an actual fraction in the province of Piedmont. It developed its action among the masses, and showed itself capable of establishing a close connection between the inner problems of the Party and the demands of the Piedmontese proletariat.

The overwhelming majority of the members of the CP. of Italy are elements which remained in the Communist International after the Leghorn Congress, headed by numerous of the old leading comrades of the Socialist party: **Gennari, Marabini, Bombacci, Misiano, Salvatore, Graziadei** etc.

Without a full comprehension of the various elements composing the CP. of Italy it is impossible to understand either its crises or its present situation.

The situation was made worse last year by the affiliation of the "Fraction of the III. International" of the "Maximalist Party" to us. This "Fraction of the III. International" formerly carried on bitter personal and sectarian struggles within the Maximalist party; it deals with the fundamental questions of policy and organisation as being of secondary importance.

For instance there is a **Graziadei** question. We have to combat the deviations spread abroad in his last book. It would be wrong to assert that comrade Graziadei is a political danger, and that his revisionist conception of Marxism could generate an ideological current. But his reformism might contribute to strengthen the Right tendencies still concealed in the Party.

The affiliation of the "Fraction of the III. International", which has retained its Maximalist character to a great degree, might even afford the Right tendencies a certain organisatory basis.

It must be granted in general that a **Right** danger is probable in our Party. The masses, disappointed by the failures of the "constitutional opposition" (of the Socialists and bourgeois), have streamed into our Party and strengthened it, but not to the extent to which they have streamed to Fascism, which has succeeded in establishing itself. In this situation a Right wing might easily come into existence — if it does not exist already — which, despairing of being able to overthrow the Fascist regime rapidly enough, adopts a policy of passivity which would make it possible for the bourgeoisie to exploit the proletariat for anti-Fascist election manoeuvres. In any case, the Party must recognise that the Right danger is a probability, and must first meet this danger by ideological influence; later, if necessary, with the aid of disciplinary measures.

The **danger** from the **Right** is merely **probable**, whilst that from the **Left** is **obvious**. This Left danger forms an obstacle to the development of the Party. It must therefore be combatted by propaganda and by political action. The action taken by the "Extrem Left" threatens the unity of our organisation, for it strives to form a party within the Party, and to replace Party discipline by fraction discipline. We have not the slightest wish to break with comrade Bordiga and those who call themselves his friends. Nor do we seek to alter the fundamentals of the Party as created at the Leghorn Congress and confirmed at the Rome Congress. What we must demand is that our Party does not content itself with a mechanical affiliation to the Communist International, but actually appropriates the principles and discipline of the Comintern. But in actual fact 90% of our Party members, if not more, have today no knowledge whatever of the methods of organisation upon which our relations to the International are based. We believe that we shall arrive at an understanding with comrade Bordiga, and we trust that he believes this a well, and as desirous of it as we are.

The CP. of Italy will hold its Conference shortly. In the discussion preceding the Party Conference we shall have to deal with the present political situation and the tasks of the Party in Italy. Since the last parliamentary elections the CP. of Italy has been carrying on energetic political work, participated in by most of its members. Thanks to this work, the Party has tripled its membership. Our Party has shown much energy and realisation of actualities in preaching the problem of revolution in Italy as the problem of the alliance between the workers and the peasantry. In short, the CP. of Italy has become an important factor in the political life of the country.

In the course of the above mentioned work, a certain unification of character, a **homogeneity**, has been developed within the Party. This homogeneity, one of the most important results of our Bolshevisation, must be firmly and finally established by

our Party Conference. We shall discuss the international situation and the proportions of social forces in Italy, concentrating our efforts upon the two following points: The **development of our Party**, which must be such as to render the Party capable of leading the proletariat to victory (the problem of Bolshevisation); and the **political cation** which must be carried on for the purpose of gathering together all anti-capitalist forces and establishing a workers' state. To this end it is necessary to study the conditions in Italy with the utmost exactitude, so that the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry may be established, and the hegemony of the proletariats thus secured.

ORGANISATION

How is a Factory Nucleus Formed?

(Material from the Org. Department of the E. C. C. I.)

There is still a tendency in Party organisation to build up factory nuclei by rule of thumb, namely, only after the Party members have been registered according to the places of work where they are employed, the formation of various nuclei is taken in hand one after the other on the instructions of the Party Executive. These Party Executive forget that it essential to encourage initiative in every individual Party member, and to make use of it in the formation and development of nuclei. It should be made **incumbent on every Party comrade to find out Communist Party members and sympathisers in the enterprise, and to form the nucleus together with the Party members in the enterprise.** Should the comrade in question be the only Communist in the enterprise, he must endeavour to recruit Party members among the workers, in order that a nucleus may be formed.

All Party members should of course be registered to their places of employment. The working places too should be registered to enable us to proceed systematically with the formation of nuclei and to exercise proper control. But we must be certain in systematising this work that we do not discourage **self-activity among our Party comrades**, for a systematic development of nuclei is only possible if full scope is given to the initiative of Party members and everyone of them is drawn into the work.

In order to show comrades how nuclei are to be formed it would be advisable to publish in the daily press as frequently as possible **good examples of nuclei organisations.** We give below a few such examples, hoping that as many comrades as possible will write to the Party Executives about these questions, in order to obtain an exchange of experiences by means of the press.

1.

The Nucleus Chairman of a Mining Enterprise has sent us the following account:

"In our mine various localities are represented. I got into touch with the managing committees of the Communist local groups, and got from them a list of comrades employed in our mine. I picked out among them the most reliable, and we all met on a Sunday. We discussed nucleus work in the enterprise. The only question was whether we should work illegally or legally. After we had decided to work illegally, and after we had agreed on the best manner of getting hold of all the comrades, we held a meeting, and the subject of the report was: nucleus work in the enterprise. After a thorough discussion we proceeded to constitute the nucleus. There are three shifts in our mines and we elected in every shift a shift-nucleus leader, as well as a literature and trade union secretary. These comrades constituted the executive of the nucleus as a whole.

The elected comrades received from the foreman of this leading organ instructions to draw all Party members in the enterprise into regular work. I made the nucleus leaders responsible for the carrying out of the work decided upon. The nucleus leader of every section were given a list of all the comrades working in his section, and he must always keep in touch with them. I as chairman try to find out whether the nucleus members of every shift receive the instructions which I give their leader. Thus it is possible to draw every comrade into practical collaboration.

Our nucleus meets once a fortnight. The nucleus leaders of every shift are responsible for their nucleus members attendance at the meetings. Every department leader must present a report on the work of the last two weeks, and this makes the meetings interesting.

Collection of membership subscriptions in the mine, is certainly the most difficult question, because the Party Executive has not made any concrete decisions on it. There are local groups who still stick to the old traditions and have their doubts about nucleus work. But I am doing my best to solve this problem of collecting subscriptions in our enterprise in the following way. A sub-cashier is elected in every shift and a head cashier of the nucleus for the whole enterprise. The sub-cashiers of the various shifts settle accounts with the nucleus cashier, and the latter with the cashier of the local group. In this manner it will be possible to collect membership subscriptions in our mine.

P. M., Nucleus Chairman of the Mine."

Another Nucleus Chairman has sent us the following communication on the formation of the Factory Nucleus:

"I got a list of comrades employed in the enterprise where I work from the local Party Executive. Some of them I knew already personally, and the others I had seen at factory meetings at which I have always been a keen observer. I thereupon called together the comrades from the various sections whom I knew personally, and gave them the names of Party members together with an invitation to a meeting to be held the next evening. I did not place on the agenda the dry subject "Establishment of a Factory Nucleus", but a matter in which the workers of the enterprise were keenly interested just then. The results were brilliant. Only two of these invited did not come, and one of them had sent an excuse. We did our business and established a factory nucleus.

I notified the local Party executive of the formation of a factory nucleus in the Works. The second meeting was held immediately after working hours in a hall near by. The Party Executive sent to this meeting a reporter who gave a political address. We then connected the report with our enterprise and drew from it the lessons necessary for us. The next day we were able to do much better oral propaganda work than before, as we were now able to connect the small needs and demands of the workers with the political events.

I must record that since the establishment of the factory nucleus, the comrades are doing much better Party work than before. Only now have we a sound basis for our propaganda work in the factory, and we are sure that our leaflets are really distributed there. After establishing this apparatus and extending the factory nucleus by gradually getting hold of all the Communists, we proceeded with the publication of a factory newspaper. At first of course we went about it in a rather clumsy manner, but after receiving a few hints from an editor, we soon got into the work. Our factory newspapers have of course received particular attention from the management of the works, but we Communists have now the satisfaction that non-Party workers approach us with the request for more factory newspapers and themselves bring contributions for the newspaper. We utilised this politisation of the workers and connected the sale of our factory newspapers with a collection for the Red Aid, and at election time, for the election fund. The result has been very satisfactory.

My experience in connection with the factory nucleus is as follows: There were comrades who were not at all keen on it, they were too much bound up with the old residential form of organisation. But soon they recognised that factory nuclei are much more advantageous to the Party than the old form of organisation. The Party has considerably increased its influence in the enterprise, and comrades are much more closely united than before. In conclusion I should like to say to all comrades:

Establish Factory Nuclei everywhere, publish a Factory Newspaper in every factory, publish your experiences in the Party Press in order that other comrades may profit by them. If you do this, the influence of the Communist Party will spread, and the Party will be able to do justice to the tasks before it.

**Signed: Factory Nucleus Chairman
in"**

II.

The Nucleus Chairman of a medium enterprise has sent us the following account:

"The factory nucleus question is today the main topic of Party discussion. It is no doubt one of the most important questions, and all comrades should not only take an interest in this question, but should work energetically on this field. There will probably be many comrades who will ask themselves the question: how should I set about the establishment of a factory nucleus? It is true the matter seems simple enough when one looks through the good advice and the hints supplied by the Central Committee. I admit that the difficulties connected with establishing a well-functioning nucleus in a larger factory or works where workers are not under very strict control, are not so great that they cannot be overcome. It is a different matter altogether where a smaller enterprise is concerned, where the foreman or employer can control everyone of his workers at any time of the day. Many comrades will have experienced this of themselves, and a good few had probably to put up with the consequences of this.

I am employed in a small enterprise which has the reputation that workers are under control almost every minute of the working day. Nevertheless I was determined from my first day in this factory to awaken my seemingly indolent colleagues from their sleep and to try eventually to find out if there were any comrades among them. I must confess, this was an arduous task. I was told by my fellow workers that the "old man" took good care that any one even the least suspected of spreading revolutionary tendencies among the workers of the factory, soon was shown the road. Hence caution was of the utmost importance.

As I could not think of any better way, I tried to be at the end of the working day always the last to pay a visit to a certain small, quiet place, the walls of which I covered with small handbills. Those who did not tear down these handbills, were sure to be sympathisers, and may be even comrades. On the following day I kept my eye on the door of this certain place and endeavoured under the pretext of feeling ill to enter the said place every time a fellow worker had just left it. The first time I did this I noticed that none of the handbills had been removed. I took note who had been inside. When I did this the second time, there was the same result — none of the handbills had been removed. But the third time everything had been torn down! Then I knew that there was no hope of making friends with this lot.

I carried on this game a few days running, and in the course of these days I knew my fellow workers almost by heart.

I joined in the conversation of fellow workers whom I in my secret heart considered to be comrades, in order to make quite sure, and, lo and behold, one of them showed me his membership card. Henceforth we worked hand in hand, we approached our fellow workers singly and worked them up as one should do in such cases — and the result was amazing. We discovered that not less than 8 comrades worked in this enterprise, and they all told me that they had mistrusted one another. Not one of them dared attempt to establish a nucleus. But now the nucleus is there. We are of course very pleased with our success, and although we must not make ourselves too conspicuous in the factory, for fear of being given the push, we have been able to enlighten a good few of our fellow workers on the treacherous policy of the Social Democrat Party, on the shameless attitude of employers and the disgraceful treatment meted out by foremen to the workers. Any future wage struggles do not give us any uneasiness, for we are convinced that our work has not been in vain, especially as 8 strong supporters at factory meetings out of a staff of 50 are by no means a negligible quantity."

A comrade from the Building Trade has sent us the following account of the establishment of a Factory Nucleus:

"When the Party issued the slogan of reorganisation on a factory nucleus basis, I immediately proceeded to elaborate in our trade (building workers) a plan for the establishment of nuclei. I submitted this plan to several of my fellow workers, but did not meet at first with much encouragement from them. I saw however, that this was only

due to the fact that although these comrades possessed membership cards, they had never seriously considered why they had joined our Party nor what are our aims. This being so, I told myself that I must be patient, and I proceeded to organise a meeting of comrades from various places where builders were employed.

This meeting was quite well attended for a first meeting. I explained my plans to them. Several comrades put down their names for participation in the discussion. They said that the plan was all right, but that it could not be carried out in the building trade, as Party comrades were scattered because of the nature of their work, necessitating transference from one building site to another. Others again were of the opinion that one should not complicate matters, as we had already a trade union fraction. They said that this was sufficient and that there was no need for a special factory nucleus organisation.

I then tried to explain my standpoint to the comrades, telling them that we could very well unite the Communist builders of our entire locality into one factory nucleus, as the formation of several nuclei was fraught with great difficulties in our trade in which workers are continually shifting from place to place. I told them that if we stuck to the trade union fraction work which we had done hitherto, this would be by no means a factory nucleus organisation. I also said that comrades must above all realise that our aim is to build up the Party on a factory nucleus basis, and that therefore factory nuclei are of fundamental importance. Unlike fractions, which only discuss and organise work in the trade unions, factory nuclei are the medium through which all Party work should be done (carrying out Party activity, propaganda for the Party and the press, collection of membership contributions).

We thereupon proceeded to form a managing committee, making certain that the largest building centres should be taken into consideration. We also appointed a nucleus representative for every building site. The first work of the nucleus was to collect signatures in favour of the initiation of a plebiscite in Switzerland against excessive taxation. Every nucleus member was given three to four sheets and a list of the places where he should collect signatures. Collection of membership contributions from all workers engaged in the building trade is also done now through the nucleus.

Next time I will tell you about our further work and experiences.

Red Builder."

Org. Department's Note: The above example of the formation of nuclei in the building trade refers to a small locality. In larger localities, Party comrades employed on various building sites of one and the same employer should be organised into one factory nucleus. Especially in the building trade, it is essential to publish factory nucleus newspapers, as it is difficult to exercise thorough and continuous influence over workers employed in this industry which necessitates frequent shifting from place to place.

The Nucleus Chairman of a medium size industrial enterprise has sent us the following account:

"We started our important work with the Party slogan: **To the factories!** There were in our factory, comrades from various local groups, and they were organised in a nucleus. We started with 20 Communist members and we proceeded to elect the executive whose composition is: nucleus organiser, Org. organiser, Agitprop. organiser, steward for processions, demonstrations etc., trade union organiser, cashier and Red Aid organiser. Then we divided all the members into groups of five allotting a leader to each, and into a group of Communist women. The whole factory was divided into sections, and every group of five was allotted one of the sections as its field of activity.

Membership subscriptions are collected weekly through the leaders of these groups of five, and this ensures regularity. Nucleus meetings are held whenever important political and economic questions arise. These questions are discussed and this ensures united action by the whole nucleus within the factory. **Regular** nucleus meetings are held once a month after working hours. The membership of our nucleus has already gone up from 20 to 39. From a staff of 350 people, 103 are readers of the Communist press. There is no special need for factory nucleus newspapers, as Communist news-

papers can be obtained in the factory. It is only when one is compelled to work illegally and Communist newspapers are prohibited, that there is work to do for the editor of a factory nucleus newspapers. Leaflets, etc. are distributed in the factory. Well, no sooner did the nucleus begin to be busy than the firm began to hunt for the nucleus organiser. Communist election addresses had been posted in the factory — hence the alarm of the Management. But as our nucleus organiser is invisible, the hunt was in vain. We had successful collections for Red Aid in our factory.

The successes achieved by a capable nucleus show us that we are on the right way and give us hope of a victorious revolution. Well, comrades, who work in factories: earn to form factory nuclei, make factories strongholds of the working class. Carry out the Bolshevisation of the Party and ensure thereby the ultimate victory of the working class.

No factory without a nucleus!

On with the work!

Long live Factory Nuclei, the Strongholds of Revolution!"

Org. Departments' note: To prevent wrong deductions being made from this report, we would like to say that it is most expedient to organise factory nuclei according to the division of the factory into sections, blocks, or workshops. In general, mechanical divisions into groups of five is not to be recommended. But sectional nuclei should be formed where such a thing has become an absolute necessity.

It is not necessary to form special groups of Communist women, for our women comrades should carry on the same kind of work and in the same manner as the men comrades. Propaganda and agitation among women factory workers is not only the business of women comrades, but also that of our men comrades. But this does not mean that no special women's groups of women sympathisers with us should be formed among whom our women comrades could do the necessary work.

Wherever possible, nucleus meetings should be held once a week. If these meetings are well prepared and not too drawn out, attendance will be better than if a nucleus meeting is held once a month and has an agenda which takes up too much time.

Factory nucleus newspapers should be published also in factories where Communist newspapers are widely read. The daily press cannot allow enough space for the discussion of questions arising in all the factories. A factory nucleus newspaper appeals directly to the workers of the respective factory. It deals with factory questions and connects with them the general questions of the labour movement and other political questions. The main task of the factory nucleus newspaper is to tell the workers continuously what they must do to improve their position.

OUR PROBLEMS

Graziadei's Revision of Marxims.

By Hermann Duncker (Berlin).

4. Graziadei's Price Theory.

When the time comes for the great Marx-eater to present the correct theory of value, he carries out an extremely unscientific piece of legerdemain. In chapter VII, which has the very promising title: "The real process of price determination", we learn (Page 61) after a great utilisation of language and many stylistic repetitions, that — "the price of commodities is determined . . . by a continuing process of successive comparisons which has always the previously existing prices as the point of reference" (Page 72). That means however, and Graziadei himself blurts it naively out — that "the only scientific laws of price are the oscillations of prices on the market" (Page 118).

With this we have got the following fundamental theses of Graziadei:

1. The theory of exchange-value can only be built up scientifically as a price theory (see Page 38).

2. A price theory can only explain scientifically the oscillations of prices (see Page 118).

And with this, the "Criticism of the Marxian Theory of Value", as the sub-title of Graziadei's book reads, is exhausted! The correct theory of exchange-value must recognise the exchange-value (price) as a given and pre-existing fact!!! (Page 182).

This criticism of Marxism is truly extremely modest in its final results at least!

At the moment of writing we do not know whether that excellent little pamphlet of Marx "Value, Price and Profit" (from Engels' literary remains, published first in English in 1893 and also in German in the same year and again in 1923) is translated into Italian. But it should under no circumstances remain unknown to professor Graziadei. Already in this little work, and naturally, later also in "Capital", Marx distinguishes with all possible clarity between the value of a commodity and the movements of its market price:

"On the other hand, the oscillations of market prices depend upon the fluctuations of supply and demand."

(Marx: "Value, Price and Profit", Socialist Labour Press, Glasgow, Page 26.)

The whole "positive" part of Graziadei's book presents a theory concerning the effect of the fluctuations of supply and demand upon market prices. Very interesting, with schematical price curves, price statistics etc., in short, a scientific work which we gladly recognise. But what has all that got to do with a criticism of Marx? Nothing, absolutely nothing! Someone investigates scientifically the expansion or contraction of living bodies in consequence of variations in temperature, and calls that a criticism of the — Darwinian theory!

Only in one place does Graziadei work his way back along the chain of traditional and accepted prices to the first link — to the „first determination of price": Naturally, we are fobbed off with a tale of Robinson, in fact five or six Robinsons at once who, after their rescue from shipwreck, "need to exchange certain products amongst themselves". (Page 61.) Apparently, according to Graziadei's idea, they were born with an urge to exchange, like the pre-historic hunters and pre-historic fishers of Ricardo. However, let that pass. What happens now? We have just returned home from the burial of the Marxian theory of value, really extremely interested as to what determines this first price, and Graziadei answers:

"As at the beginning of this new exchange they are completely independent of any already existing prices, they will certainly come to some agreement in the beginning in order to determine the first conditions of exchange" (Page 61).

This is actually all that Graziadei has to say to us. The price is — "some agreement". Now the first price is there, and for all time following it is only necessary to alter accordingly the "already existing prices" to "vary them in their level" (Page 113), all the rest is only — price oscillations. One tears one's hair out in despair: is that really everything that we get by exchanging Marx's theory of value with Graziadei? But there it is, not another word. People come to "some agreement" in order to determine the first price, and everything else is done by supply and demand. How they came to the first "agreement", whether they did it according to the colour of the object, or according to its weight, or its utility or perhaps even after all according to the amount of labour power embodied in it — Graziadei has no single word to say. Prices are apparently created out of nothing. This is the result of comparing Graziadei with Marx!

In his further investigations with regard to price, Graziadei splashes merrily in the shallow waters of "orthodox political economy". "Orthodox" he calls the bourgeois political economy since Marx. In one moment of self-realisation, Graziadei says:

"One must seek the way of truth as the holy Augustin demanded — not on the path of pride but on the way of humility" (Page 114).

Unfortunately, the humility only puts in an appearance after Graziadei believes that he has brought Marx to a fall, which he undertook with no little pride. Then Graziadei attaches himself with humility to the tail end of the bourgeois political economists and attempts to make an Italian salad of the "satisfactory results", "the progress which the orthodox political economists have made since the publication of Marx's 'Capital'" and the "surviving" remains of Marxism (Page 163).

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5. Concluding Remarks.

Before all the problems which are "insoluble riddles" to the vulgar economists, Graziadei remains standing just as humble as they. For instance, price oscillations, as Graziadei declares, arrive at a "point of balance", at which the "average percentage of industrial profit is guaranteed" (Page 134, see also Page 175). Graziadei puts it for example at 10%. But what determines this average profit, professor Graziadei? Graziadei remains obstinately silent. He could have discovered the answer from Marx:

"The determination of surplus-value itself however comes only from the determination of value through labour-time. Without this, the average profit is the average of nothing, simply a figment of the imagination and could be just as well a 100% as 10%." (Marx: "Theories upon Surplus-Value" II. Part, German Edition, 1905, page 37).

* * *

Graziadei accuses the Marxian theory in particular of not explaining the formation of monopoly price, that is:

"the differential level which characterises the normal price in a situation of monopoly and syndicates in comparison with price in a state of competition" (Page 165).

That is correct. Marx definitely refuses to apply his theory to the formation of price under monopoly. Marx says:

"When we speak of a monopoly price, we mean in a general way a price which is determined only by the eagerness of the purchasers to buy and by their solvency, independently of the price which is determined by the general price of production and by the value of the products" (Marx: "Capital", Vol. III, Page 898).

Usurious profit — and monopoly tribute which is forced from the buyer by an increase of price made possible by monopoly, is to be characterised as such — is just as impossible to define scientifically, as the magnitude of the booty obtained in a robbery. If one wishes to philosophise about it, then it must be said that the thief firstly cannot take more than was in the safe, and secondly, also not more than he is able to get away with unobserved.

When however, Graziadei, referring to the significance of modern monopolisation, declares triumphantly that modern economy stands thus far outside of the Marxian theory, (Page 165), then he makes an extremely careless judgment. Monopoly cannot reign absolutely in capitalist economy. Foreign competition remains, the competition of substitute goods, all that latent competition which appears when usurious profit becomes too monstrous, remains. All this means that monopoly price remains in a certain relation to the labour-value of the commodities, no matter how elastic and roomy the relation may be. Exactly here, Graziadei should have remembered his own often-repeated "law of historical continuity" of economic phenomena (Page 51). Value remains the basis of price, finally also of monopoly price!

One does in fact not know at what to be most astonished in this communist Graziadei, the insolence with which he gives himself out as a Marx-killer, or the naiveté with which he goes around the decisive problems.

Apart from everything else, there are a number of scientific curiosities which Graziadei presents to his attentive reader. Thus for instance, when Graziadei says:

"The employer does not pay wages after the labour power of the worker has concluded a certain amount of productions; he pays the worker already before". (Page 177, also Page 107.)

The "capitalist therefore meets the worker with an advance, that is wages" (Page 177). Can the employers in Mussolini's country have altered so much? We believe that the Italian workers will make the matter sufficiently clear to their professor. For in Italy also the workers are those who first of all "credit" the employer, that is receive their wages only after the wage period, that is after the work has been performed.

Graziadei will try to cover his Marx critique by objecting: but I recognise the exploitation of the worker, the fact of the existence of "surplus-labour"! Admitted, Graziadei makes thus far efforts to appear still as a "Marxist". He even speaks of

"surplus-value" (or, as he calls it, "surplus-price"). Unfortunately, the matter is only made worse by this. To recognise the historically obvious surplus-labour of the slave or the serf does not make one a Marxist. What is decisive is to prove the surplus-labour of the modern proletariat, that is, to show how surplus-value is formed under the capitalist mode of production. But from the attempts of Graziadei to break the theory of value from the Marxian economy, the conception "surplus-value" becomes vague, or at least, no longer comes decisively from the exploitation of the worker, but from the manipulations in commerce. Graziadei says:

"Labour is neither the cause nor the measure of exchange-value (price)" (Page 170),

"surplus-labour is not the direct cause of surplus-price" (Page 169),

"equal quantities of surplus-labour produce varying surplus-prices" (Page 184).

According to Graziadei, the level of surplus-price depends chiefly upon the success of the capitalists in pulling the ear of the consumer with regard to prices. (Page 187)*). With this however, the essence of profit on capital is turned into the realm of vulgar economy, as it celebrated in reformism its most dangerous triumph for the working-class movement. The consumer pays too high a price, and the worker receives too low a wage. One alters at both ends therefore and — capitalism is once more splendidly justified!

Enough of details! Those parts of Graziadei's book which really attempt a criticism of the Marxian theory of value are fundamentally false, those things in his book which can be used however, have absolutely nothing to do with Marx whatever. Why did not Graziadei limit himself to an investigation of the oscillations of prices? Why did he garnish his investigations with such a passionate attack upon the Marxian theory of value which only succeeds in showing how little Graziadei has understood or wanted to understand of Marx? Cui bono? Who is served by it?

The revisionism of Bernstein felt it to be in general its historical task to stupify once again the working class which was awakening to class consciousness. The professorial revisionism turns its attention first of all to the student youth. They are to be prevented from approaching Marx with too much respect. There also there are "many mistakes and a spark of truth" ect. etc.

*) In another place Graziadei rejects decisively the explanation of surplus-value as a "nominal addition" to the price of a commodity. (Pages 167 and 171) What is then correct!?

"With an understanding of the relation, all theoretical belief in the permanent necessity of the existing circumstances falls before the approaching practical collapse. It is therefore here an absolute interest of the ruling class to render the thoughtless confusion eternal." (Marx: "Letters to Kugelmann").

In this way the intellectual youth are to be prepared to form the fascist body-guard of capital.

It is a matter to be taken very seriously. Every criticism of Marx — no matter from what ideals it is born — is to-day no longer a literary hobby for the quiet study for it works out politically, and counter-revolutionary at that!

OUR MARTYRS

Nicola Christov Gabrovsky.

He was a veteran of Communism in Bulgaria.

He was born in 1863 at Tirnovo. After returning from the International Socialist Congress in 1889 he began propaganda for socialism in Bulgaria by founding a group in Sofia, composed of workers and intellectuals, under the name of "Nov Zivot" (New Life). His pamphlet on "The Moral Task of the Intellectual" published in 1891, shows his development to Marxism. In co-operation with D. Blagoev he laid the foundation stone of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Bulgaria, whose left wing developed later into the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

His youth was devoted to energetic propaganda, causing his dismissal from his position as grammar school teacher in Plovdiv (beginning of 1891). This gave him the opportunity of devoting himself entirely to the cause, and of playing the leading rôle in the drawing up of the programme and in the organisation of the Social Democratic Party.

Nicola Gabrovsky remained true to our ideals in his old age. When over 60 years of age, he fell a victim to the White Terror. Even before the September insurrection he was brutally maltreated, and only his physical tenacity preserved his life.

Comrade Gabrovsky worked as political speaker and writer. His ardent speeches aroused the utmost enthusiasm.

On 13. July he was murdered by Zankov's myrmidons in his house at Tirnovo. Working Bulgaria will avenge him.