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The Great Struggle of the Ruhr Miners.

By Peter Maslovski (Essen).

Since the following article was written it appears that the strike of the Ruhr miners is practically at an end as, according to the latest telegrams, large numbers of the strikers have returned to work. The article nevertheless retains its interest as setting forth the origin of the strike and its tremendous importance for the German and international proletariat. Ed.

Preliminary.

The mining proletariat the Ruhr is that proletarian class of the population upon which is concentrated with a special weight and hardship all the results of the wasteful conduct of industry in the war, all the costs of the post-war period and all the burdens of the international understanding of the capitalists at the expense of the working class, whether it be through the Micum agreement or the Experts' Report.

Already in the war, when Stinnes still had the proud plans of uniting the coal of the Ruhr with the ore of Lorraine by means of huge annexations, the chief burdens of the bloody armament madness fell upon the Ruhr miners in their role as producers of the costly raw material, coal. In the mines, where a completely military driving system prevailed, the miners worked like niggers at a feverish rate "for the fatherland", that is for the profit of the mining magnates of the type of Stinnes who before all others became the richest man in Europe during this time when the Ruhr miners, along with thousands of prisoners of war, had to work themselves to death for him under bayonets and hunger.

After the November storm in 1918 the revolutionary wave in the Ruhr district was decidedly the strongest of all. The

miners demanded the socialisation of the mines. One strike wave followed the other. The undertakings were occupied and attempts at socialisation were made until Noske, the Social Democratic Field Marshal Commander-in-Chief of the counter-revolution drove the rebelling miners back into the mines with machine guns to slave for the coal barons.

During the Kapp rising the mining proletariat raised an army practically out of the ground, and if the discussion of the Bielefeld points had not taken place, if an unexampled treachery had not induced the struggling miners to give up their weapons, it is highly probable that the Social Democratic republic of Stinnes and Ebert would have gone to the devil before an army of about 100,000 armed miners.

After the Kapp rising came the blossom time of bourgeois democracy. Real wages sank more and more under the madness of inflation which ensured the mine-owners huge profits. It was the Social Democrats in leading state positions who always succeeded in imposing overtime upon the necks of the miners. The seven hour shift, which practically dropped into the lap of the miners without any effort in the November revolution, was lost in the course of the swindle of reconstruction, of the community of interests between the mining capitalists and the trade union bureaucrats.

Then came the march into the Ruhr and with it the passive resistance. Suddenly the Ruhr miner saw himself lauded by the German bourgeoisie and sought after by the generals of the Entente capitalists. But already in May 1923, four months after the invasion of the Ruhr when the huge shrinking of his pay through the inflation forced him into a great strike, he was nothing else than a traitor for the German capitalists and for

the Entente generals a disturber, who had to be kept in the pits with the bayonet. Herr Lutterbeck of Düsseldorf wrote at that time that historical, but for the German bourgeoisie the shameful letter to General Degoutte that he should lend the French bayonets to the German authorities for the defeat of the German workers in the same way as Bismarck had lent Prussian cannon to the French bourgeoisie in 1871 in order to drown the Communards in a sea of blood. In this period of the reconciliation between Stinnes and Poincaré the mining capitalists managed splendidly to extend their workings at the cost of the state by the Ruhr credits, that is at the cost of the proletarian tax payers.

When in autumn the Micum agreement was finally concluded, the mines were technically in a higher condition than they had ever been and ready, in spite of the alleged terrible burdens of the Micum agreement, to yield new greater profits for the coal barons. Micum was the magic word with which it was hoped to be able to ward off all demands of the miners. Because of Micum the eight and a half hour day-shift was dictated and the twelve hour night-shift. Because of Micum tens of thousands of miners were thrown on to the street. Because of Micum the slight social gains that still remained from the November revolution were done away with.

All that took place after the October defeat of the German proletariat, at a time when the depression was naturally very great and when even the Ruhr miners, who are always struggling, did not have the strength for a successful defence, although at the same time the metal workers of the Lower Rhine and the coal miners of Cologne were defending themselves in a desperate struggle that had lasted several weeks.

The rising wave of the movement began again only in the spring of 1924. The Communist Party, well knowing that the Micum agreement and the Experts' Report would as a matter of course lead to social explosions, prepared and organized systematically in order to give the coming struggles the greatest amount of force and the greatest chance of victory.

Conditions of Life of the Ruhr Miners.

The greatest swindle has always been carried on concerning the alleged high wages and special privileges of the miners. The telegraphic news agencies in the hands of the bourgeoisie are always supplying lying reports over the satisfactory conditions of life of the miners. For that reason we give here the actual starvation wages which were received just prior to the present struggle. From this one can see how justified is the boundless indignation of the miner over his misery.

Before us lies the pay book of a miner who had worked 23 shifts in the month of April. Including household and children's bonus he earned 5,17 marks per shift which made 118,91 marks (about £ 6-10-0) in the whole month. For benefit funds, taxes, tools, and repairs for lamps etc. 31 marks were deducted, so that he received a total of 87,91 marks. 15 Marks for rent and lighting for the month were also deducted so that for himself, wife and three children there remained a total of 72,91 marks (about £ 4) which works at 2,43 marks per day for the family or 48³/₁₀₀ pfennigs per head.

This shameful wage was paid at a time when the production of the hewers in most of the pits of the Ruhr had already exceeded the pre-war figure. For 48 pfennigs a day an impoverished miner must buy enough food, not to speak of clothing and other needs, in order to have the bodily strength to work for eight and a half hours hundreds of feet below the earth in a glowing heat, in a crouching position in coal dust and surrounded by a thousand dangers. In order to complete the measure of the exploitation, the coal barons have introduced a sharp differentiation of the wages and a still sharper record, that is a driving system. The price of coal for personal use was raised, holidays were shortened and the quite minimal rights of the still existing factory councils were as good as abolished.

The Course of the Struggle.

The struggle which was awaited with certainty broke out on May 1st. After the expiration of the collective agreements which had been in force since 1922 and which in that period had been repeatedly worsened by the dictatorial mine lords, Mehlich, the well-known Social Democratic state commissioner and twelve-hour dictator, gave judgement in an arbitration whereby the eight hour shift by day and all other disadvantages of the new conditions of labour were retained, the 30% increase in wages

rejected and a 15% increase granted dating from April 15th which, however, it should be noted, had already been made illusory by the rapid rise in prices. All district conferences of the miners of all the different unions rejected this award of Mehlich's against the wish of their leaders. With splendid unanimity all the miners lent ear to the watchwords of the Communists and in all pits in the Ruhr district they left work after seven hours, whereupon the coal barons replied with partial lock-outs.

The government soon became anxious. It sent that Centre-priest, Braun, the Federal Minister of Labour to Hamm in the Ruhr district. This faithful Fido of the mine-owners rendered Mehlich's award worse to the extent that the 15% increase was to be reckoned from May 1st instead of from April 15th. For the rest he demanded the eight hour day. In a district conference the executive of the reformist union sought to force through this award of Braun's but it was unanimously defeated. This was a crushing vote of censure for these professional traitors. The leaders of the Christian union suffered the same fate. The Christian miners also rejected the idea of surrender to the mine owners and to those who smooth the way for the capitalist state. A factory council conference which was called by the Communist Party and the Union of Hand and Brain Workers and which was participated in by the factory councillors of the most varied organisations, decided upon a strike with all means, to refuse emergency work, and the unconditional hindering of all work by strike breakers.

Once more the government intervened. The reformist and Christian leaders of the miners were invited to Berlin and bargaining went on there for three days with the result that the terms were made still worse, in that the coke making shift should be a 12 hour shift.

Once more the leaders of the "community of interest" unions endeavoured to induce the miners to accept this government award and once more the miners shoved aside these leaders, who had betrayed them long enough with a laugh of scorn and declared: "Seven hours and not a minute longer". A second conference of the factory councils which was attended by all organizations decided to sharpen the strike.

The horror of the bourgeoisie is especially great on account of the fact that the masses are no longer following the reformist and Christian trade union traitors and are consciously placing themselves under Communist leadership. One thing remains. Every possible trick is being tried to impose upon the miners in some way or other. Legal advisors, doctors and professors have been named who are to clear up the question "scientifically", from "the legal point of view" as to who is right in the dispute over the hours of labour in the Ruhr district, the miners or the capitalists. Naturally this famous commission of intellectuals, including Dr. Sinsheimer, the Social Democratic professor of the University of Frankfurt, stated that the mine owners were completely right. Now the reformists and Christian leaders who have been beaten by the masses are grasping at this "scientific" opinion like a drowning man at a straw. They are already making propaganda in favour of the declaration of the Berlin award being binding, that "all legal means have been exhausted" and that one "must submit to the existing laws".

But the mass of the miners will not give a damn for capitalist laws, they will give these profiteers just the same booting out as they have done in the case of the various awards. The strike is going on with all means in a powerful united front. Even the capitalist press must confess that the strike is complete. The number of strikebreakers is exceeding small. Where these fellows venture at all to hit their struggling comrades from behind, they can only do so under the protection of great forces of police, and even then the miners break through the police cordons, before all the wives of the miners, and hand out a few clouts to the traitors. Bloody collisions have therefore taken place here and there between strike pickets and police.

For the time being the food question is better than one would expect from the prevailing conditions. Not only the small merchants and middle class are making collections for the striking miners, because they know very well that the gaining of higher wages by the great consuming mass of the miners will be to their advantage, not only have the new large Communist fractions in the city councils compelled the feeding of the strikers by the municipal authorities, but the relief transports of our Russian brothers and the International Workers Relief are beginning to come in. The feeling of the strikers is one of confidence.

Already the dock workers on the canals of the Rhine and the Ruhr have declared their solidarity with the miners and will unload no English coal. Also the metal workers in a congress have declared their solidarity with the miners and have decided to take the first step in the struggle and to leave the factories at the end of eight hours.

There is still a relative quiet in the coal district but it is the sultry calm before a great social storm and in a short time it will break with terrific force.

The Significance of the Struggle.

Against the continuous crying of the trade union bureaucracy that the miners are not keeping to the trade union rules in their struggle, the Communists, who are the leaders in the great struggle, point out correctly that in this case it is more than a question of merely a seven hour shift for the Ruhr mining industry. At the moment when the Micum agreement is to be followed by the plans of the Experts against the German proletariat, at a moment when the Upper Silesian miners and sections of the miners in Middle Germany and Saxony are engaged in a struggle, the battle for the regaining of the eight hour day in Germany has begun. The strike for the seven hour shift for the miners is in its political consequences the passing over from the defensive after the October defeat to the offensive. That is the first practical struggle against the thievish plans of international capitalism.

In this matter the Communist Party has already performed enough work of instruction in the Ruhr district. The Ruhr miners, to whom the united front of the international exploiters against the proletariat was demonstrated by the Ruhr occupation over a year ago, say that the Communists are right and are prepared to conduct the struggle with them right up to the final consequences.

At the moment however when the Ruhr miners have begun the struggle against the Micum agreement and the plans of the Expert's Committee and for the regaining of the eight hour day in the whole of Germany, their struggle is at the same time a vital question for the proletariat of the unoccupied districts of Germany and from there for all other capitalist lands. Therefore all Communist parties have the duty to support the great struggle in the Ruhr with all the means at their disposal.

The wave of the German revolution is rising. This time the flood must not ebb again as it did in October of last year and this time possibly in missing various stages it must set out straight ahead for the victory of the proletarian dictatorship.

POLITICS

Labour Justice.

By M. N. Roy.

The trial of the Indian Communists at Cawnpur has ended. Four of the accused present before the court have each been condemned to four years rigorous imprisonment.

The history of this is more or less known, although the capitalist press and news agencies maintained a strict conspiracy of silence. It was a trial of the Communist International. The act of accusation is a remarkable document. The charge against the men on trial was that they had relation with the Communist International; that they stood for the liberation of the Indian people from the yoke of British Imperialism; that they proposed to organize the workers and peasants into a political party with the purpose of fighting for this liberation, and that in the program of the projected party, due consideration was given to the economic needs of the working masses. It would be interesting to quote the whole act of accusation, which is a rather lengthy document; but space does not permit.

The charge of "attempting to overthrow the sovereignty of the King Emperor" could not be substantiated by the evidence produced, even if the veracity and authenticity of the latter were taken for granted. Therefore, the program of the Communist International was hauled in to prove the guilt of the men on trial. The act of accusation runs thus: the Communist International is a revolutionary organization; it proposes to organize sections in the Eastern countries, the object of the Indian section

being to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India.

Of course, there would be nothing extraordinary in this accusation, had not the trial been undertaken just at the moment when a "Labour Government" stood at the helm of the British empire.

It would be useless for Mr. Macdonald and his colleagues to argue that they were not responsible for this outrageous action of the Indian government. Granted that the trial was undertaken without the consent of the Labour Government, there has been enough time for the latter to intervene if it wanted to. Even the "Daily Herald" and the "New Leader" raised the voice of protest against this persecution of the Indian working-class. The Government, collectively and severally, have been memorialized on the question. But Mr. Macdonald kept quiet. What does it mean? It means that he approved of this persecution, which is not only a violation of the principle of democracy, but of the right of the working-class to political and industrial organization. Evidently Mr. Macdonald desires to carry his warfare against the Communist International into every corner of the globe.

There were three issues involved in this trial, namely constitutional, political and legal. On each of these three points the case was against the prosecution. If anything was proved by the prosecution evidence, it was that propaganda was made by the accused for the organization of a working class party. But counsel for the prosecution himself admitted that to hold communist views and preach those views did not in themselves constitute a crime. Organization of a Communist Party and to have relation with the Communist International cannot be unconstitutional in India if it is not so in other parts of the Empire. Politically, the case was equally untenable. Self-determination of peoples is the order of the day. The leaders of the British Labour Party and of the Second International are the incorrigible champions of this doctrine of democracy. Therefore, it cannot be a crime on the part of a certain section of the Indian people to express their desire to liberate their country from the yoke of foreign domination. The Labour Government might find all sorts of excuses to justify its failure to put its doctrine into practice; but to declare one's desire to break away from the Empire can certainly not be punishable as a crime. Legally the case was altogether hopeless. No attempt was made to prove the veracity of the letters supposed to be written by me. Then, to have received letters written by someone, does not by any code of law constitute a criminal offence. It was not proved that the accused before the court had any complicity with writing those letters, which were the only evidence on which they have been convicted. Letters supposed to be written by only two of the accused were produced; but the cross-examination by the counsel for the defence made it evident that those letters were not beyond the suspicion of forgery. With one exception, all the witnesses who testified in favour of the prosecution, were police officers; and this one solitary exception was challenged by the defence as being a police spy. This challenge was not taken up by the prosecution. Much was made of the money received from the Communist International. But the government lawyer admitted that he could not prove his assertions, which the court took for granted.

Now leaving aside the broad constitutional and political issues, the condemnation of the four men cannot even be justified on the ground of legal technicality. It is therefore clear that these men have been sentenced to long terms of rigorous imprisonment, simply because they are suspected of being in favour of organizing a working-class party, with the object of securing the economic and political freedom of the people of India.

The MacDonald Government, and for that matter, the Second International are responsible for this action. The new policy of British Imperialism is to come to some agreement with the Indian bourgeoisie. The corollary of this policy is to crush the labour movement. Mr. MacDonald has been ordered to do this dirty job. He is hobnobbing with the Indian bourgeoisie to convince them of the utility of British protection and on the other hand, rendering valuable services to the Empire by stamping out the working-class movement, which is bound to be a menace to the policy of buying over the Indian bourgeoisie.

ECONOMICS

France, a Metallurgical Power.

By J. Duret (Moscow).

In order to understand the policy which French metallurgy follows, one must analyse the position it occupies in the metallurgy of the world. At the end of the XIXth century it was England which occupied a preponderant position in metallurgy. But her reign has been short. She quickly had to give place before the extraordinary development of American metallurgy and then that of German and French industries.

It is American industry which actually dominates the situation. Its Steel Trust is undeniably the highest form to which capitalist economy has attained. This whole formidable machine obeys one single will and one single manager, that of its President Gary, who knew how to impose upon all the members of the Trust, not only one opinion as regards production and the division of the business, but also one homogenous method of production, and one analogous policy toward the workers. With regard to the working class, he has adopted the non plus ultra policy of capitalism — corruption to the uttermost. The workers are in fact given an interest in the well-being of the enterprise. Trust Shares are allotted them with a term of three years in which to pay for the same; further, they receive special premiums of five dollars on shares during the first five years. In this way the Steel Trust is trying to create among its employees a docile workers' aristocracy, hostile to all revolutionary propaganda.

When regard is had to the formidable development of its machinery and of its methods of production, it would seem that the American Steel Trust might win the world market and eliminate all its rivals. Nevertheless, this is not the case. Baldwin, after the research tour which he made in America, speaking of American Industry said: "I would rather be in our shoes than in theirs." To anyone who is familiar with the state of English industry where unemployment is rampant, there would seem to be little call for this optimism; nevertheless, there is some ground for it.

Indeed, American industry is hindered in its development by the excessive increase in the expenses of production, caused by the relatively high wages of the American workers, and the excessively high cost of living and of products. When it is remembered that an American building worker can earn sixteen dollars a day, while a French worker earns one, the problem becomes obvious to everyone. That is the reason why American industry has recourse to unrestricted "dumping" (sale of goods at an enhanced price in the home market in order to render it possible to sell even at a loss in the world market and thereby destroy competition). American industry will be a competitor in the world market against which European metallurgy will prove capable of defending itself (for greater security it protects its market against American industry by means of customs duties).

The chief competitors in the European market are the French, English and German metallurgies. As a matter of fact, the English industry seems to be outdistanced as much from the point of view of output as that of technical development. The German and French industries each possess an essential element for metallurgic production. France has iron, Germany coal.

The whole policy of these metallurgies, and for that matter of those who are under their direct influence, consists in attempting to unite, in the hands of one or the other, the French iron and the German coal. But which is to have the hegemony in this combination? This is a question which calls for decision by war.

It has been shown by irrefutable arguments that the industries of the two countries came to an understanding, not only before, but even during the war. Hence it was that the military authorities of the one or the other camp, with tacit accord prevented bombardments which might damage the industrial establishments of the one or the other country (the Briey basin furnished one example).

The victory of France and the Treaty of Versailles, with the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, if they have increased the amount of iron belonging to France, have only increased her need for coal.

We give below some details concerning the metallurgical strength of France.

Wealth in iron ore:

France has 25 per cent of the iron ore reserves of the whole world and 60 per cent of those of Europe.

The German reserves amount to one milliard 370 million tons.

The English reserves amount to one milliard 300 million tons.

The French reserves amount to over seven milliard tons.

The United States reserves highest reserves of all.

When the output will have become normal again, it is estimated that France will produce annually 43 million tons of ore.

The home consumption should increase to 26 millions; there would then remain 17 million tons for sale abroad.

The figures for foreign production are as follows:

American production	63 million tons
English	16 " "
German	7 " "

From these figures one can foresee that France will exercise the monopoly in the supplying of ore.

Poverty of France in Combustibles.

France has numerous waterfalls from which she can obtain nine million horse power of energy, but she is almost entirely lacking in liquid fuel and possesses very little coal. She has indeed only one per cent of the oil reserves of the world. In 1917, the coal reserves amounted to:

For France	16 milliards tons
" the United States	2 " "
" England	400 " "
" Germany	200 " "

It is thought that when the coal mines of the devastated regions are restored France will have

22 million tons of coal
7 " " " metallurgic coke

The excess of the production over the consumption will be: —

For the United States	+ 21 millions tons
" France	— 22 " "
" Germany	+ 10 " "
" England	+ 77 " "

The figures for production are:

	France	Germany	England	United States
Coal	57	136	287	550
Ore	43	7	16	63
Cast-iron	11	11.5	11	31
Steel	10	12	8	32

Then, as France is dependent upon the coal-producing countries, she will be in a position of hopeless inferiority.

Repercussion of the Treaty of Versailles on the reserves: —

	Germany	France
Iron . . .	Decrease of 70 per cent	Increase of 100 per cent
Coal . . .	Decrease of 33 per cent	Increase of 40 per cent

We see that the increase is insufficient for France: she is experiencing a hard struggle even in the home market and when favoured by prohibitive customs tariffs.

In 1921 the cost of a ton of coal was raised: —

For England to	84 francs
" Germany "	72 " "
" France "	280 " "

Thus the need for coal and coke is making itself terribly felt in French industry. Hence its desire to come to an agreement with the owners of the coal, the Germans. This need is felt all the more in that the industry of Lorraine, snatched from Germany, formed an organic whole with the industry of the Ruhr, and in that those enterprises which are absolutely necessary for the complete manufacture of metal are entirely lacking in Lorraine, but on the other hand, are very numerous in the Ruhr, where, before the war, this part of the manufacture was carried.

But if the Germans and the French wish to unite the iron and the coal, both of them wish to have the management in their own hands — the 51% of the shares, according to the classic formula. "We ought to have the preponderant influence", say the Germans, "because our industry is technically more highly developed; our economic organization is more powerful, and we have a clearer and finer understanding of the matter. And they are right. "We ought to have the preponderant influence, because we won the war", reply the French. And they are also right.

The object of the Ruhr expedition was to show the German industrialists that the French right was better than the German right.

The Ruhr expedition, in so far as it concerns the interests of the French state, has produced disastrous effects, but from the point of view from which we have been dealing with it, it is certain that the French industrialists have attained their end.

And now, the campaign of hatred and of unbridled nationalism directed against Germany at the beginning of the Ruhr occupation has been succeeded by a period of positive talk. Now, in the whole of the bourgeois press, they begin to speak of the necessary understanding with Germany, of the community of interests.

French heavy industry has very ambitious schemes. It is meditating the creation, under its protection, of a powerful international trust which will "equitably" divide the market. In such a trust France would retain the lion's share.

The rapid development of heavy industry in France has produced the same effect as in other countries; it has exalted nationalism to an extraordinary degree. It has developed a spirit of conquest and of military adventure. This is the more easy to understand, because when one speaks of metallurgy, one implies armaments (failing which latter, the metallurgical industry would be a prey to crises of periodic over-production).

In order that the masses may accept armaments, the press is doing its utmost to arouse the patriotic spirit, its columns are full of the war which is coming, of national honour and the danger from foreign nations etc.

E. C. C. I.

The Statutes of the Communist International.

In accordance with the decisions of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International to revise at the Fifth Congress the statutes of the Communist International accepted at the Second Congress and to take into consideration the decisions made at the Third and Fourth Congresses on organizational questions, the Executive Committee of the Comintern herewith publishes a draft of the revised Statutes drawn up by the Organ Bureau of the E. C. C. I., to be submitted to the Fifth Congress for discussion and final acceptance.

I. Principles.

Par. I. The new International Workingmen's Association is an organization of Communist Parties in various countries. It is their leader in the struggle to win over the majority of the working class, for the overthrow of Capitalism, for the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and a world union of Socialist Soviet Republics, for the complete abolition of classes and the establishment of Socialism as a first stage of Communist Society.

Par. II. The new International Workingmen's Association assumes the title of "Communist International".

Par. III. All Parties affiliated to the Communist International shall be known as Communist Party of... (Section of the Comintern). Only one party in any country may be affiliated to the Communist International.

Par. IV. Any person accepting the program and statutes of the Communist Party of the country in which he is resident and of the Comintern, who is attached to a basic party organization, is actively working in it, and who submits to all the decisions of the Party and the Comintern and regularly pays Party dues, is accounted a member of the Communist Party and the Comintern.

Par. V. The basic Party organization (its unit) is the nucleus at the place of employment (factory, mine, workshop, office, store, farm, etc), to which all the members of the party employed in the given enterprise must be attached.

Par. VI. The Comintern and the Communist Party are constructed on the basis of democratic centralism. The fundamental principle of democratic centralism is: the election of the lower and higher Party organs at general meetings of Party members, conferences and congresses; periodical reports of the Party organs to their constituents; all decisions of the higher Party organs are obligatory for the lower Party organs; strict discipline and rapid and precise execution of the decisions of the E. C. C. I.

and the leading Party centres. Party questions may be discussed by members of the Party or Party organizations only up to the moment of their decision by the competent Party organs. After decisions have been arrived at on the given question by the Congress of the Communist International, the Party Congress or the leading Party organs, these decisions must be unconditionally carried out, even if there is a difference of opinion amongst the members of local organizations with regard to the decisions.

In illegal conditions lower Party organs may be appointed by the higher Party organs and individuals may be co-opted to various Party organs with the endorsement of the superior Party organ.

II. World Congresses of the Comintern.

Par. VII. The supreme organ of the Comintern is the World Congress of all Parties (sections) and organizations affiliated to it.

The World Congress discusses and resolves the most important questions of the program, tactics and organization connected with the activities of the Comintern as a whole as well as of its various sections. The World Congress alone has the right to amend the program and statutes of the Comintern.

As a rule the World Congress should be convened at least once in two years, the date for convening the congress is determined by the Executive Committee of the Comintern. All affiliated sections send delegates to the Congress, the number being determined by the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

The number of decisive votes that each section may have is determined in each case by a special resolution of the Congress in accordance with the membership of the Party and the political importance of the country.

Par. VIII. Extraordinary World congresses of the Comintern may be convened on the demand of Parties which at the previous World Congress of the Comintern jointly commanded not less than half of the decisive votes.

Par. IX. The World Congress elects the President of the Communist International, the Executive Committee of the Comintern and the International Control Commission (I. C. C.).

Par. X. The World Congress on each occasion decides on the seat of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

III. The Executive Committee of the Comintern and its Apparatus.

Par. XI. The Executive Committee of the Comintern is the leading organ of the Communist International in the period between the World congresses, gives instructions, which are obligatory to all the Parties and organizations affiliated to the Communist International, issues, when necessary, manifestoes in the name of the Comintern and publishes the central organ of the Communist International in not less than four languages.

Par. XII. The decisions of the E. C. C. I. are obligatory for all sections and must be immediately carried out by them. The sections have the right to appeal against a decision of the E. C. C. I. to the Congress of the Communist International, but the section is not relieved of the duty of carrying out the decision until it is revoked by the Congress.

Par. XIII. The central organs of the sections affiliated to the Communist International are responsible to the Party congresses and the E. C. C. I. The E. C. C. I. has the right to annul or amend decisions of the central organs as well as the congresses of the respective sections, and pass decisions the execution of which shall be obligatory for the central organs. (Cf. par. XII.)

Par. XIV. The E. C. C. I. has the right to expel from the Comintern such parties, groups and individual members who violate the program, rules, decisions of World Congresses, and the E. C. C. I. Such parties groups, and individuals have the right to appeal to the World Congress.

Par. XV. The E. C. C. I. endorses the program of each section affiliated to the Communist International. In the event of the E. C. C. I. refusing to endorse the program of any section, the latter may appeal to the World Congress.

Par. XVI. The decisions and the official documents of the E. C. C. I. must be published in the leading party organs of the sections affiliated to the Communist International.

Par. XVII. The E. C. C. I. has the right to receive into the Communist International organizations and parties sympathising with Communism and approaching the Communist International. Such organizations are to have consultative votes.

Par. XVIII. The E. C. C. I. elects a Presidium of its own members which serves as the permanent acting organ and conducts all the work of the E. C. C. I. in the periods between the meetings of the latter. The Presidium reports on its activity

to the E. C. C. I. The chairman of the C. I. acts as chairman of the E. C. C. I. and of the Presidium.

Par. XIX. The E. C. C. I. elects an Organization Bureau (Orgbureau) which discusses and decides all questions affecting organization and finance. The decisions of the Orgbureau may be appealed against in the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. But until these decisions are revoked or amended by the Presidium they remain obligatory. The composition of the Orgbureau is determined by the E. C. C. I. The members of the Secretariat of the E. C. C. I. form part of the Orgbureau.

Par. XX. The E. C. C. I. elects a Secretariat which is the Executive organ of the E. C. C. I., the Presidium and the Orgbureau.

Par. XXI. The E. C. C. I. elects the editorial board of the monthly organ of the Communist International as well as the editors of all other of its publications.

Par. XXII. The E. C. C. I. elects an international secretary for the Communist women's movement, and in conjunction with the latter, passes all decisions of a political and organizational character affecting the international women's movement.

Par. XXIII. The E. C. C. I. sets up an information statistical department, agitational propaganda department (Agitprop), an organization department and an Eastern department. The E. C. C. I. has the power to set up other departments if it consider it necessary.

Par. XXIV. The E. C. C. I. and the Presidium of the E. C. C. C. has the power to send its representatives to the various sections of the Communist International. The representatives receive their instructions from the E. C. C. I. and are responsible for their actions to the latter. Representatives of the E. C. C. I. must be permitted to attend all meetings of the central organs as well as of the local organizations of the section to which they have been sent by the E. C. C. I. The representatives of the E. C. C. I. fulfil the task given them in closest contact with the Central Committee of the respective sections. Their speeches however at the congresses, conferences, etc. convened by the Central Committee of the given section, may, (in the consistent execution of the instructions of the E. C. C. I.), not coincide with the opinions of the Central Committee of the respective Parties. It is the special duty of the representatives of the E. C. C. I. to see that the decisions of the World Congresses and of the E. C. C. I. are carried out by the sections to which they are sent.

XXV. Meetings of the E. C. C. I. must take place at least once a month. A quorum is composed of not less than one-half of the members of the E. C. C. I.

IV. The Enlarged Executive.

Par. XXVI. In order to decide important questions, the decisions of which admit of no delay, the E. C. C. I., in the intervals between World Congresses, convenes not less than twice a year, meetings of the Enlarged Executive of the Comintern.

In addition to the members of the E. C. C. I., representatives of all the sections affiliated to the Communist International participate in sessions of the Enlarged Executive. The number of representatives of the various sections at the sessions of the Enlarged Executive is determined by the Congress of the Communist International.

In addition to these meetings of the Enlarged Executive, meetings are also called immediately prior to Congresses of the Communist International.

V. International Control Commission.

Par. XXVII. The functions of the International Control Commission, which is appointed by the Congress are: a) to investigate complaints against departments of the E. C. C. I. and to present to the E. C. C. I. suggestions for removing causes of complaint. b) To investigate complaints of individuals and whole organizations against disciplinary measures taken against them by sections and to submit their opinions concerning them to the E. C. C. I. which makes a definite decision. c) To audit the financial accounts of the E. C. C. I. d) To audit accounts of the sections on the instructions of the E. C. C. I., Presidium or Orgbureau.

The Control Commission does not intervene in political, organizational or administrative conflicts which may arise in the various sections of the Communist International or between sections and the E. C. C. I.

The seat of the International Control Commission is fixed by the E. C. C. I. in conjunction with the International Control Commission.

VI. Relations of the Sections of the Communist International to the E. C. C. I.

Par. XXVIII. The Central Committees of all sections affiliated to the Communist International and also of organizations accepted as sympathizing organizations, must systematically send the minutes of their meetings and the report of their work to the E. C. C. I.

Par. XXIX. The resignation of individual comrades from the Central Committee of any section, as well as of whole groups of comrades, is regarded as an act of disorganization of the Communist movement. All leading posts in the Communist Party belong to the C. I. and not to the bearers of the mandate. Elected members of central organs in the various sections may resign their mandates only with the concurrence of the E. C. C. I. Resignations approved by the Central Committee of any section without the consent of the E. C. C. I. are annulled.

Par. XXX. Sections affiliated to the Communist International, especially sections in neighbouring countries, must support each other by the closest ties of organization and information. These ties may be established by mutual representation at conferences and congresses as well as by the mutual interchange of leading comrades, which, however, must be done in agreement with the Communist International. Copies of the reports sent by such representatives to their sections must be sent to the Communist International.

Par. XXXI. Sections of the Communist International must pay regular dues to the E. C. C. I. the amount of which is determined by the E. C. C. I.

Par. XXXII. Prior to World Congresses of the Communist International, Party conferences or enlarged plenums of the central committees of the various sections are convened to discuss the questions to be raised at the World Congress and to elect delegates to it. Exceptions to this rule are permitted only by decision of the E. C. C. I.

Par. XXXIII. In the year in which the World Congress takes place, Congresses of sections affiliated to the Communist International, are convened after the World Congress. Exceptions are permitted only by decision of the E. C. C. I.

Par. XXXIV. The Young Communist International is a full member of the Communist International and is subordinate to the E. C. C. I.

Par. XXXV. The Communist Parties must be prepared to carry on their work illegally. The E. C. C. I. must assist the Parties in the preparation for illegal work, and see to it that the work is carried out.

Par. XXXVI. The transfer of members of sections of the Communist International from one country to another is permitted only with the sanction of the Central Committee of the given section. In changing his residence, a Communist must join the section in the country of which he has become resident. Communists who leave their respective country without the sanction of the Central Committee of the section to which they belong, cannot be accepted by any other section.

OUR PROBLEMS

Sketch of the Theses on the Question of the Tasks of our Delegation at the Hague.*)

By V. I. Lenin.

The splendid document appearing below was written by V. I. Lenin on 4. December 1922. It was intended as instructions for our delegation, sent to the Hague to the conference convened by the II. International for the discussion of war against war.

G. Zinoviev.

With reference to the question of combatting the danger of war, in relation to the Hague conference, I am of the opinion that the greatest difficulty consists in overcoming that prejudice which regards this question as if it were simple, plain and comparatively easy.

"We shall reply to war with strike or revolution" — this is the phrase customarily employed by all the influential leaders

*) In view of the present great tasks of the communist movement in the combat against bourgeois militarism and war danger, this article is eminently appropriate at the present time.

among the reformists of the working class. And often enough the workers and peasants are satisfied and quieted by the radical appearance of such replies.

The best method would perhaps be to begin with a most determined rejection of such views. It should be explained that particularly at the present time, since the last war, none but the completest fools and most hopeless liars could suppose that a reply of this description is of any value whatever towards the solution of the problem of war against war; it should be explained that it is impossible to "reply" to a war by a strike, just as it is impossible to reply to a war by a "revolution" in the plain and literal sense of the word.

It must be definitely explained how great is the secrecy surrounding the birth of a war, and how helpless is an ordinary labour organization, in face of a really impending war.

It must be explained over and over again in a thoroughly concrete manner how the situation was during the last war, and as to the reasons why the situation could not be otherwise.

Special attention must be called to the fact that the question of "defense of native country" will inevitably be put, and that the overwhelming majority of the workers will inevitably solve this question in favour of their own bourgeoisie.

Therefore the points to be placed in the foreground are: firstly, the discussion of the question of "defense of native country", secondly, and in combination with this, the discussion of the question of "defeatism", and finally, the discussion of the sole possible means of combatting war, i. e. the maintenance or formation of an illegal organization of all revolutionists taking part in the war, for the purpose of carrying on unceasing work against the war.

The boycott of war is an imbecile phrase. Communists are forced to take part in every reactionary war.

It would be an excellent thing to take a number of examples — from German pre-war literature, or as a special instance the Basle congress in 1912 — for the purpose of demonstrating in an effectively concrete manner that the theoretical recognition of the fact that war is a crime, that war is unallowable for socialists, etc., is all mere empty words, since these assertions have nothing concrete behind them. We give masses no actual living idea of how a war can break out. On the contrary, the dominating press hushes this question up to such an extent, and spreads such a daily veil of lies over it, that the weak socialist press is completely powerless in comparison, the more in that it has always adopted a wrong viewpoint on the subject, even in peace times. Even the communist press is at fault in this respect in most countries.

I believe that our delegates will have to divide the task amongst them at the international congress of the Co-operatives and Trade Unionists, and will have to expose down to the smallest detail, all those sophistries being employed at the present time in justification of war.

Perhaps these sophistries form the chief medium for involving the masses in war, the chief weapons of the bourgeois press, and the most important circumstance in explanation of our powerlessness against war is the fact that we either fail to shatter these sophistries before it is too late, or we damage our own cause still further by cheap, boastful, and entirely empty phrases: we shall not permit any war, we realize the criminal nature of war, and so forth, in the spirit of the Basle manifesto of 1912.

I believe that if we have a few speakers at the Hague conference who are capable of delivering a speech in this or that language against war, their most important task will be to refute the idea that those present at the conference are opponents of war, that they have any idea as to how war can and must break out when they least expect it, or that they have found even a fraction of the means required for combatting war, or that they have the faintest notion of adopting any rational line of action calculated to be efficient in the war against war.

In connection with the latest experiences of the war, we must show what a great number of theoretical and practical questions we have to face on the very day following the declaration of war — questions which will rob the overwhelming majority of those called to the colours of the possibility of taking up a position to them with clear heads and conscientious objectivity.

I believe that this question will have to be discussed with the utmost detail, and along two lines:

In the first place by the repetition and analysis of everything which immediately preceded the war, showing clearly to all

present that they do not know, or pretend that they do not know, whilst in reality they do not want to admit it, the crux of the whole question, the essential point which has to be recognized before there is any thought of combatting war. I am of the opinion that the full discussion of this point implies an analysis of all judgments, and all opinions held at that time with regard to the war by the Russian socialists. It is necessary to point out that these judgments were not formed accidentally, but arose out of the nature of all modern wars. It must be pointed out that without an analysis of these views, and without an explanation of how they were inevitably bound to be formed and of how they are of decisive significance for the question of combatting war — without such analysis it is impossible to speak of any preparation for the event of war, or even of a conscious attitude towards war.

In the second place every present-day conflict, even the most trifling, must be adduced as an example of how a war may break out any day with no further cause than a quarrel between England and France with regard to some detail of their agreement with Turkey, or between America and Japan over some unimportant difference referring to a question of the Pacific Ocean, or between any of the other great powers with regard to disagreements about colonies, tariffs or general commercial politics.

I am of the opinion that, should there be the slightest doubt about our being able to say all we have to say against war, at the Hague conference we must find out a number of astute devices enabling us to say at least the most important things, and what we have not been permitted to say we must issue in the form of a pamphlet. We must not shrink from incurring the possibility that the chairman will break off the conference.

I believe that we would further promote our object by including in the delegation, not only those speakers capable of delivering complete speeches, and commissioned to do this, — that is, develop the main lines of argument and to state the necessary conditions for the combatting of war. Our delegation should also include persons with a knowledge of all three leading foreign languages, who would then enter into conversation with the delegates, and would be able to judge in how far the main arguments are comprehensible, and to what extent the necessity exists of adducing this or that argument or example.

It may be that in some questions the sole effective means will be to adduce actual examples from the late war. In other questions the greatest impression may perhaps be made by the discussion of the present conflicts between the various states, and the attendant possibility of recourse to arms. With reference to the war against war, it occurs to me that declarations have been made with regard to this subject by our Communist delegates, in their speeches both inside and outside of Parliament, which have contained entirely wrong and frivolous assertions about war against war. I believe that such declarations, especially those made since the war, should be decidedly and relentlessly opposed, and the names of the speakers stated. This may be done with the utmost consideration when necessary, but not a single case of this kind should be passed over in silence, for the adoption of a frivolous attitude towards this question is such a tremendous evil that it outweighs every other consideration, and it is absolutely impossible to exercise any indulgence.

All and every material must be collected without delay, and every separate partial question, every subdivision of a partial question, and the whole of the "strategy", must be discussed in detail at the congress.

In such a question not only an error on our part could not be tolerated, but even a lack of completeness on any essential.

Lenin's Last Political Teaching.

By Karl Radek.

When the All Russian Central Trade Union Council sent a delegation to the International Peace Conference at the Hague which was convened by the Amsterdam International in December 1922, Vladimir Ilyitch, exhausted by the work for the World Congress of the Comintern just ended, was unable to take part in the consultations held by the C. C. of the Russian C. P. with the delegation of the Trade Union Council with regard to the tactics to be adopted by our delegation. Lenin discussed this question with some of the members of the C. C. and drew up

a sketch of theses, which was handed me on the day I left for the Hague. These theses may be regarded as Lenin's last utterance on general questions of Comintern policy. They are of such eminent importance that they must not only be brought to the notice of the broadest masses of revolutionary workers, but must be studied and thought out with the utmost care, to the end that the Comintern and its sections shall draw the concrete practical conclusions therefrom.

Lenin at once seized the bull by the horns. He declared that "none but the completest fools and most hopeless liars could suppose" that we could reply to a war by revolution or strike: "It is impossible to reply to a war by a strike, just as it is impossible to reply to a war by a 'revolution' in the plain and literal sense of the word".

Four years of war and six years of peace lie behind us, and the peace years have not been much better than the war years. Not only do the majority of the reformist leaders quieten the masses of the workers by declaring that they will not be thrown into the jaws of war again as cannon fodder, but the masses of the workers themselves regard a fresh war as impossible, because they are afraid of the possibility. Great masses of workers in Western Europe take part in the pacifist demonstrations held under the slogan of "Never again war!". The rejection of the idea of the possibility of war by the masses who have not yet attained to class-consciousness awakens among the communists an over-estimation of their own powers, and an over-estimation of the revolutionary energy of the proletariat. It is for this reason that they frequently, as Lenin observes, make "entirely wrong and frivolous assertions about war against war".

The great realist and strategist of the proletarian struggle did not shut his eyes to the disagreeable truth: "We give the masses no actual living idea of how a war can break out. On the contrary, the dominating press hushes this question up to such an extent and spreads such a daily veil of lies over it, that the weak socialist press is completely powerless in comparison, the more in that it has always adopted a wrong viewpoint on the subject, even in peace times. Even the communist press is at fault in this respect in most countries."

Those who peruse our communist press attentively will be aware that it devotes a comparatively large amount of attention to questions of international politics, but with few exceptions publishes but little concrete material on the economic substructure of all international conflicts, although there is an abundance of this material in the international bourgeois press and literature. How many communist newspapers are there which devote any attention to the excellent works published by Delaisy on the reparation question, and on the role played in the reparation question by the German and French trusts? How many of our communist newspapers follow up the struggle between the American and English naphtha trusts, one of the motive powers of international post-war politics? Works dealing concretely with these questions are read with the greatest interest by the workers. Three editions of my pamphlet on the Genoa conference were sold out in Germany within a few months. The heads of the Party pay less attention to these questions. At the time of the beginning of the Ruhr struggle an excellent pamphlet was written by two young German Communists, Friedrich and Leonid, dealing with this struggle. This met every requirement demanded by Lenin for such pamphlets. It was short, running into about thirty pages, and it was based on accurate and clearly outlined facts. But it was two months before the Party issued this pamphlet. In Russia we published a great deal of material on the Ruhr struggle, but "The Young Guard", which undertook the publication of these brochures, could not bring them out for many months. We could cite dozens of similar examples. And we do not even accomplish the most necessary work towards enlightening the communist vanguard of the proletariat as to the approaching dangers. I give another example. An English war specialist on the question of chemical warfare, Major Lafargue, published a book in the English language: "The Riddle of the Rhine", in which he drew a frightful picture of war chemistry and its attendant dangers. This book should be in the hands of every communist agitator. It should be popularized in pamphlets and in thousands of articles. But there has not been one single communist newspaper in the West which has taken any notice of it. Our Revolutionary council of war has now had this book published in the Russian language. But our newspapers make no comment on it. No practical difficulties lie in the way of our propaganda and agitation in questions of international policy. In the Comintern we possess a number of comrades thoroughly versed in international

politics, as for instance comrade Van Ravenstein in Holland and comrade Newbold in England, who are among the best informed writers on the connections between the English business world and English imperialist policy. And then we have the Polish comrade Lapinski, whose works on foreign policy represent the best analyses of international relations which I have had the opportunity of reading, and comrade Rothstein, who possesses a thorough and concrete knowledge of English foreign policy. Here in Russia we can count among the members of the Comintern such competent and energetic comrades as comrade Voytinsky for questions of the Far East, comrade Brike for the Near East and comrade Tivel for Indian questions. The reports issued by these comrades show their competent knowledge of their subject, but at present these reports are only accessible to a limited circle. They could be of great importance for wide circles of propagandists and agitators in the Comintern. It is merely a question of overcoming a certain inertia with regard to the organization of the matter. A wider knowledge of such reports would ensure that ten or twenty of the most advanced workers in all countries could obtain a clear knowledge of the questions of international politics, and would be able to enlighten hundreds, thousands, and millions of workers.

It need not be said that even the best organized propaganda work cannot protect the masses of workers from the war danger. If class conditions do not give rise to a wave of revolution in every country, we are not safe against the impending danger of a world war, of a war which may come despite the fact that even the capitalists fear it. As Lenin rightly puts it: "... a war may break out any day with no further cause than a quarrel between England and France with regard to some detail of their agreement with Turkey, or between America and Japan over some unimportant difference referring to a question of the Pacific Ocean, or between any of the other great powers with regard to disagreements about colonies, tariffs, or general commercial politics."

If revolution does not develop in the most important capitalist countries before these latter, having recovered from the world war of 1914, plunge afresh into another world war, then the masses of the workers will again be confronted by the question of defence of native country, a question which, as Lenin observes: "the overwhelming majority of the workers will inevitably solve in favour of their own bourgeoisie". This is a very hard truth. It is difficult to proclaim this truth after all the lessons of the war, after ten million victims have been sacrificed, after half of the globe has been devastated. But I am convinced that Lenin is perfectly right. When it comes to a world war, the bourgeoisie will not only force the masses of the people to take part in it, but it will be successful in deceiving them as to its real nature. And what then? "The boycott of war is an imbecile phrase. Communists are forced to take part in every reactionary war", declares Lenin. And why they must take part in it he further explains definitely by saying that the sole possible means of combatting war is "the maintenance or formation of an illegal organization of all revolutionists taking part in the war for the purpose of carrying on unceasing work against the war". It might be thought that this is no very great task. But when we recollect the situation in all countries after the outbreak of the war in 1914, when month after month passed away, and there was still no organization of revolutionists fighting against the war; when we remember that the whole war dragged out to its end and still there was no country except Russia successful in creating such an organization to any mass extent, then it must become clear to us that it would be of tremendous importance, and constitute an enormous stride forwards, if we communists could rise as one man against war, as a compact international organization. The preparation for the formation of such an organization demands closest study of the total political experience gained during the last war, and requires that the communist workers shall become thoroughly familiar with every shade of opinion formed during the war in the camp of Socialism, and which form the fundamental principles on which political action will be based in the future.

The tenth anniversary of the outbreak of war is approaching. On this day millions of workers will be better able to meditate over the lessons taught by the last ten years than they can on ordinary work days. The Comintern must utilize this moment for conducting an extensive campaign of propaganda and agitation on the lines laid down by Lenin's last teaching.

IN THE COLONIES

The Class War within the Arab National Movement.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

The Arab national movement in the countries of the near East (Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan) is still very young as a people's movement. Before the war it was only a few groups (families) among the rich landowners (Effendis) who took any part in politics. These feudal landowners, who own by far the greater part of the ground which they let to poor tenants (Fellahin), usually for return of half of the produce of the land which is invariably very scanty, were able to carry on undisturbed this exploitation under Turkish rule and had at most to yield up but a small part of their profits as taxes to the corrupt Turkish officials. Now and then there were struggles for power between the various feudal families, which, according to whether the government was on their side or on the side of their opponents, were either pro- or anti-Turkish. The people, that is the mass of the towns and villages, had settled down in the course of decades and centuries to this condition of affairs and dragged the chains of feudal exploitation almost without a murmur, while they only came into conflict with the foreign ruler, when he wished to increase the taxes or press the peasants' sons into military service.

The war with one blow ended this "idyllic" state of affairs. One section of the aristocratic families formed an alliance with the Entente powers in return for the promise of a "national" government, in which these families were to have the greatest influence. But after the countries had once come into the possession of the imperialistic powers, the latter did not keep these promises. They certainly allowed the Effendis to carry on their exploitation of the Fellahin; it was further increased, but the new government began itself to collect the taxes, which it used to farm out to the Effendis, and deprived the Effendis of a great part of their income in favour of its own apparatus.

On the other hand, the Fellahin were also shaken up by the war... The war brought with it devastation and starvation, forceful requisitions and the destruction of whole villages. The English government of liberation did nothing to put agriculture upon its feet; it only knew how to raise taxes. Similarly with the town-dwellers: European domination did not open up the way to prosperity, but at every step brought strangulation, oppression, crisis, impoverishment. This all led to the Arab movement developing in a few years after the war into a people's movement. Neither the hangmen of the bloodhound Gourand in Syria, nor the bombs in Mesopotamia, nor the intriguing diplomacy of Herbert Samuel in Palestine could prevent that. The Arab population unanimously declined the foreign mandates. The protests which the official National Party handed in to the League of Nations and to all the powers, were without doubt the real expression of the deep resentment of the people against the foreign tyrants.

Still, however unified the Arab movement may appear from without, it carried within it the seed of the contradictions, which represent the heterogeneous elements, of which it consisted, and which sooner or later must come to open outbreak. The three chief elements of the Arab National Movement are:

1. The feudal landowners; 2. the town elements with a tendency towards capitalism; 3. the peasantry and town workers, upon which the first two elements are supported. During the last few months it came to an important difference between the first two elements. The fighting methods of the Effendis against the Foreign Governments had disappointed the whole of the people, they remained unsuccessful. The Effendis, as leaders of the National movement, had fought not for the liberation of the people, but simply and solely for their own interest, and could bring themselves agree in principle with all compromises with England and France, if only influence and concessions were granted them in return. Their fight was limited to protests, journeys with petitions and requests to the various European capitals and places where conferences were held.

Now it is the town bourgeoisie which, exploiting the disappointment of the wide masses in their old leaders, wishes to take the matter in hand. The new Arab "National Party", which consists chiefly of intellectuals, merchants etc., has begun its

activity with a campaign, aimed at discrediting the official leaders. Charges of treason, corruption and incapacity are made against them. While the "old" party sticks fast to a few stereotyped forms of protest, the new party wishes to carry on real politics and is setting up a whole series of demands for reform in social economic and questions (especially agrarian reform). The old party, in whose hands are the traditions and the religious authority which is of great importance in the Orient, has answered the rise of the new party by the sharpest opposition against it, it has been placed under a religious bann and called "a brood of traitors", charged with splitting Arabian unity, and in fact the leaders, as happened in the ceremonies in Amman (Transjordan) are subjected to attacks and acts of terror. The new party, which still unites quite different classes, is in spite of its weakness at the present moment, in a position, in the not too distant future, to play a rôle in the countries of the near East such as Zaghul Pasha played in Egypt.

Among the progressive elements of the Arab national movement, there is widespread sympathy, not only for the "national hero" Mustapha Kemal and his newly formed Turkey, but for anti-imperialist Soviet Russia. It is only to be ascribed to the strict illegality of the C. P., that the leaders of the new party do not seek direct connection with it. The working class element, however, particularly where it has anything directly to do with the organs of imperialism, like the workers on public works, railwaymen etc., is more revolutionarily inclined than any of the existing national parties. Here a work of communist enlightenment which, beside the national element, would place the social element in the foreground, would have great prospects of success. It depends on the means and possibilities of the Sections of the Communist International in the Orient, whether the next differentiation in the Arab national movement is to be the passing over of the proletarian elements into the ranks of the Communist movement, which would mean a continuation of the process, which began with the splitting off of the bourgeois elements from the earlier uniform party. Only then would the struggle against imperialism assume really revolutionary forms and be able to promise speedy results

THE WHITE TERROR

The E. C. of the Communist Youth International on the Murder of the Polish Communist Youth Comrade Engel.

To the Worker and Peasant Youth of the whole World!

Comrades!

A terrible crime has been added to the long list of crimes committed by the Polish bourgeoisie. Our Youth Comrade Engel has been condemned to death by a court martial and — following immediately upon the confirmation of the death sentence by the President of the Polish Republic — been executed. Engel was only eighteen years of age.

A brief telegram has conveyed to us this hardly credible news. This vile murder has already called forth a storm of indignation from the Polish proletariat, and even the social traitors, these watch dogs of the reactionary bourgeois government, have considered it necessary to raise their protest against it. The growth of the Communist Party and of the Communist League in Poland, in spite of their illegality and in spite of the ferocious persecution, is driving the Polish bourgeoisie, which has already lost its head, to monstrous crimes which even bourgeois democracy is compelled to repudiate.

Worker and Peasant Youth of Poland!

The Worker and Peasant Youth of the whole world join in your sorrow and send to you their expression of sincere solidarity. They are convinced that neither the imposition of hundreds of years of penal servitude nor the brutal death penalty will break the revolutionary will of the Communist Youth of Poland — the will to fight until full victory is achieved over the bourgeoisie and its flunkies the social traitors.

Working Youth of all Countries!

Before the fresh grave of our comrade Engel we all pledge ourselves to support with all our powers our Youth Comrades of Poland.

The memory of comrade Engel will be for ever cherished in the ranks of the revolutionary Youth of the whole world!

May his life be a shining example to us in our life and death struggle against the capitalist regime!

Down with Polish reaction and its servants!
Long live the Communist Youth of Poland!
Long live the World Revolution!

The Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The XIIIth Congress of the Communist Party of Russia.

(Special Report to the "Inprecorr".)

I.

Opening Session.

The 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Russia was opened on the 24th May by Comrade Kamenev. In eulogising on the merits of Comrade Lenin and in emphasising the importance of the 13th Congress of the RCP, the speaker declared:

Comrade Lenin is the creator of the CP. of Russia and of the Communist International. He was the best party comrade and guide of the workers of the whole world along the road of struggle to a better future.

Among others there were unanimously elected to the Presidium: comrades Kamenev, Stalin, Zinoviev, Rykov, Bucharin, Trotzky, Tomsky and Molotov.

After tribute was paid to our late Bulgarian comrade Blagoev the Congress addressed a telegram of condolence to the CP. of Bulgaria.

Thereupon the Congress decided to send a telegram conveying greetings to the V. World Congress of the Communist International: "The death of Comrade Lenin has induced the Communist Parties of the whole world to draw their ranks still closer together. It is the greatest pride of the Russian CP. to be in a position to aid the Comintern and to be one of the most faithful sections of the Comintern. A new wave of revolution is gradually rising. The recent elections in several countries show a rapid growth of the forces of the Comintern which also give rise to new complicated problems for the Comintern. The Party Congress is happy to be able to inform the Comintern that its Russian section is emerging from its crisis more firmly united than ever. The proletarian dictatorship within the Soviet Union has consolidated itself, the economic situation has improved, the RCP. remains ever true to the World Revolution!"

The Congress further decided to send telegrams to the Communist Parties of Germany and France.

Comrade Rykov spoke some words to the memory of our late comrades Nogin and Lutovinov.

Comrade Kolaroff welcomed the Congress in the name of the ECCI.; in addition, greetings were delivered to the Congress by representatives of the Communist Parties of Germany, France, England and Japan while comrade Clara Zetkin greeted the Congress in the name of the International Communist Women's Secretariat.

Second Day of Congress.

Speech of Comrade Zinoviev on the Political Report of the CC.

In the political report of the CC., comrade Zinoviev pointed out that the Party had reason for judging the international and inner situation of the Soviet Union in an optimistic sense. The period covered by the report, which had begun with Lord Curzon's ultimatum had ended with the de jure recognition of the Soviet Union by England. As regards the London negotiations, their result will depend upon MacDonald. On the side of the Soviet Union there prevails the most determined desire to arrive at an agreement. The foreign policy of a number of European states, particularly of England, is closely interwoven with the policy of the 2nd International. The profound fundamental disagreements between the 2nd and the 3rd Internationals can have nothing to do with the business negotiations between the Soviet Union and England.

As regards the conflict with Germany it must be said that the raid upon Russian Trade Mission in Berlin was an attempt on the part of German Social Democracy to get into the good graces of France at the price of a worsening of the relations

with the Soviet Union. In the sphere of the policy of concessions, the caution and restraint exercised up to now remain necessary.

The inner situation of the Soviet Union is characterised by the successful solution of the national question, by the considerable economic successes, by the strengthening of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry and by the enrolment of more than two hundred thousand workers in the Communist Party. At present agriculture has reached 78 per cent, industry 48 per cent, foreign trade 20 per cent and wages 62 per cent of their respective pre-war levels. The market crisis has been overcome.

Our chief tasks consist at present in the raising of heavy industry and in the solution of the questions of trade. 36 per cent of the home trade is in the hands of the state and 64 per cent is in the hands of private enterprise. The New Economic Policy does not by any means mean the restoration of capitalism. Nobody wants to abolish the NEP. The freedom of interior trade will be maintained. A new co-operative policy and a new commercial policy will, however, be introduced. Still more attention will be devoted to the villages.

The Central Committee, with the support of the Party, will realise the heritage bequeathed by comrade Lenin and lead the Russia of the New Economic Policy to the Socialist Russia.

Speech of Comrade Stalin on the Organizational Report of the Central Committee.

Comrade Stalin described in detail the growing influence of the Russian CP. on the trade unions, on the state apparatus, on the economic organs and on the co-operatives.

At the time of the 12th Party Congress the Party had 485,000 members, which up to the present had increased to 600,000 members. The proportion of members of the Russian CP. who are employed as workers in the workshops has increased during this period from 17 to 35 per cent.

The inner life of the Party has definitely improved. The transference of the centre of gravity from the sittings of the Political and of the Organizational Bureaus to the Plenary sittings of the CC. constitutes an important innovation. The sittings of the Plenum of the CC. and the Plenary sittings of the government committees are developing into powerful schools for Party work. The inner Party life has become essentially more active and the mass recruitment after the death of Lenin proves that the Party, according to its spirit, has become an organ elected by the working class. The Russian CP. is at present a real organ possessing the confidence of the working class.

The most important task of the Party at the present time consists in attracting the non-party workers into collaboration in the Soviet organs, in the political education of the broad masses, in the publication of special popular journals for the new masses gained over by the Lenin recruitment, in raising the party work in the villages, in adequately supplying the industrial districts with functionaries, in the careful and increased selection of functionaries and in the increased attraction to Party work of the masses won for the Party by the Lenin recruitment.

Third Day of Congress.

Discussion on the Speech of Comrade Zinoviev: Political Report of the CC.

Comrade Krassin

the Peoples Commissioner for Foreign Trade declared that the raid upon the Berlin Trade Mission exceeds in importance the notorious note from Lord Curzon. The extraterritorial right of the Berlin Trade Mission is secured by the treaty of 6th May 1921 and is even recognized in German law. The raid was directed against the foreign trade monopoly. The Soviet Union cannot carry on trade without extraterritorial right since foreign trade is the business of the state. Negotiations over a trade agreement with Germany are impossible so long as our rights are not restored and our demands fulfilled. The Soviet Union cannot make any concessions and must insist upon its minimum demands. If Wilhelmstrasse reckons upon rapprochement between Germany and France, we declare: the Soviet Union, if it desires, can find its way to Paris easier than Germany can!

Comrade Trotzky:

The Central Committee itself considered it necessary to modify the inner course of the Party in the sense of democracy within the Party. Even the Central in its December theses,

emphasised the danger threatening the Party apparatus from bureaucratization whereby the Party could be estranged from the proletarian masses, for this reason the December theses laid down the introduction of workers' democracy and the increasing of the proletarian core. I was never at any time in favour of the freedom to form fractions and groups. I am of the opinion, however, that the bureaucratizing of the Party apparatus could promote and bring about the formation of fractions. The speaker further declared, he would himself fulfil his duty as a disciplined Party member even in regard to decisions which he felt to be wrong. The devotion to, the discipline, the unity and the solidarity of the Party will be preserved!

Comrade Preobrashensky

defended the economic theses of the opposition and emphasised that the Central Committee was behindhand with the modification of the course of the Party. This had given rise to the discussion. The demand for the extension of planned economy and the fight against capitalist accumulation are no petty bourgeois deviations.

Comrade Kamenev:

The policy of the Party will be orientated towards the working masses and not towards the Youth. The Central charged the opposition with petty bourgeois deviations for its anarchist criticism against the Party apparatus, for its opposition of the young guard against the old guard and for the empty chatter over planned economics.

Comrade Lenin-Krupskaya:

The Party has grown and become strong. It is true that the Congress must set forth the events of the past; the chief task however consisted in tracing out the tasks for the future. Therefore the repetition and stirring up of the Party discussion is not desirable, as this would only lead to aggravation which in turn would only be injurious to the Party. The opposition must proceed with the Party in a disciplined manner.

Conclusion of the discussion over the political report of the CC.

Fourth Day of Congress.

Concluding words of Comrade Stalin on the Organizatory Report of the CC.

Whoever considers the old guard as a section possessing exclusive privileges is seeking to create a breach between the two generations. The essence of Party democracy is represented by the linking up of the Party with the class. It would constitute the greatest danger were the Party to detach itself from the class. The assertion of comrade Trotzky that the Party is never in the wrong is incorrect. The Party learns from its own mistakes. The core of the Party is formed by admitting and rectifying its own faults. The speaker pointed out the necessity of a united continuance of the work in the Party and said that the CC. could not imagine carrying on its work without the collaboration of comrade Trotzky. He did not doubt that the resolution of the 13th Party Conference on petty bourgeois deviations would be confirmed by the 13th Party Congress.

Concluding Words of Comrade Zinoviev on the Political Report of the CC.

We will strengthen the Party work among the members of the Red Army and among the women, by which means the collaboration with the village will become more intimate. The question of wages and unemployment must be solved by the raising of the economy. The rights granted to the national minorities must everywhere be realised. The fact that the present Congress consists up to 63 per cent of workers and 83 per cent of Party members of the old generation proves that the Party must not be orientated towards the Youth but towards the working class. The speaker declared the absolute preparedness for friendly and common work in the Central and in the Political Bureau, but only on the basis of Leninism. There are things in which concessions are impossible. The Bolshevik-Leninian fundamental line of the Party must be retained. The Central is prepared to admit its own faults a hundred times and to make concessions in personal questions but the way of the Party must remain Bolshevik. The Central demands guarantees that the Party during difficult days remains 100 per cent a united Bolshevik party.

Resolution of the XIIIth Congress of the Russian Communist Party on the Report of the Central Committee.

The 13th Congress entirely approves of the correct political line and the organizatory work of the Central Committee which have secured to the Party the highest degree of success in all spheres of work under difficult and complicated conditions. The Conference notes with satisfaction the correctness of the work of the Central Committee during the period under review, which was the first year of work of the Central Committee during which the Central Committee and the whole Party were deprived of the direct leadership of comrade Lenin.

The Congress wholly and entirely confirms the resolutions of the 13th. Party Conference of the Soviet Union "Concerning the Party Structure"**) and "On the Results of the Discussion and on Petty Bourgeois Tendencies"**) and includes these resolutions in the decisions of the 13th. Congress of the RCP. The Congress expresses its full approval of the the Central Committee of the Party for the firmness and Bolshevik intransigence which it showed during the discussions in safeguarding the fundamentals of Leninism against petty bourgeois deviations.

The Congress approves of the international policy carried out by the Central Committee which led to the de jure recognition of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics by a number of the most important bourgeois states.

The Congress instructs the Central Committee to exercise also in the future the maximum amount of caution in the granting of concessions, to defend with all determination the monopoly of foreign trade, to develop the export of grain and endeavour to augment the favourable balance of our foreign trade.

In view of the newly arisen international situation and in particular in view of the obstinacy which is shown by the international bourgeoisie in all its sections in the attempts to compel the Soviet Union to pay compensation for the Tsarist debts and for the nationalised property of the big foreign capitalists, the Congress regards it as particularly necessary to inform more carefully and more systematically the working population of the Soviet Union, and especially the rural population, regarding all important decisions of the Party and of the Soviet power concerning questions of international policy.

The Congress notes with pleasure that the work of forming the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics has been concluded with success and that thereby a firm basis has been created for the fraternal and peaceful common life of all nationalities living within the Soviet Union.

The Congress instructs the Central Committee of the Party to keep a careful watch in order to preserve the rights of all nationalities of the Soviet Union, without exception, according to the decisions of the 12th. Congress of the RCP. concerning the national question.

The Congress states that the New Economic Policy carried out by the Party has proved the appropriateness of the tasks which the Party had set itself.

Upon the basis of this New Economic Policy a general economic revival has become distinctly visible: agriculture is undoubtedly on the upgrade, the state industry is growing and its concentration is going ahead, wages are gradually increasing and certain successes have been achieved in raising the working capacity.

Against the disparity between the prices of agricultural and industrial products, the Party has been and is conducting a successful campaign. Upon this basis the confidence of the working class in the RCP. is growing and is becoming continually more firm and unshakeable.

The Party sees no reason for a revision of the New Economic Policy and regards the systematic work for the strengthening of the socialist elements in the national economy as being the immediate task on the basis of the New Economic Policy.

An unaltered task of the Party remains as heretofore the strengthening and consolidating of the confidence of the peasant-

*) See International Press Correspondence Special Number Russian Party Discussions I, Vol. 4, Nr. 7 January 29 th, page 37.

**) See International Press Correspondence Special Number Russian Party Discussions V, Vol. 4, Nr. 20, March 14 th, page 167.

try in the proletarian state by means of the realization of a number of effective measures for the economic collaboration (Smytchka) of town and village, for the promotion of peasant economy (agricultural credits etc.) and by raising the cultural level of the countryside.

The Congress states that the CC. of the Party has carried out at an opportune time a far-reaching currency reform which has considerable importance for the whole economic construction work of the socialist proletariat. The firm carrying out of this most weighty reform will serve as a basis for the recovery of the whole economic life of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. The Congress states with satisfaction the successes achieved in this sphere and instructs all organizations to secure the most precise and strict carrying out of all decisions of the central organs regarding the currency reform, having regard to the fact that difficulties in this sphere are not excluded and that they can only be avoided by the exercise of a maximum of discipline.

The Congress notes with approval the timely initiative of the CC. of the Party in such fundamental questions as those of interior trade and co-operatives. These questions will become the central ones for a considerable period of time. Upon the correct policy of the Party in these questions will depend the further successes of the economic construction work of the Soviet Union. The Congress states that the CC. of the Party clearly perceives the growth of a new bourgeoisie (unavoidable in the present epoch of the Nep) and is carrying out all appropriate economic and political measures which this fact requires.

The Congress notes with particular satisfaction the political initiative and the work of the CC. on the occasion of the Lenin Recruiting Campaign for new Party members. After a halt had been made in the process of declassing of the proletariat, after the Soviet power had attained the first considerable successes on the economic front, it became possible to attract into the ranks of the Party hundreds of thousands of new members — workers from the bench. The RCP. was and remains a workers' party. The connection of the Party with the great mass of non-party workers is growing and strengthening. The time is approaching when the whole fundamental mass of the proletariat of our Union will enter the Party. The Congress instructs the CC. to carry on its whole work in this direction so that the overwhelming majority of the Party members will in the near future consist of workers immediately engaged in production.

The Congress calls the special attention of the whole Party to the necessity of increasing the work among the female workers and peasants and to elect them to all elected Party and Soviet organs. The Congress approves of the special attention which the CC. devotes to the Communist Youth League and to the whole work among the Worker and Peasant Youth.

The increase of the political activity of the working masses confronts the Party with the serious task of drawing the broad masses into the active work of the Soviet, the trade unions and co-operatives.

The Congress instructs all organizations of the Party to pay increased attention to getting into closer touch with the better portion of the country and town teachers, the agricultural experts and other strata of the working rural intelligentsia. For this purpose the Party must, in the first place, devote serious attention to the bettering of the material situation of these strata. With a correct line in this question the Party will soon be able to render these strata the intermediaries of the fundamental ideas of the Party and of the Soviet power for the broad masses of the peasantry. In particular all Party organizations must devote sufficient attention to the preparation of the First Soviet Union Teachers' Congress, and thereby strive to secure at this congress the attendance of an overwhelming majority of rural teachers from the various localities so that the congress shall fulfil in fact the formidable task which is imposed on it by the whole situation.

As regards the revival of state industry, the most important task of the coming period is the raising of the metallurgical industry. Now that the fuel supply has been secured, now that the transport has been improved and now that the currency reform has been instituted, it is the turn of the metallurgical industry. To further the production of the means of production

with in the Union means to create a real solid basis for Socialist Economy and to free oneself to a considerable extent from the necessity of sending large orders abroad. The Congress instructs the CC. to devote serious attention to this problem.

The Congress instructs the CC. to devote still more attention than hitherto to the work of the electrification of the Soviet Union in order that everything possible may be done for the realization of the whole scheme of electrification work, which is of such considerable importance for the consolidation of our economy and thereby for the consolidation of Socialism.

The Congress welcomes the steps taken by the CC. for the carrying out of the fully matured reform in the War Office and the further strengthening of this Office with Party workers. In connection with the role of the territorial formations for the defence of the country, the Congress calls the attention of the Party to the necessity of a most energetic work for strengthening the Communist influences in these formations. The Congress instructs the CC. to take a number of measures for increasing the number of Communists among the Red Soldiers and Sailors.

The Congress notes the regular fruitful work of the Plenum of the CC. and of the joint sittings of the Plenums of the CC. and the CCC. Experience has proved that the enlarging of the CC. by nominating to it Party workers who are most in contact with the masses, has rendered great service to the cause. The Congress considers a further augmentation of the CC. and of the CCC. to be necessary.

The Congress is of the opinion that the work of reduction and simplification of the state apparatus must be given special attention by the CC.

The Congress regards as an immediate task of the Party the improvement of the work of the organs of Co-operation, of the trade and of the credit institutions, as well as their being staffed more by Communist workers.

The Congress considers it necessary that the Communist High Schools shall be given still more all-round support by the Party than hitherto. The Congress instructs the CC. to pay full attention to the work of improving the High Schools. By serious work, by propaganda of Leninism and by enlightenment over questions in dispute, the Party will be able to secure for itself the best elements among the studying youth.

The Congress is of the opinion that the supervision of the membership of certain groups of Party nuclei is opportune and will be of great use to the Party.

The Congress instructs the CC. to safeguard the Party unity and the line of Bolshevism pursued up to now from any deviation in such a determined and firm manner as hitherto. Now that the Party has lost comrade Lenin, the securing of the full Party unity has become a thing of still greater importance and necessity than ever before. The least tendency to factionism must be combatted in the most severe manner. The firmness and the homogeneity of the RCP. on the basis of the unshakeable principles of Leninism appear to be the most important precondition for the further success of the Revolution.

Upon the question being put: who is for the resolution? All hands were raised. On the questions being put: who is against it, or who is abstaining from voting? No hand was raised. The Chairman declared the resolution to be adopted unanimously, whereupon there was an outburst of applause, the delegates rising from their seats and singing "The International".

To our Readers.

Along with this number we are sending out the Table of Contents for the second half of the year 1923. The extraordinary delay in sending this out is due to the difficulties arising from the suppression of the *Inprecorr* in Berlin and its consequent removal to Vienna. Apart from other difficulties, the material necessary for the Table of Contents having been seized by the Police the same had to be compiled again.