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PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

The Don Mines Case

Editorial

The Reds and the Yellows

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The Don Mines Case

THE trial of those accused of counter-revolutionary economic sabotage in the Don mines began on May 18th in the Supreme Courts of the U.S.S.R. The publication of the first facts about the mines conspiracy was a signal for the whole political world to divide into two hostile camps, following the practice peculiar to all acute class conflicts during recent years. A wave of indignation against these counter-revolutionary agents spread through the workers' camp. The bourgeoisie and their henchmen, the social-democrats, immediately took the part of the conspirators and seized this opportunity to make another violent attack on the U.S.S.R.

The arrest of the German engineers served as a plausible excuse for the Stresemann Government to break off negotiations for a trade agreement with the U.S.S.R. Immediately after this had taken place, the "Imperial Industrial Federation," which unites the main branches of German heavy industry (with the exception of Rhenish-Westphalian heavy industry), together with the "Imperial Federation for Wholesale and Overseas Trade" and the "Central Federation of German Banks" passed a resolution of protest against the arrest of the German engineers and threatened that not one of the signatories would send any of their specialists to Russia or have any business transactions with the Soviet Union until the whole matter was satisfactorily cleared up. This procedure shows clearly that the German Government and the German bourgeoisie, in their endeavour to wreck the industrialisation of the Soviet Union, seized upon the arrest of the German engineers to bring fresh economic pressure to bear on the U.S.S.R. and to blackmail her, whilst they also counted on a resumption of negotiations under conditions which would compel the Soviet Republic to cancel some of the restrictions arising out of the Government monopoly of foreign trade. Both the French and British bourgeoisie were enraptured at the "dignified" manner in which Stresemann behaved and Birkenhead considered this an opportune moment to visit Berlin in order to persuade Germany to join the anti-Soviet bloc.

WITH a view to concealing this renewed attack on the U.S.S.R. the bourgeois and social democratic press started a violent campaign in connection with the Don mines affair and adopted the time-honoured method of crying "Stop thief!" when they themselves had been caught in the act. They were unanimous in pointing out that both the counter-revolutionary economic sabotage and the conspiracy were "wicked inventions" of the Bolsheviks, that this was a "staged crime" which the Bolsheviks were obliged to concoct to cover up "the complete bankruptcy" of their planned economy and that the "innocent" engineers were being made responsible for their "bankruptcy." Some papers urged that the Soviet Government was forced to this desperate measure because of the "breakdown in the corn collecting campaign." "Germania," the organ of the Catholic Centrum, explained this "slanderous" accusation against the engineers by alleging that the Russian workers had made a decisive protest against the rationalisation of industry and that the Soviet Government had decided to make the foreign engineers responsible for this fiasco. The social democratic "Leipziger Zeitung" began by playing a "left" role and in its issue of March 19th declared that "the workers and their press had no cause to form a united front with the capitalists opponents of the Soviet Union." But having made this "left" gesture this paper changed its mind and on April 10th joined in the general howl raised by the bourgeois press. It even found new reasons for the Bolshevik "game." It argued that the Soviet Government was forced to this extreme by the new generation of "Red engineers," who felt their inexperience and unimportance in comparison with the older engineers whom they had decided to get rid of by all kinds of "false statements."

AS usual the first fiddle in this orchestra was played by the social democratic "Vorwaerts." The "Vorwaerts" of March 14th wrote: "If an attempt were made to find a plausible reason for this freak of those inmates of the Soviet lunatic asylum, then the best reason would seem to be that they had

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to find a scapegoat for the complete bankruptcy of the Russian industrial plan and thus divert the attention of the Russian workers from the sins and incompetency of their own government. . . . The accusation of sabotage is absolutely fantastic. Just imagine in a country where every second person is in the service of the G.P.U. that the Germans could enter into a conspiracy with several Russians in order to keep an enterprise from paying, and even to destroy it in case of war!" Two days after Stresemann broke off trade negotiations with the Soviet Government this same—excuse the misuse of the term!—Socialist paper declared its complete approval and added: "A purely Socialist German Government could not have acted otherwise." Needless to say the Menshevik "Sozialistichesky Vestnik" also hastened to pour oil on the fire and its leading article in the issue of April 4th concluded as follows: "All endeavours to carry on progressive economy and simultaneously incite the workers against the specialists belong to the most miserable and hopeless activities of the proletarian dictatorship, and constitute the most disgraceful page in its history." These cunning deceivers know very well that immediately after the publication of the report on the mines conspiracy the Presidents of the Soviet Republic (comrades Kuibyshev and Rykov) publicly declared that on no account should the mine affair be taken as an excuse to bait the specialists, and the resolution adopted at the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on this question definitely states that "after the lapse of ten years since the October revolution, the majority of the technical intelligentsia had become the sincere supporters of the Soviet power in the industrialisation of the country." But in spite of this the Mensheviks insinuate that the "governing Party is conducting a violent campaign against the counter-revolutionary activities and *mass* conspiracy of the specialists"; the word "mass" is purposely written in italics. The Mensheviks agree with the statements made by all the bourgeois press that the Soviet Government does not believe in its accusations, and cannot prove them. They go on to predict: "Already a month has elapsed since the conspiracy was discovered, but neither the Soviet Government nor any department has thought it necessary to make any kind of definite statement of facts after the first hazy news was circulated. . . . Shall we ever know anything more concrete? It is quite possible that we will not. The fact that German subjects were also implicated in this affair leads one to expect that the investigation thereby rendered unavoidable will tear off the veil of secrecy and make clear much that is hidden. The case is being rushed through and after the sentence the whole outer world will quieten down a little. Justice with the Russians is a simpler and easier affair than elsewhere. In Russia a G.P.U. sentence may possibly suffice, without any trial by jury, etc."

WHEN the actual facts of the accusation were published together with the statements made by the accused, and immediately after this the announcement was made that on May 18th the accused, the Germans and the Russians, would be brought before

the Supreme Court, all this network of lies and slander was dispersed. The statements published, not only of the witnesses but also of the chief accused, did not leave the least doubt that the Government accusation was absolutely well-founded. They confirmed the report, that "a counter-revolutionary organisation had been discovered, which had for its aim the disorganisation and destruction of the coal industry, that the leading centre of this organisation was abroad and composed former capitalist proprietors and shareholders of the coal mines in the Donetz Basin, that this organisation was closely connected with individual agents of certain German firms: that this work which had been going on for several years, consisted in malicious sabotage and secret disorganising activity, in wrecking the industry by employing irrational methods, spending capital in a useless manner, reducing the quality of production, raising the cost of production and even in the downright destruction of the mines, etc., that the task of these plotters in case of intervention, on which they counted, was to organise the catastrophic breakdown of the entire industry, to undermine the capacity of the country for defence and thereby assist the interventionists to overcome the opposition of the workers' and peasants' Red Army, and that the participators in this conspiracy were financed from the White Guard centre abroad."

The statements of the accused show that they counted mainly on the breakdown of structural work and that by this means they hoped to bring about a fuel crisis in the Donetz Basin, when everything would be ready for intervention in the U.S.S.R.

Thus the plan which had been worked out in detail by a handful of counter-revolutionary engineers together with the former owners of the nationalised mines, some agents of foreign firms and foreign spies—was to wreck the industrialisation of the U.S.S.R., to undermine her defence and to prepare favourable conditions for military intervention.

NO honest class-conscious worker in the U.S.S.R. could fail to foresee the possibility of such a widespread counter-revolutionary plot, the existence of which the international bourgeoisie and its social democratic lackeys so assiduously deny. Everyone who did not deceive himself and others and who thoroughly sized up the pacifist comedy of the League of Nations, must have known that the international bourgeoisie did not stay its hands for one moment from the nefarious work of wrecking socialist construction in the Soviet Republic and of preparing the ground for the overthrow of the Soviet power by force. But the unexpected fact, which astonished the entire C.P.S.U. and the Soviet world, was that the mine conspirators could carry on their destructive work for six years under the eyes of both the Party and the trade union organisations without being observed, although, as it now transpires, the behaviour of these "heroes" repeatedly aroused the suspicion and dissatisfaction of the workers in the mines. This circumstance disturbs the Party most of all and the last plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U. devoted considerable attention to it.

Since the plot has been laid bare by the organs of the G.P.U. with the help of the workers, and all the

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threads of the counter-revolutionary conspiracy have been discovered, it is now possible to explain why the mine conspirators could carry on their nefarious work unobserved by the Party organisation.

FIRST of all it should be pointed out that, in spite of the destructive work in the mines, the process of reconstruction in the Donetz Basin has developed by leaps and bounds, thanks to the heroism and self-sacrifice of the miners. From 1921-22 to 1926-27 the output of coal increased by 254 per cent. The increase in the past few years was also very great: 25 per cent. in 1926-27, and in 1927-28 there was again an increase in output of over 20 per cent. The programme for production in the present year in the Don coal mine is more than 20 million tons, which is 112 per cent. above the pre-war level. Simultaneously with the great increase in output, the industry was being rationalised. During the first half year of 1927-28 2,518,000 tons, which represents a doubling of output in a half-year. As a general rule the output by mechanical means is now over 23 per cent. of the whole, whereas in pre-war days it was only 1 per cent.

This apparently favourable position of the industry blinded the vigilance of the Party organisation, though in reality the subversive work of the counter-revolutionaries had its effect. It was responsible for maintaining the high cost of production of coal in spite of the introduction of machinery, because the machines were badly utilised and worked without being fully loaded. As long as it was only a question of the work of reconstruction the destructive work could not be done on such a large scale as to cause a fuel crisis, but now when the work of the structural overhauling of the industry started it began to be a real danger, likely to cause a grave crisis. This situation was what the conspirators had been counting on, and therefore it may be said that the exposure of the counter-revolutionary plot took place in the very nick of time.

The second reason which helped to conceal the counter-revolutionary sabotage was the fact that only recently on the eve of the Fifteenth Party Congress, has it been possible for the Soviet Government to proceed with the calculation of the five-year plan, which even now has not been finally approved. The absence of a definite five-year plan and the partial overlapping with the annual plan provided the conspirators with the possibility of explaining away economic blunders and miscalculations as the result of discrepancies in the plan.

THE third reason why it was possible to conceal these machinations was due to the position of specialists in the U.S.S.R. The process of training new "Red engineers" for industry is unavoidably slower than was the process of training "Red Commanders" for the army, for they had had good experience in the Civil War. Young "Red engineers" began to graduate from the universities in 1923-24, and have not as yet sufficient experience to be able to take over responsible positions in industry. Thus industry is

mainly dependent on the old generation of engineers and a small group of foreign engineers. During the ten years of Soviet rule, great progress has been made in the task of winning the support of the old engineers. At the very beginning the majority was avowedly or secretly opposed to the Government and only worked under the pressure of the proletarian dictatorship. But now there are many old engineers who work for the Soviet Government, not from fear, but because they are interested in Soviet construction. In this connection the formation of the Society of Technical Workers, which has for its aim the active participation in Soviet construction, serves as an excellent index of the actual situation. But, as the mine case has shown, there are also certain highly qualified engineers who are connected with the former owners, or who formerly occupied very privileged positions and therefore retained their counter-revolutionary attitude. Between these two types there are the old rank and file engineers, who work more or less conscientiously, but since they are still imbued with the officialdom of the engineer class they connived at the destructive work of the specialists. So far it has not been possible to bring over this body of old engineers as a whole to the side of the Soviet power; many causes have prevented close contact between them and the mass of the workers. Here it is necessary to point out that in a backward industrial country like the Soviet Republic, the number of engineers is very inadequate when compared with the quantity of production. In the U.S.S.R. the number of highly qualified technical workers constitutes only one or two per cent. of the general mass of industrial workers, whilst in countries which are economically developed this percentage is 10-15 per cent. This shortage of engineers means that they are naturally very overburdened with work, work which to a large extent is not practical. Engineers work about 12 hours per day, and of this time comparatively little is spent in practical operations; a state of affairs which is due to the still prevalent bureaucratic system. An enquiry into the work of the permanent engineers showed that responsible technical managers spend only 19 per cent. of their time in the direct work of production, 81 per cent. of their time being spent in doing office work. In the coal district near Moscow engineers spend 55 per cent. of their time in the office and only 45 per cent. actually in the mines. Such a system cuts off the major part of the engineers from the working masses and also from the process of production, a fact which explains why the destructive work of the counter-revolutionaries, who occupied high positions in the Donetz Basin, was exposed by the rank and file workers and not by their engineer colleagues.

THE fourth cause which facilitated matters for the conspirators was the position of Red Directors in the Donetz Basin and to a certain extent also in other districts. In the Soviet Republic at the present time there are already thousands of Red Managing Directors, quite a considerable number of whom are well-acquainted with all the details of the processes of production, in so far as this does not demand any special technical knowledge. The Party has had great trouble in trying to secure these directors, and until very re-

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cently the shortage of Party Directors was still very much felt. This situation necessitated putting very great responsibility on the technical specialists who were of bourgeois origin. To meet this situation comrade Dzerjinsky issued an order in 1926 specifying a "typical situation," in which the entire technical staff was responsible to the technical managers and not to the economic manager, and the technical managers had full rights to appoint and dismiss as they pleased. When it became clear that there were enough Red Managing Directors in the Soviet Republic this "typical situation" was superseded by the "Decree on the Trusts," published on June 29th, 1927. But this decree has hardly been put into effect yet, especially in the Donetz Basin. This circumstance and the excessive centralisation of industrial organisation, which at one time was essential, made it possible for a small group of highly qualified counter-revolutionary engineers in the Donetz Basin to concentrate tremendous power into their own hands and to make not only the Red Directors dependent on them, but also the local trade union and Party organisations and to neutralise the role of the Soviets there. This fact, in addition to the causes already enumerated, completely undermined the control of the trade union, Party and Soviet organisations, and made them subordinate to the activity of the highly qualified specialists in the Donetz Basin, causing the working masses to be absolutely cut off from the Party, trade union and Soviet organisations. In Moscow the entire work of the Soviet system is carried on by an enormous body of workers—60,000—which absorbs from year to year fresh sets of workers, and the whole work of the Soviets takes place under the eyes of the workers, while in the Donetz Basin the managing economic body, which was under the control of the counter-revolutionary specialists of "Donugol,"* had unlimited power. Comrade Tomsky, who made a thorough inspection of the Donetz Basin, described the situation which had arisen there thus: "Donugol is a tremendous machine. You live on the territory of Donugol; your house is Donugol's; you use the services of Donugol; the water belongs to Donugol; the light—everything belongs to Donugol and you cannot exist without it."

BUT what now? Do the mines affair and other analogous, though less serious, occurrences show that the enormous and difficult task of equipping and rationalising socialist industry, which in its entirety is the task of the Soviet Government, has been jeopardised? The bourgeoisie thinks so; it is rejoicing at it, and so are its henchmen the social-democrats. But they are all greatly mistaken.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government are faced with very great difficulties at this juncture. But this is not the first difficulty they have encountered. Was the organisation of the Red Army, the transition from war Communism to N.E.P., the introduction of hard currency, the speedy reconstruction of ruined industry, the control of the sporadic market and the ousting of private trading by the co-operatives any less difficult than the re-equipment and the rationalisation of industry? And yet all these stages in the development of the country are now past history.

* "Donugol"—Donetz Coal Trust (State).

AT the Fifteenth Party Congress the C.P.S.U. fully realised the difficulties of these tasks, and considered the problem of "the cultural revolution" to be the next problem that should claim attention. This problem is closely linked with the necessity of self-criticism in all sections of the Party and the trade unions, beginning with the centre and finishing up with the lowest nuclei. When the Opposition was liquidated at the Fifteenth Party Congress, the conscious and unconscious enemies of the Soviet Power declared that now in the Soviet Republic there would be an unheard-of "pressure" that everybody's mouth would be sealed, and that this would mark the speedy bureaucratic degeneration of the Party. But the very contrary was the case. The fact of the liquidation of the Opposition was the signal for the C.P.S.U. to open up all the valves of friendly and helpful criticism. The Party organ, "Pravda," started the publication of the reports of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection under the heading "Under the Control of the Masses." Anyone reading this section of the paper attentively must be convinced that no other State in the world except the Soviet Government could afford the luxury of such merciless criticism of the mistakes made by its own apparatus and by the organisation of the ruling Party. Nor did the Party confine this criticism to the leaders. When the mines affair was discovered, and some other similar occurrences, which appeared to forebode bureaucratic degeneration and separation from the masses of one or other local Party or trade union organisation, the Party issued the slogan of merciless self-criticism from below. It called not only on all Party members, but also on the workers outside the Party to make known any observations they might have to make with reference to shortcomings in the apparatus, and in so doing to spare neither Communists nor responsible workers, and the mass of the workers responded to this appeal. The result was extremely interesting. The mass of the workers, especially the non-Party workers, reacted to this appeal for self-criticism not by defending the personal or group interests of any special workers, but by criticising all the petty defects in the organisation of production. The workers of the Soviet Republic gave proof of such a degree of patriotism in respect of their socialist production, that its like is unthinkable amongst the workers in capitalist countries. Never before had the masses of the workers in the Soviet Republic shown such tremendous interest in socialist construction and in removing existing defects. This was the first reaction of the Party and the workers to the mines affair, and this is the main guarantee that the wounds which have been laid bare will be healed.

BUT the Party activity went further. The Party was faced with the problem of the technical intelligentsia in its entirety. There was no question of any intention on the part of the Party to chastise every sign of counter-revolution with fire and sword whenever it might be found. The enemies of the Soviet Government prophesied that the Party would make short work of the "specialists," that it had already begun to do so, that the whole mines affair was concocted and arranged in consequence of the Party policy regarding specialists. This was all absolutely false. The C.P.S.U. is sufficiently flexible; it will continue its fight

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as hitherto against any victimisation of specialists. The resolution adopted at the Plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C. of the C.P.S.U. on the mines says: "The Party and the trade unions should continue the struggle against the victimisation of specialists in a consistent and determined manner." The Party has now decided to take more energetic measures to encourage friendly developments amongst the intellectuals such as are demonstrated in the formation of the afore-mentioned Society of Scientific and Technical Workers, the innumerable resolutions of engineers demanding the most severe sentences on the conspirators and the enrolment of the majority of the technical intelligentsia for the active support of socialist construction. How is this situation to be met?

LENIN in his speech in 1918 on "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" said: "The best organisers and greatest specialists can be used by the government either on old lines, the bourgeois way (*i.e.*, high salaries), or on new lines, the proletarian way (*i.e.*, the creation of control by the entire people and responsibility to the rank and file, which must of necessity subordinate and attract specialists)." Comrade Molotov quoted these words of Lenin at the joint Plenum of the C.C. and C.C.C. in April, and said: "If we consider what Lenin said ten years ago about the method of using specialists, we must admit that our method is still 'the old one,' the bourgeois way. . . . The old, bourgeois method of treating specialists, which has been employed, must be admitted to be unsuitable for present conditions. Our shortcoming in regard to the method of using specialists is the delay in developing the 'new, proletarian' method. . . . We should not demand of every specialist a declaration that he is in favour of socialism, that he is in principle in favour of the proletarian revolution. For such a declaration is actually in many cases a false one. But instead attention should be paid to the material and social needs of specialists; engineers and technicians should be encouraged to frequent the discussions on production, they should be brought into contact with the masses, with the main body of the workers in the general trade union organisations, political work should be cultivated amongst them, and if we had already these tactics we might now have succeeded in getting the major part of technicians and engineers to work with enthusiasm and honesty for the proletarian State. But the trade unions as yet have done practically nothing in this respect."

The immediate task which the Party has set itself in order to improve industry is to strengthen the position of Red Directors. The afore-mentioned "typical situation" of 1926 made the Red Directors dependent on the specialists, now this will be changed not merely on paper but in practice; the Party will be very strict in insisting on the introduction of the "Decree on the trusts," issued in 1927, and will assist the work of concentrating the leadership in enterprises in the hands of the Red Directors. At the same time the Party decided at the last C.C. Plenum to relieve directors of superfluous work and give them every chance of improving their technical knowledge.

THE Plenum of the C.C. also made the following decision: "With a view to intensifying the struggle against all shortcomings in local work and also to improve the leadership of the central organs, the united Plenum of the C.C. and the C.C.C. ordains that the members of the C.C., the members of the Presidium of the C.C.C., People's Commissars and their deputies, the members of the Trade Union Federation and the C.C. of the unions should spend not less than a month and a half or two months annually in local work."

The first consideration was given at the April Plenum to the task of speeding up the process of training Red Directors. With this end in view it was decided "to ensure the Supreme Economic Council and the trade unions (under Party leadership) decisive influence in deciding on the choice of students and placing them in technical universities, and also that the Supreme Economic Council should have control over the condition of training in technical institutes; furthermore, it was decided that workers of proletarian origin should predominate in such courses."

In addition to these decisions of a general nature the Party made special decisions in respect to the Donetz Basin—the improvement of working and living conditions of the workers in the Donetz Basin and the re-organisation of industry there on the lines of reducing centralisation and increasing the competency of the lower economic organisations, that is to say, the managing departments of the mines and shafts.

THE C.P.S.U. has always been aware that socialist construction is not only an economic matter, but also a certain form of class struggle, which can only be successful if the initiative and energy of the working class be given full scope. More than once the enthusiasm of the workers has assisted the C.P.S.U. to overcome the greatest difficulties which have had to be encountered. This enthusiasm and independent activity of the workers, which the Party stimulates in every way, will help the Party to overcome the immense difficulties to be met in connection with the problem of the industrialisation of the country, and the equipment and rationalisation of industry. But if the success of this task is to be ensured the C.P.S.U. and the workers in Soviet Russia will require the most energetic support of the international proletariat and the other sections of the Comintern.

The mines case is actually a lawsuit between the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and world capitalism, which is using every possible criminal method to prevent the industrialisation of the U.S.S.R., to wreck this industrialisation and then to conceal this crime from the millions of workers of the world so as to make them believe that the workers will never be able to control production.

WE must realise clearly that the destructive work of the conspirators would never have been possible after the ten years' existence of the Soviet Power if the counter-revolutionaries had not received every manner of material and moral support from foreign capitalist organisations and foreign capitalist governments, and if they had not counted on military intervention in the manner of material and moral support from

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foreign capitalist organisations and foreign capitalist governments, and if they had not counted on military intervention in the U.S.S.R. sooner or later.

A clear conception of all this should serve as a powerful weapon for the Comintern Sections in mobilising the working masses in capitalist countries against the bourgeoisie and against the treachery of the Second

International, which is working with the bourgeoisie to use the mines case and other similar incidents as a proof of the economic inefficiency of the proletarian dictatorship; the Second International, jointly with the bourgeoisie, is concealing and inciting the economic intervention of imperialist plunderers in the U.S.S.R., and, under the mask of pacifist phrases, is preparing jointly with the bourgeoisie, military intervention against the Soviet Republic.

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The Death of William D. Haywood

George Hardy

COMRADE William D. Haywood, whose death occurred at Moscow on May 18th, recalls the class struggles of the American working class, especially those in the metal mines of the Western States and during the world war.

"Big Bill," as he was known to all his comrades and associates, was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, 59 years ago, when this State, among others, still formed part of the frontier of rapidly developing American capitalism. He lived through a period in his early life when the various public officials of the Western States were giving away the country's raw materials, minerals, timber, etc. to the dominant capitalists such as Guggenheim, Meyerhauser, etc., These resources were developed by these competitive capitalists, who afterwards formed trusts in every industry. Such industries attracted the most adventurous, aggressive and rebellious workers. Bill entered the mines at an early age and rapidly developed the spirit which animated these workers, many of whom had drifted westward because employers had blacklisted them for their union activities in the Eastern States. Being courageous, he soon became a fearless champion of the Western workers, and afterwards became an official, and finally the General Secretary of the Western Federation of Miners, which was organised in Butte, Montana, in 1893.

Comrade Haywood was not a great theoretician, but a practical worker amongst the masses. He never once left the masses. And what is more, he preferred to give his whole attention to the large masses of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. This, while not altogether a correct estimation, can easily be explained. In the West, where most of his time was spent, modern industry did not exist, and the semi-skilled and unskilled lumberjack, miner and the builders of roads, tunnels, railways, etc., almost constituted the working class. Nor was his theory together a short-sighted one, for he believed the "skilled workers would be forced to ally themselves with the unskilled to obtain protection," as standardised industry eliminated many skilled workers.

The Western Federation of Miners affiliated to the American Federation of Labour, but in 1897 it disaffiliated. The rebellious and revolutionary workers regarded the craft policy of the A.F. of L. as too reactionary and narrow for them to be associated with. Thus it is seen that this failure to estimate the value of remaining inside reactionary unions is almost traditional in the United States.

The Western Federation of Miners was an industrial union and organised every person working in the mines. It soon came into conflict with the ruthless administrators of the mines. Battle after battle took place very rapidly, and all the forces of the employers and the State were employed to beat the miners. In 1893 strikes broke out at Cour d'Alene, at Cripple Creek in 1894, Leadville 1896 and 1897, again in Cour d'Alene in 1899, Teullride in 1901, Idaho Springs in 1903 and again at Cripple Creek in 1903-4. Following these last two

strikes during which the miners engaged in armed struggles, comrade Haywood was kidnapped and taken from Colorado to Idaho in February, 1906, where he was framed-up on a charge of murdering an ex-Governor of the State named Steunenburg. He was acquitted in 1907, when an agent provocateur, the chief witness against "Big Bill," was thoroughly exposed and finally, to save the face of the prosecution, sentenced to a term in prison which he never fulfilled.

"Big Bill" never harboured any pacifist illusions, in spite of being rather sentimental, and this made him all the more dangerous in the eyes of the ruling class. Nor was he at any time completely in the category of the anarchist-syndicalists. He defended the need for a political party, and the Western Federation of Miners decided, according to Bressenden's "History of the I.W.W." to adopt the principle of "socialism without equivocation," and this principle was reaffirmed in the 1903 and 1904 conventions which recommended "the Socialist Party to the toiling masses of humanity." "Let us all strike industrially here and now, if necessary," said a resolution signed by comrade Haywood, "and then strike with unity at the ballot box . . . putting men of our class into public office." The temperamental side of comrade Haywood can be seen in a message he wrote to the Western Federation of Miners from Ada County Jail, Idaho, in September, 1906, while awaiting trial on the above murder charge:

" . . . Organised industrially, united politically, labour will assume grace and dignity, horny hand and busy brain will be the badge of distinction and honour, all humanity will be free from bondage, a fraternal brotherhood, imbued with the spirit of independence and freedom, tempered with the sentiment of justice and love of order: such will be . . . the goal and aspiration of the Industrial Workers of the World."

Comrade Haywood was one of the founders of the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) in 1905. He represented the Western Federation of Miners in the preliminary conferences which was the most powerful union that became a foundation unit of the I.W.W. However, when comrade Haywood was in jail, the reactionary right-wing obtained a decision to disaffiliate in 1907, notwithstanding the fact that the I.W.W. was the logical development within American industry. Trusts were now rapidly developing and rendering ineffective isolated and sectional unionism.

Comrade Haywood did not become deeply involved in the split which took place in 1908 which occurred after the political clause was eliminated from the preamble, and he still retained his membership in the Socialist Party. He was a member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party at the same time remaining active for the I.W.W. in leading large mass strikes. He was a leader of most of the great spontaneous strikes which took place in the years just

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preceding the war, was arrested many times, and saw scores of I.W.W. workers brutally murdered in the class struggle.

With the adoption of sabotage by the I.W.W. as a weapon in the class struggle, and the indiscriminate propaganda following from it, sabotage soon became an issue within the American Socialist Party, and comrade Haywood, as an Executive member, defended it. The development of this issue clearly showed the bourgeois character of the Socialist Party and marked a turning point in the Party, for it had been regarded as more or less under Marxian influence. Victor Berger led the fight against the left-wing which not only resulted in a decision against sabotage as a class weapon, but also in the following far-reaching decision:

“That any member of the Party who opposes political action or advocates crime, Sabotage, or other methods of violence as a weapon of the working class to aid in its emancipation, shall be expelled from membership in the Party. . . .”

Haywood leaves Socialist Party

This decision was adopted by 191 to 90 votes after Victor Berger had delivered himself in real reformist fashion as follows: “I want to say to you, comrades . . . I do not believe in theft as a means of expropriation (of the capitalist class), nor in a continuous riot as a free speech agitation.” As a result of the passing of this resolution, comrade Haywood was in effect expelled from the Socialist Party. Thus we see the commencement of the decline of the American Socialist Party which, from the point of view of practical working-class activity, culminated in its total and complete collapse, and was inevitably supplanted by the formation of the Communist Party after the Russian revolution.

The I.W.W. had been fraught with internal crisis from its very inception. After the 1908 Convention, the organisation harboured many anarchist elements who nearly destroyed the organisation in 1913. “Decentralisation versus Centralisation” became a real political question inside the movement, although outwardly the I.W.W. maintained its anti-political bias. The I.W.W. had been influenced in its policy to some extent by French syndicalism, but nevertheless there were enough Marxists at the Convention in 1913 to decide upon centralisation as the structural form of organisation. Vincent St. John led the fight correctly against the decentralisers, who were beaten, but afterwards resigned the General Secretaryship and comrade Haywood again resumed the position in 1914.

Preceding the election of comrade Haywood in 1914 the I.W.W. had been more of a propaganda body than a real labour union. It had engaged in scores of free-speech fights, and to call or enter unorganised strikes always kept the I.W.W. in front of the revolutionary struggle. The I.W.W. did the work every real revolutionary organisation should always be engaged with, but it was done too haphazardly. Careful preparation for strikes was lacking, and notwithstanding the militance and revolutionary fervour exhibited in the strikes, free speech fights, etc., the “folded arms strike” was sometimes advocated by I.W.W. leaders including “Big

Bill,” which again showed the need for a revolutionary Communist Party to bring clarity and a good tactical line in the movement. However, notwithstanding the bad strike tactics of the I.W.W., and, at times, somewhat confused leadership, comrade Haywood with the Western Federation of Miners and the I.W.W. will go down as having fulfilled a revolutionary role in this period of American history, and upon many revolutionary fundamentals they were absolutely right.

It was comrade Haywood who entered the timber workers’ strike in Louisiana where negroes predominated, and finding that two meetings had been arranged according to the law, one for “whites” and the other for negroes, he immediately suggested one meeting, “for you are all exploited by the one boss, in the one industry and under the same rotten conditions.” Bill’s correct attitude regarding immigrants is also well worth noting. He urged the first conference of the I.W.W. to establish information bureaux for abroad for distribution of literature and to prepare for meeting the immigrants upon arrival in America so as to direct them into the union.

Results of the War on I.W.W.

The war gave a new and great impetus to the I.W.W. and completely changed its character. It developed rapidly into a labour union movement, and the propaganda side inevitably became a secondary question. Large numbers of agricultural, mine, lumber, marine, construction and other workers flocked into the organisation. Full of enthusiasm, Big “Bill Bill” sought to invade every industry, sending organisers into industries where the “closed shop” existed for the American Federation of Labour, such as the building, printing and coal mining industries. A small minority tried to press upon him that he was spending money uselessly and urged concentration upon industries where the character of the workers, and the industries in which they worked, was most favourable to the I.W.W. However, due to the successes made, this question never became an issue nationally, but was certainly by far the best policy.

Another part of the I.W.W.’s traditional but wrong policy was never to sign any kind of collective agreements. This proved a controversial question when the I.W.W. had a mass character during the war, but no change took place even when offers were made in the lumber industry in the great strike of 1917 which involved over 70,000 workers. When the men were driven back to work they practised guerilla warfare and established the eight-hour day, etc. The continuous interruption by I.W.W. strikes in one industry after another during the war led to many arrests, and in 1917 Bill sent his famous telegram to President Wilson, which no doubt stimulated the pending crisis for the I.W.W. He threatened to call a general strike of agricultural workers and “let the wheat rot on the ground,” if I.W.W. prisoners were not released from jail. The apex of the I.W.W. had been reached, and with the arrest of 112 of its leaders, it constantly declined. As we have seen, much confusion and unclearness prevailed before the arrests, but it became chaotic afterwards when the anarchist influences once more became the dominant features at meetings and conventions.

The I.W.W. became a defence organisation in

The Death of Haywood—continued

defending those arrested, as it was made illegal in nearly every place of importance where the organisation existed. Still professing anti-political doctrines, it was noticeable how the I.W.W. now became engaged, unconsciously, in political action, utilising every avenue of political propaganda in spite of its professed policy. It sent delegations to the State officials, presented a long petition to the United States President, and correctly utilised bourgeois Liberals to write articles for the press to influence public opinion.

It became clear to many of the arrested leaders, including comrade Haywood, that all mass strikes assume a political character, and with the coming of the October revolution in Russia, a definite cleavage began to develop around the question of the need for a revolutionary political party to direct mass movements. This did not only affect the leaders: to cite one confused instance and tendency, a candidate for Mayor of Seattle, Washington, announced himself favourable to freedom of speech and the right of open and legal organisation for the I.W.W. On hearing this the rank and file dropped their anti-political stand and voted to elect him. Comrade Haywood correctly saw in this opportunist candidate a manoeuvre for office and as the I.W.W. members who voted learned only after he was elected, for the city policy continued to suppress the organisation. However, some good must have been done for many must have learned from their participation in the election of an independent bourgeois office-seeking politician, the need for a real revolutionary political party.

Some of the I.W.W. leaders under arrest with "Big Bill" adopted an over-diplomatic attitude, but others were equally tactless. Still, Bill, to my knowledge, was never heard to attack the defiant as he was defiant himself, but he did attack the over-zealous "diplomat," the one who sensed the need for political manoeuvring but was not sure how to act as a revolutionary worker. One instance brought Bill out cor-

rectly: he had rightly sent a message to the United Mine Workers' Annual Congress asking them to vote for a general strike to release I.W.W. prisoners throughout the land. J. P. Thompson, an arrested leader, thought this very unwise as we were charged with this very act of calling strikes to hamper the Government's war programme. As Bill was in another part of the jail I was asked by J. P. Thompson to tell Bill "to put ice under his head and cool off." When I informed "Big Bill" of this, back came the reply: "Tell the big — to take the ice from under his feet." And this was comrade Haywood's courage and determination shown preceding the trial which lasted 138 days and resulted in his 20 years' sentence from which he escaped by going to the U.S.S.R.

Comrade Haywood was an internationalist and heartily endorsed the policy of the Communist International and the formation and continued organisation of the R.I.L.U. He must have clearly seen the inevitable decline of the I.W.W. He joined the Communist Party of America while in the United States, although he still remained a strong believer in the need for a revolutionary union movement along the structural lines of the I.W.W. He died in Moscow, the capital of the world proletariat, believing in the need for strengthening the Communist Party of America. He witnessed the decline of the Socialist Party from the day he was thrown out. He also saw the rise and fall of the I.W.W. the latter being due to a failure to respond to the changed conditions. But small as the I.W.W. is to-day, as the recent Colorado strike shows, it is still a political problem for the Communist Party of America, especially in the Western States. The decline of both the I.W.W. and the Socialist Party, however, marks a transitional stage from one period of capitalist development in America into the post-war period of American imperialist expansion. These organisations have not changed and therefore, as was inevitable, have been superseded by the revolutionary Communist Party in the United States of America, which is responding to the need for a revolutionary leadership of the exploited masses.



The XIX Congress of the Dutch C.P.

W. Resema

THE Nineteenth Party Congress of the Communist Party of Holland was held in Amsterdam on April 7th to 9th. There were 1,500 members represented at the Congress by 97 delegates, 61 of whom were eligible to participate in the voting: there were also delegates from the German and Belgian Communist Parties and one representative from the E.C.C.I., who joined in the discussion on Trotskyism.

The Congress dealt with the changes which had taken place since May, 1926, in the political and economic situation in Holland and throughout the world generally. It put an end to the last remnants of ultra-left and right deviations within the Party, and especially that typically Dutch Protestant-Christian sect tendency. The last remaining representative of this tendency, Professor Mannoury, the delegate of the Amsterdam district organisation of "Kinkerbuurt," proposed a resolution advocating "freedom of speech" for the Trotskyites at the Sixth World Congress.

The discussion which ensued showed that Professor Mannoury had no longer any supporters within the Party. Many delegates joined in this discussion and the E.C.C.I. representative dealt with the special brand of Trotskyism peculiar to the Dutch Party: the Protestant-Christian sect tendency of Roland-Holst and Mannoury, the ultra-left syndicalism of Sneevliet and Bouwman, and the opportunism of Wynkoop.

On the conclusion of the speech of the E.C.C.I. representative the delegates of the Amsterdam district organisation of "Kinkerbuurt" withdrew their proposal. Comrade Mannoury made a declaration to the effect that he was in agreement with all the decisions of the Party Congress and would conform with Party discipline. The Congress did not consider this declaration satisfactory from the ideological point of view, and on this account comrade Mannoury was not again elected to the Central Executive.

The long-drawn-out crisis in the Communist Party of Holland, which was terminated at the Party Congress in May, 1926, by the expulsion of the right leaders, Wynkoop and van Ravesteyn, and the subsequent exodus in 1927 of the ultra-left elements (Roland-Holst, Sneevliet and a number of the N.A.S. trade union leaders) was finally overcome at this Congress. This crisis, the Congress and also the E.C.C.I. representative declared, must be regarded as the Bolshevisation crisis of the transition of the Party from a left social democratic party to a Communist Party. It also demonstrates the difficulty of the process of forming a Communist leadership from leaders who are still under the influence of the "Dutch-Marxist School" (Pannekoek, Gorter, Roland-Holst, van Ravesteyn, Wynkoop). This school was the result of the theoretical struggles with Dutch reformism in the period 1900-14. The party which was formed after the expulsion of Ravesteyn and Wynkoop from the Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1909 had not been able to get into contact with the

masses before the outbreak of the war. During and after the war, when the little party tried to gain contact with the syndicalist N.A.S. workers, that inadequate contact with the masses became a characteristic of the Dutch school of leaders. It became more defined in the period 1918-20 and found expression in the ultra-left conceptions, which Pannekoek and Gorter incorporated in the K.A.P.D. programme. All the conceptions are to be found in the "Open Letter to Lenin" from Gorter in 1921, which are now peculiar to the ultra-left international. Wynkoop expressed this tendency in a somewhat less definite manner and without the accompanying anti-parliamentary touch of the K.A.P. at the Second World Congress of the C.I.

The slackening in the pace of the world revolution after 1920 disappointed these leaders and made them grow tired of the struggle. Shortly after 1921, Pannekoek and Gorter left the labour movement, while Ravesteyn and Wynkoop veered towards the extreme right and continued their hostile attitude towards the centralisation of the C.I. and its discipline.

The opposition to the democratic centralism and discipline of the C.I. and the influence of the Russian comrades in the Comintern—a very characteristic attitude for West European, petty bourgeois intellectuals—may be traced like a red thread through the entire Dutch Party conflict. In all negotiations with the E.C.C.I., the Dutch Party displayed this opposition, which was also apparent in the "double entry" methods of the representatives of the old executive, who always declared in Moscow (1923-25) that they were in agreement with the E.C.C.I. and sabotaged all decisions at home where they continued to carry on their "Western" policy so divergent from that of the C.I. The ultra-left syndicalist deviations of Sneevliet, his struggle against the Profintern (R.I.L.U.), and also the pro-Trotsky attitude and the Christian reformist humanitarian twaddle of Roland-Holst are also the outcome of this opposition.

Even after his expulsion Wynkoop is trying to continue this double policy by declaring that he is in agreement with the C.I. and prepared to carry out the policy and tactics; at the same time he founds a new party which calls itself "Communist Party of Holland (Central Committee) [!]" and publicly attacks both the Dutch Section of the C.I., the Comintern and the Profintern, endeavouring to frustrate their policy by his "own" right policy.

Meanwhile van Ravesteyn has taken a position in the Rotterdam Municipal Council and withdrawn from practical politics.

The Wynkoop group has not succeeded in enticing many workers away from the Party. Besides the Rotterdam local very few other groups followed him, except a few in the north and some petty bourgeois intellectuals. His group cannot have more than from

The C.P. of Holland—continued

300 to 400 members although it has been in existence for about two years. Wynkoop has been able to keep his group together partly by means of his double policy and also because the executive of the C.P.H. did not realise soon enough in 1926 the importance of cutting loose from the ultra-left leaders of the N.A.S. The entire policy of the group is concentrated on securing a seat for Wynkoop at the expense of the C.P.H. at the 1929 elections.

The Comintern and Wynkoop

The representative of the E.C.C.I. dealt in detail with the Wynkoop case and declared:

“The chief representatives of Trotskyism in Holland are Wynkoop and Sneevliet. What is Wynkoop? It is very difficult to answer. At any rate he is one of the worst types of Trotskyites. For years he wore a Bolshevik mask as long as the International did whatever he wanted. Now he still declares himself for the International but against its leadership. He is a phrase-mongering demagogue, who is trying to utilise the proletarian movement for his personal policy. He cannot be a soldier, he only wants to be a general. Whither is this course of Wynkoop leading? To reformism. He has only a few supporters, no world party. He must go to the reformists or to the anarcho-syndicalists. The latter is impossible, hence only the former remain. Wynkoop educated the workers in the belief that his name is a sufficient guarantee for Communism, therefore it will take some time before he completely loses influence amongst the workers. But Wynkoop is already preparing to take refuge in the arms of the reformists. The organ of his group shows this, as also his attitude towards the reformist trade unions. In 1923 the C.I. supported Wynkoop against the N.A.S. sect elements, but he is mistaken if he thinks that this support was caused by any admiration for his work. After all that has happened there can be no question of the C.I. again entering into negotiations with Wynkoop. The path for the workers who follow him is not over the C.I., but they must, as honest workers, turn to the C.P.H., they must admit that they have made mistakes and be prepared to work in the Party as honest soldiers. The Comintern has had more patience with Wynkoop than with thousands of others. Wynkoop has been invited repeatedly to Moscow, but he has always declined. He has put himself outside the C.I. and he can only return when he acknowledges his errors and returns to the ranks of the C.P.H.”

The Congress adopted a resolution on these lines and included a paragraph in the political resolution to the effect that the supporters of the Wynkoop group may return to the Party. This paragraph points out that everyone who agrees with the Congress decisions and the Party and C.I. discipline, is eligible to be enrolled in the Party. The fact that the N.A.S. leaders

left the C.P.H. did not make the N.A.S. rank and file who are Party members leave the C.P. Only the paid officials of the N.A.S. left the Party. There is an increase in Party influence amongst the N.A.S. workers, whilst Sneevliet's policy to combine the N.A.S. with the anarcho-syndicalists of the Lansink-Central (N.S.V.) has failed. Sneevliet was able to get the N.A.S. to leave the Profintern, but the anarcho-syndicalists are opposed to uniting with them.

A section of the N.A.S. leaders, like Wynkoop, proceeded to form their own political party, the “Revolutionary Socialist Committee,” with the view to securing a seat for Sneevliet at the 1929 elections.

The Party Congress discussed the trade union question in detail and adopted a resolution on the position of the reformist unions in the N.A.S. and in the opposition movement. It is based on the outcome of the last Profintern Congress, the finding of the Dutch commission, and lays down the line that Communist work should follow in the various unions.

The Policy of the E.C.

The general political resolution of the executive, dealt with by the political commission, was also adopted unanimously. The resolution deals with the political and economic situation and with the internal and external slogans:

1. Struggle against the danger of war.
2. Defence of the proletarian State, of the Soviet Union.
3. Support of the Chinese revolution.
4. Indonesia to be independent of Holland.
5. Recognition of the Soviet Union by the Dutch Government.
6. Support of the U.S.S.R. disarmament proposals.
7. Formation of a proletarian united front with a view to the formation of a Workers' and Peasants' Government.
8. Complete and immediate enforcement of the eight-hour day (45 hour week; 6 hour day for juveniles and in trades injurious to health). Work under 14 years of age to be illegal.
9. Energetic campaign for a general increase in wages, with a re-establishment of the 1920 standard as a beginning.
10. Reduction of workers' rents and support for workers' housing schemes.
11. Improvement of national education. Struggle against clerical schools. Eight-year elementary schools.
12. Provision of productive work at full wages for the unemployed, or unemployment benefit at same rates.
13. Reduction of the burdens imposed on the poor peasantry (rent, mortgage and taxes).
14. Unity of the trade union movement.

The resolution dealing with Indonesia was also

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passed unanimously; this resolution concentrated mainly on the situation created in Indonesia after the 1926 rising. The chief slogans put forward are: Indonesia to be independent of Holland, and evacuation of the Dutch forces: the resolution further laid down a programme of action for the organisation of the Dutch workers in support of the Indonesian movement.

The old executive was re-elected and enlarged by the addition of some comrades from the factories.

This Party Congress should be regarded as one of consolidation, as the termination of the Party crisis and the beginning of a new development. The right and left deviations, and the passivity which characterised the Party under the leadership of Wynkoop in 1921-25, have now been finally overcome. The errors committed by the executive during the Indonesian rising by not realising its significance immediately have been recognised and made good. The vacillations in trade union work have also been overcome; the Party has recognised the importance of work in the reformist unions and has already had some success in this direction.

The campaigns which the Party has conducted since the Congress in 1926 show that the previous passivity of the Party has been overcome, for in the period 1920-25 the Party was only active during election campaigns. The Party is now carrying on revolutionary work amongst soldiers and sailors, work which was formerly completely neglected. During the Chinese events the Party carried on propaganda amongst sailors and soldiers, manifestoes were circulated and a campaign inaugurated for the recall of Dutch cruisers from

Shanghai. This activity brought about the persecution of certain Young Communists. The Party was also active during the British strikes and the Sacco-Vanzetti case and took the lead in these campaigns with some success.

The Party started a campaign on behalf of the Indonesian movement in 1927 and this work is still being carried on successfully. It now demands quite openly the separation of Indonesia from Holland, and the active agitation which the Party has carried on caused the social democrats to organise big meetings during the trial of the Indonesian students and afterwards with the intention of separating the Indonesian intellectuals from the revolutionaries. The meetings were well attended by workers and the C.P.H., which held a big meeting in Amsterdam during the trial, is now making every effort to expose the social democrats to the workers, because they refuse to raise a finger on behalf of the amnesty. Thanks to the activity of the C.P.H. during the past few months interest has been aroused amongst the workers for the cause of the Indonesians.

The Party has carried on a systematic campaign in Parliament and at several mass meetings to expose the attitude of the social democrats in connection with the disarmament swindle.

The Party Congress proved that during the past few years quite a new cadre has developed in the Party; this cadre is quite free from ultra-left and right deviations and is capable of developing the Party into a real Communist Party. The Executive too has developed into a collective body, which has gradually won authority amongst the Dutch workers and showed itself capable of leading them.

The Communist Party of the Saar District

THE Saar sub-district used to belong to the Rhenish Palatinate Party district, which has its centre in Ludwigshafen. But in 1926 it broke away in consequence of the conflicts that arose between the ultra-left majority in the district and large sections of the Saar membership.

In this manner the Saar district became an independent Party district. This territory was separated from Germany by the Versailles Peace Treaty and handed over to the "faithful hands" of the League of Nations for 15 years. The governing body in the Saar is a "representative committee" of the League of Nations; French influence predominates in this committee. The Saar Parliament, called the National Council, has no rights whatsoever, it can only express wishes and recommend them to the government for acceptance; it has no powers to make a decision.

The Saar district is occupied by British and French police, and in addition there is a body of Saar police 1,500 strong. French currency has been introduced and the district included in the French Customs area.

Small as is this territory heavy industry is very

extensive; there are 25 coal mines with 49 shafts, which employ from 60,000 to 70,000 workers. There are also iron foundries with 30 blast furnaces where about 40,000 workers are employed. The glass industry is also quite considerable. Before the district was separated from Germany the coal mines were the property of the Prussian State, but they are now entirely under French management; 60 per cent. of the foundries are in the hands of the French.

The strong Christian influence that prevailed there before the war made the workers extremely contented with their lot from the economic point of view. All attempts of the social democrats to gain a footing in the Saar were unavailing and August Bebel exclaimed that, "Whoever could win the Saar had conquered the world." Both during and after the war conditions amongst the workers underwent great changes. Now the Communist Party has won precedence over the social democrats in the Saar in spite of the tremendous difficulties encountered in its work. Still the influence of the Catholic clergy predominates.

The Communist Party in the Saar district has been

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through repeated crises. During the first years after the formation of this dwarf State, the French in the government endeavoured to corrupt the Labour movement for French political purposes; espionage was also generally introduced. The last serious Party crisis occurred in 1925-26, when violent disputes took place between the supporters of the ultra-left Weber and the supporters of the Party Executive. A split ensued and the Party lost two-thirds of its membership; the circulation of the Party organ fell from 12,000 to just under 4,000.

The determined intervention of the Central Committee put an end to the conflict and since that time the Party organisation has been continually on the upward grade; its influence increasing amongst the workers and their organisations. The Party has regained its 1913 membership and the circulation of the paper is now about 10,000. Altogether the Party has become consolidated.

Successes of the Party

The Party has been most successful in its work, especially in increasing its influence amongst the revolutionary opposition in the trade unions, sports organisations, etc. The Party has the following successes to record in the elections to local executives this year :

1. The majority in the district organisation of the railway union.
2. Two important organisations of the Municipal and Civil Servants' Union, so that now about 50 per cent. of the membership of these organisations in the Saar district is on the side of the opposition.
3. Twelve new locals of the miners' union, which makes a total of 37 groups, with a membership of about 12,000, in the hands of the opposition.
4. The retention of the majority in the three strongest locals of the metal workers' union and a certain development of these.

These successes are due to the activity of the revolutionary opposition in the various economic struggles.

Workers' wages in the Saar district are lower than in Germany since the inflation of the franc, and recently the employers are still further attempting to exploit the workers by rationalisation measures, reduction of wages and prolongation of the working day. The Party took advantage of this situation to rouse the workers, and in the spring of 1927 it succeeded in mobilising the miners. The workers in some of the mines left during working hours at the instigation of the opposition, and marched to the management of the French mines. This demonstration stirred up the workers in the other mines, and they compelled the executive of the miners' union to organise another demonstration to Saarbruecken; this was entirely under the leadership of the opposition. The reformists were unable to prevent the Communists from addressing the demonstration. The Saar police behaved in a most aggressive manner against the demonstrators, but still the miners lined up all along the way to the manager's house.

The main plank in the struggle was a demand for an increase in the miners' wages. The provocative behaviour of the police, who beat the miners mercilessly with their batons and arrested them, forced the Party Executive into taking a decision that ended disastrously. Without the slightest preparation the opposition declared a general strike, backed only by some of the officials of the miners' union. Only some mines joined in the strike; the workers in the iron foundries, the railway workers, etc., took no notice of the call to a general strike.

The Saar Government took advantage of the opportunity to expel at once the two responsible Party secretaries, because they were not citizens of the Saar, and delivered them up to the German authorities, who had them on their black list. The error of declaring a general strike was made good on the following day, and the miners who had struck work were soon induced to return to the mines. But this error made it easier for the reformists to prevent any united demonstration on the part of the miners. Yet in spite of all this the confidence of the miners in the Party increased, as is proved by the results of the local elections.

The revolutionary opposition succeeded in organising the workers in the iron industry to demand higher wages, a demand which was assisted rather than otherwise by the treacherous behaviour of the Christian trade union leaders. They had entered into an arrangement with the member of the Centrum Party, Roechling, that only the workers in the French mines should join in the strike. In this way they tried to support the competition between the French and German capitalists, but the revolutionary opposition was able to frustrate this dirty business. The workers of the Roechling foundries also joined the strike as a result of the agitation carried on by the opposition. After a few days this movement was crushed by a mean compromise between the district executive of the German Metal Workers' Union and the employers. The opposition also took a leading part in the railway workers' struggle, which failed because the railway clerks did not collaborate.

The Party has also gained influence in the sports movement; the opposition controls the footballers, athletes, cyclists and singers, and also the sports committees in some important towns.

Party Influence

The growth of the Party influence in the Saar district may also be seen from the Municipal and National Council elections. In two electoral divisions the Party takes second place. The development of the votes is as follows :

1923	1924	1926	1928
19,783	40,235	37,689	46,407

The social-democrats lost 5,000; they polled 43,411 votes. The Communist Party takes second place in the Saar district taken as a whole, though the superiority of the Centrum vote is enormous; it is 128,886.

The growth in the Party influence also implies an increase in its immediate responsibility for all the movements of the workers. The Party is in a position

The C.P. of the Saar—continued

to influence all the workers' economic struggles by carrying out a correct policy and taking the proper organisational measures. It is obliged to conduct an independent policy in the Saar district, a policy which is best fitted to the peculiar political situation there. The Central Committee can only issue general directions for the Party organisation there, for the Party must rely on itself in all the details of local work.

This is no easy task for the still young Communist movement in the Saar district, where it must contend with the national question and the tremendous influence of the clergy, behind whom the big bourgeoisie is entrenched. Thus it under-estimated the power of the Centrum party and the Christian trade unions during the elections, with the result that the Centrum was able to retain its vote in spite of its anti-Labour policy.

The most important tasks of the Party which are dictated by the special situation in the Saar are:

1. Organisational strengthening of the Party, especially in the groups in the big factories and in the trade union fractions. Doubling the Party membership. At present there is only one Communist to every 46 voters and to every

10 readers of the Party organ. Hence the difference between the Party membership and the number of sympathisers is very great.

2. Systematic strengthening of anti-Centrum work. Formation of opposition groups in Christian trade unions. Considerable increase in activity amongst women and the youth, who are mainly under the influence of the clergy.
3. Establishment of better contact with the French Party organisation in Alsace Lorraine. Although similar conditions for the Communist movement also prevail there, no comparison can be made. So far it has not been possible to establish unity between the struggles of the workers in both these districts.
4. Education of officials for executive work. Hitherto the C.C. has been obliged to entrust the leadership of the Party organisations in the Saar district to foreign comrades, who are usually expelled after a short time in office. Therefore it is a matter of the greatest importance for the development of the Party organisation that the Saar district should train its own leaders.
5. The general political standard of the membership should be raised.

The Reds and the Yellows

SUPPORTERS of the democratic parliamentary system repeatedly put forward the argument that election campaigns are merely the prelude to the "more decisive struggles" which are to be fought out in Parliament. The campaign is, so to speak, the advance of the hostile armies to take up their positions where the real battle is to be fought; but the masses who were mobilised at the elections cannot carry on the "battle." They are sent back home, and only a small select army sees the real fight through. In the choice of these warriors care is always taken that the "civilised forms of fighting," in accordance with the rules of good bourgeois customs in vogue amongst "cultured" people, are ensured. The masses, who have too little understanding for such forms of fighting are excluded from the fight, for such is the aim of parliamentarism. It is quite unpleasant enough to have to mobilise them for the elections; real parliamentarians make use of this mobilisation unwillingly, and are always glad when the elections are over. For then they can go back to their sacred parliamentary "battleground" and be at their ease amongst their peers.

But to their sorrow this is not the case now, for that class of "colleague" who has no proper understanding for this exclusive society is on the increase, and disturbs the pure joys of parliament. There will be 54 such colleagues in the German Reichstag, and one cannot take it in bad part that the President of that select body, the social-democrat Herr Loeb, is contemplating making the rules of the House stricter in order to keep the Communists in order.

But this would not be such a serious matter, for after all Herr Loeb could take example by his Polish colleague, Daszinsky, and bring the police into the House to keep order amongst the Communist Deputies. These Communists undermine parliamentary "democracy" in quite another way. Immediately after the elections, on the following Sunday, when as a rule this democracy prescribes that these masses should be sent home, the Communists organised a demonstration in the streets of Berlin. They marched with such determination, so unexpected by the bourgeoisie, that the social-democratic President of the Police only dared to shoot one of all these hundreds of thousands—at a time, too, when delicate manœuvres were being made by the social-democrats to join the Coalition—which, when compared with the heroic deeds of Noske and the obligations which a social-democratic Police President has to the bourgeoisie, was a ridiculous failure. The fierce energy of the march of hundreds of thousands of Red Front Fighters, the vociferous declaration of sympathy on the part of hundreds of thousands of Berlin workers, the fact that on this feast of the Holy Trinity, when the workers, according to social-democratic custom, are usually in the woods singing songs, the capital of the Hindenburg Republic was under the control of the Communists, under the banner of the revolutionary class struggle, made such a tremendous impression that not only did the bourgeois press admit this but even "Vorwaerts." It is quite clear that the Communists only organised this demonstration to show the crass difference between social-democratic and Com-

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munist politics as though they wished to say: "Look, we come to you to join in the fight against the bourgeois whilst the social-democrats are now trying to make a bargain with the bourgeoisie."

And thus the workers were faced with the instructive picture of the Communists going to the masses while Loeb went to Hindenburg. Immediately after the elections "Vorwaerts" invited the Communists to come with them into the Hindenburg harbour. For this purpose it took the trouble to invent the brazen lie that "from well-informed circles" it is reported that "some Communist leaders" will help in the formation of the government. This bare-faced, stupid lie was the expression of their hesitation to go to Hindenburg alone. The over-cunning "Vorwaerts" calculated that perhaps this lie would make "some Communist leaders" be with them at least in spirit and desire, so as to be a consolation to Loeb and to prevent thousands of social-democratic workers from thinking that they were guilty of treachery. But this consolation was of no avail. The demonstration of the Red Front Fighters threw a glaring light across Loeb's path to Hindenburg, showed up all too clearly the enormous difference that lay between social-democrats and Communists, the difference between yellow and red.

This difference becomes more pronounced, the more that class differences are intensified as a result of relative stabilisation and the methods imposed by the policy of capitalist stabilisation. The intensification of class differences makes the masses more eager for the struggle and at the same time increases the influence of the Communist Party amongst the masses. The Bolshevisation of the Communist Parties is taking place under the fire of the class struggle, they are making more progress in leading the masses and the numbers of the workers who flock to the Communist movement are on the increase. Hence the treacherous social-democrats become all the more necessary to the bourgeoisie on account of the sharpening of imperialist antagonisms and the speeding up of war preparations. In Germany a new period or social-democratic coalition policy is approaching which is accompanied by the intensification of the revolutionary struggle by the Communist Party. The market value of the German social-democrats is again rising on the exchange of bourgeois politics; this explains the reason of the rise in stocks and shares on the Berlin Exchange when it was known that the social-democrats had been so successful at the elections, for this ensures the possibility of a coalition. The bourgeoisie abroad joins the German bourgeoisie in rejoicing at the possibility of the coming era of social-democratic government policy in Germany. The entire press showed how the bourgeoisie generally counts with confidence on the social-democrats. It is true that there were certain doubts expressed in connection with the chief task which the bourgeoisie allots to the social-democrats: the conquest of the revolutionary proletariat. The Vienna organ of the capitalist bourgeoisie, "Die Neue Freie Presse," told the German social-democrats quite openly: "The duty of the social-democrats is to dispel all fear of radical elements." The dog that is set at the mob must not fear that mob.

The fears of the bourgeoisie in this instance do not relate to the good will of their lackeys, the social-democrats; the bourgeoisie has no doubts about the leaders. But it fears that by losing their influence on the masses the social-democrats may be hampered in their movements. The Hamburg "8-Uhr Abendblatt" expresses this doubt as follows:

"The victory of the social-democrats might be greeted with more enthusiasm both in bourgeois and social-democratic circles if this triumphal march of the social-democrats were not clouded by an uncanny, ominous shadow in the new Reichstag, which is greater than ever before. This shadow is the growth of the Communist movement, which is not only a serious factor in the workshops, but will probably play an important part in the negotiations for the new Cabinet."

Social Democrats Fear the Masses

The bourgeoisie therefore fears that the social-democratic leaders will not be so easy to deal with when the question of entering the government arises, because they will be afraid of the Communists and the masses. But the Berlin social-democratic President of Police, by the murder of a Red Front Fighter, has shown that the social-democratic fear of the masses drives them into the arms of the bourgeoisie and not of the Communists, and "Vorwaerts" also hastens to dispel his fear of the bourgeoisie. The apparent vacillation and childish manoeuvre to attract the Communists to support the coalition policy only lasted a week. On the Saturday after the elections "Vorwaerts" reprinted the leading article from the capitalist "Gewerkschaftszeitung," which advocated the coalition, and on Sunday, one week after the elections, "Vorwaerts" published a leading article stressing the responsibility of the social-democrats "in the interests of the parliamentary system" to see to the speedy formation of the government. In this article the workers are prepared not to expect much from this government. The leader rejects "endless negotiations" and "fine promises" and considers that there should be "an equalisation of the contending interests" for "no one can either expect or demand that the bourgeois parties will give us a majority so as to be able to carry on a purely social-democratic policy." This simply means that the big coalition is already complete, that the bourgeoisie has made it clear to the social-democratic leaders that they cannot expect to realise any of the promises they made during the elections.

About the same time the French Socialist Congress at Toulouse ended with a compromise after the "left" had let themselves go by making radical speeches; this compromise denoted a complete victory for the right and gives them an entirely free hand. Already before the Congress Paul Boncour, regardless of the left, had declared himself in favour of participation in the government, and as though to show the left phrasemongers how little he cared about them he did not even come to the Congress. Blum assured him that he can remain President of the Foreign Committee and representative of Poincaré's Government in the League of Nations, in short, the representative of French imperialism.

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The "left" attacks of Paul Levi and Company will have just as little effect on the future activity of the German Government as the talk of the French "left" had on the French Government and the League of Nations activity of Boncour and Thomas. The Brauns and Severings know very well that the "left" socialists are the most suitable weapons against the Communists, and that their "left" phrases are the best possible shield for the services of the social-democrats in the interests of capitalist stabilisation. For have not both the French and the German "left" social-democrats excelled themselves in their assurances that they too will fight the Communists and that in principle they are not against the coalition?

**International Social Democratic
Attack on Communists**

Social-democratic policy on an international scale is becoming more definite, especially as regards the struggle with Communists. The German Communists call on the masses to join in the struggle, and these masses rise in order to demonstrate against the bourgeoisie and their henchmen. But the social-democrats go to Hindenburg and offer their services to the bourgeoisie, and let the police shoot down the workers. The Berlin police are literally trained like bloodhounds to attack the Communists; as bloodhounds when once excited are likely to turn on their master if he should try to hold them in a little, the Berlin police would rather attack their superiors, as the Weiss case proved, than be curbed from bounding down the workers. In Hamburg the Communists are appealing against the provocation of the "Stahlhelm," and the masses rally in such numbers that they are able to disperse the Fascists, but the social-democratic police come to the aid of the Fascists and ill-treat the workers. The French Communists held demonstrations on May Day in Paris, whilst the socialists, just fresh from the electoral campaign, did nothing so as to be in good odour with Poincaré and cause him no difficulties. The Polish Communists, who under most difficult circumstances won a great victory at the elections, marched in thousands on May 1st in Warsaw, but the social-democrats organised the shooting of the workers, and delivered the Communists in Parliament up to the police. Having qualified by such heroic deeds, they offer themselves voluntarily as the reserve-government party, using, of course, the expression "undertaking the responsibility," which must have a special attraction for social-democrats in Poland, where the government constitutes the front line of the hostile army against the Soviet Union.

The Czech Communists are carrying on the most bitter struggle for the right to demonstrate and issue public manifestoes, of which the bourgeois bloc government wants to deprive the workers entirely. The Czech social-democrats come to the assistance of the government by rejecting every joint demonstration and refusing to protest against the prohibition of all Communist manifestoes, and are at the same time negotiating a compromise with the government. The representatives of

the Third International and also social-democratic workers are sentenced to long terms of imprisonment in Spain and Italy, whilst the representatives of the Second International hobnob with Mussolini and Da Rivero, and travel specially to Rome and Madrid to pay their respects to these hangmen of the workers. In Latvia, where the Communist Party has to work illegally under a social-democratic government, the social-democrats have decided to persecute the left trade unions. The reformist trade unions in Norway are preparing jointly with the government a system of "legal" suppression of strikes on the German pattern. The reformist trade unions everywhere supplement the policy of the social-democrats by sabotaging all big and decisive economic struggles. At the present time they are organising strike-breakers to smash the big building strike, which is under the leadership of the Communists.

Social Democratic Foreign Policy

The attitude of the social-democrats in foreign politics completes the picture. At a time when the representatives of the workers from all countries meet in Cologne to found an international of the Friends of Soviet Russia, and hundreds of thousands of Red Front Fighters in Berlin take a solemn oath amidst the cheers of hundreds of thousands of workers to protect the Soviet Union against all enemies, the social-democratic leaders fall over one another in their zeal to attack the Soviet Union and make the greatest exertions to outdo their masters, Chamberlain and Joynson-Hicks. Also in other instances we find the social democrats fighting on the side of their own bourgeoisie, what in social democratic jargon is called the "fatherland," against their own comrades abroad. On the one hand we find the German social democrats celebrating their victory as a victory of understanding with France and as a step on the road to the evacuation of the Rhine, whilst Paul Boncour declares that the occupied territory will not be evacuated. Then again the Czech social democrats rouse the whole world in the endeavour to keep the frontiers of Horthy's Hungary intact, whilst Horthy's Prime Minister, Bethlen, thanks the Hungarian social democrats for their assistance in the Fascist government's fight for Greater Hungary.

The Czech Communists issue proclamations on behalf of the national minorities, demanding the right of self-determination even to separation and the Hungarian Communists are forced to remain silent in prison.

Red and yellow—that is the difference between Communists and social democrats. The last elections have shown that millions of workers follow the red flag, that the number of Communists during the past three years has grown more quickly than that of the social democrats, whose ranks increase only at the expense of the petty bourgeoisie. But still the large majority of the workers in capitalist countries do not yet see the yellow colour of the social democrats. They think them at least a pink-red, and many let themselves be persuaded by the "left" swindlers that this fading of the red colour is merely a temporary "tragic" historic turn of fortune, only an accident in the turmoil of this restless age and that this pink will soon become the flaming

The Reds and the Yellows—continued

red of revolution. The present stage of the intensification of the contradictions of stabilisation is very well-suited to help to dispel this illusion.

The intensification of the exploitation of the workers, the tension among the imperialists, the military enterprises, all these approach more slowly and clearly than did the 1914 war and the revolution after the war. Then everything broke out in an elementary manner, unexpected by the workers. Now the workers are turning towards Communism with the full knowledge of the tasks that await them and the great sacrifices they must make in fulfilling these tasks. After a short interval of apparent opposition the social democrats are forced to enter the service of the bourgeoisie quite openly and publicly to prepare the overthrow of the rebellious masses. It is now easier than ever for Communists to destroy any illusions the workers still have about the social democrats. But this can only happen when Communists adopt tactics which clearly demonstrate the difference between their policy and that of the social democrats.

This means that the struggle against the social democrats must be intensified. . And this must be done first of all against the left social democrats, who render it all the more difficult to destroy the illusion on account of their "left" phrases. There must be much greater use made of the united front tactic from below than hitherto. The actual position must be made as clear as daylight to the masses. They must be made to understand that the social democrats act as a chief for capitalism, imperialism, the bourgeoisie and the Fascists and that these can only be conquered when their protectors are overcome.

The coming Sixth World Congress of the Communist International should lay down the theoretical basis for the programme and give the necessary instructions for a definite policy of intensification of the struggle against the bourgeoisie and its left wing, the social democrats, who protect the bourgeoisie against the workers. These instructions should try to guard against any vacillations in the determined execution of this policy.



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