

The result of an amalgamation may well be judged from the example of the German independents. They too maintained that amalgamation with the social democrats would enable them to do wonders for the working class. What fruit has this amalgamation borne? Not only have the independents accomplished nothing, but they have forfeited their independence for this nothing. No doubt they still fancy themselves independent, but in reality they have long since become dependent. Do you think that tomorrow's amalgamation promises better results? There is no reason upon which the necessity of the amalgamation can be based. The international situation is serious. War complications may arise at any moment. In this situation the new International will be the first to fail us; but Russia, I may confidently assure you, will once more prove a great factor in the revolutionary development of the world. (Great disturbance.)

E. C. C. I.

The Conference of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International

By Alois Neurath (Moscow).

The Session of the Enlarged Executive of the Communist International will begin on June 10. As all sections affiliated to the Third International will send delegates, the conference of the Enlarged Executive will possess all the significance of a world congress. The agenda include the most important and urgent problems of the international labor movement. Even before the IV. Congress the relations between the sections and the Executive of the Comintern were excellent, but these relations have become much more intimate since the last World Congress. The international situation of capitalist society and the exceedingly precarious political situation in all bourgeois countries, have forced the class-conscious workers to take steps towards the practical realization of the resolutions passed by the IV. World Congress. When the principles of the proletarian United Front, and of the Workers' Government, were first definitely formulated, resistance was aroused in many of our most important sections. The call for the proletarian United Front was confused with a desire to unite with social traitors; the summons to form a fighting front of the exploited was interpreted as if meaning an alliance with the social democrats, or with the leaders of the Amsterdam trade union movement. This crisis within the sections of the Third International was not so much overcome by the resolutions passed by the E.C. of the C.I., as by the actual economic and political facts. The bourgeoisie, feeling confident that the Amsterdam secretaries would not venture on any real battle, proceeded to involve the workers of the most important branches of industry in isolated struggles, in which they were able to defeat them. These hard facts have taught the whole of the workers and their leaders that the demand for the proletarian united front is not merely an agitation catchword, but the most decisive slogan of present-day class war. The broad masses of the workers are gradually accomplishing the task of forming the united front of the exploited and are doing this against the will of the social democratic and yellow leaders. These last are beginning to find themselves in a desperate situation, and shrink from no measures which offer any prospect of strengthening their shaken position. The sections of the C.I., therefore, have still many obstacles to face in their struggle for the unity of the proletarian masses. The Enlarged Executive will have to occupy itself largely with the results of the work done in this direction since the IV. Congress.

The question of the workers' government has become, in some states, a question of immediate importance much sooner than might have been expected at the time of the IV. Congress. The German proletariat has been able to acquire the best practical experiences in this respect. The German bourgeoisie realizes perhaps better than many workers, that the social-democratic-communist agreements will rapidly lead to a very definite struggle for a workers' government for the whole country. The working masses, including not only those under the immediate influence of the German C.P., but wide masses beyond, recognize that the Communist Party is the only party possessing the necessary power and determination to lead the proletariat to emancipation from its desperate situation.

It is easily understood that today, when Germany's situation is so critical, the experiences of the Kapp and Rathenau

days receive different judgments within the German C.P. Revolutionary impatience on the one hand, and cautious estimation of forces on the other, have led to many differences of opinion; these have already been smoothed out for the most part, but the Enlarged Executive will occupy itself with them in detail, as it is highly desirable that this knotty point be thoroughly cleared up.

The so-called Ruhr action has gradually opened the eyes of the overwhelming majority of the proletariat, and has clearly exposed the intentions of the French and German bourgeoisies. The Ruhr crisis is not merely a crisis between the German bourgeoisie and French imperialism, but the crisis of capitalist world economics. In 1914 the various groups of the world bourgeoisie were able to carry on a bloody war in their own interests, at the expense and with the aid of the working class. Today the bourgeoisie encounters immediate resistance, first from the masses led by the Communist Party, and then, in the course of action, from the serious opposition of the decisive strata of the working population. The world bourgeoisie is fully aware that the beginning of every war is a fateful hour for the bourgeoisie. First it endeavors to employ every conceivable means of overcoming the conflict of interests in its own camp, and then it seeks forcefully to increase the exploitation of the proletariat. But it becomes more and more difficult to overcome these great obstacles by "peaceful means". The ruling class in the present social order cannot escape its destiny, it cannot avoid the bloody collisions in its own ranks, that is, it has not been able to prevent the economic decay of the capitalist social order from having already provided, to a very great extent, the prerequisites for the successful class war of the proletariat. The discussion of the lessons taught by the Ruhr action will doubtless form the central point of the deliberations of the Enlarged Executive.

As the masses lose faith in the Amsterdamers and social democratic leaders, the ruling class sets proportionately less store upon the coalition with its socialist brothers so indispensable and invaluable to it during the critical period following the collapse of the war. The bourgeoisie now begins to deal out kicks and blows to its friends of yesterday; but the worse treatment the social imperialists receive at the hands of the bourgeoisie, the greater the emphasis with they proclaim their love for the coalition with the exploiters of the proletariat. And with good reason. Scheidemann, Noske, Hilferding, & Co. know very well that their positions in the labor movement are irretrievably lost. Therefore they continue to permit themselves to be used for the purposes of the ruling class, in a more despicable manner than ever, and finally, they will be thrown over by the bourgeoisie as useless tools. The social democrats being of no further use to the bourgeoisie, the ruling class is now raising a fresh guard in the form of the Fascist movement, hoping that this will defend the interests of the exploiters even better than the social democrats. Fascism at the same time represents the mobilization of all the remaining political reserves of the counter-revolution. The danger of Fascism, which is receiving every possible support from the dominant party, is exceedingly great. In order systematically and steadily to make its preparations for the inevitable, protracted and decisive struggle with the proletariat, the bourgeoisie is destroying all the so-called rights and liberties said to have been won by democracy, and is applauded in this by all parties following the principles of democracy. The exceptional laws issued in Poland, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., will be followed by similar laws in other important capitalist states. It is hoped to break the increasing resistance of the working masses for a long time to come by placing the communist movement, or rather its organizations, completely outside the law. The experiences undergone by the Italian proletariat, and the latest events in Czecho-Slovakia, in German-Austria, Germany, and the Balkan states, will play a leading part in the discussions of the Enlarged Executive.

The Ruhr action, the workers' and peasants' government, the proletarian united front, trade unions tactics, national problems, the question of agitation among small farmers—all these important questions are to be thoroughly considered. The delegates of the various sections of the C.I. will return to their countries thoroughly informed on the political events of the most important states, enlightened concerning the experiences gained in the latest great political and economic struggles in almost all capitalist states, and acquainted—thanks to the detailed discussions—with every line of tactics required for the immediate future; they will thus be enabled to continue their work with even greater success than before.